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# Christopher Columbus

By

John Boyd Thacher

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# CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

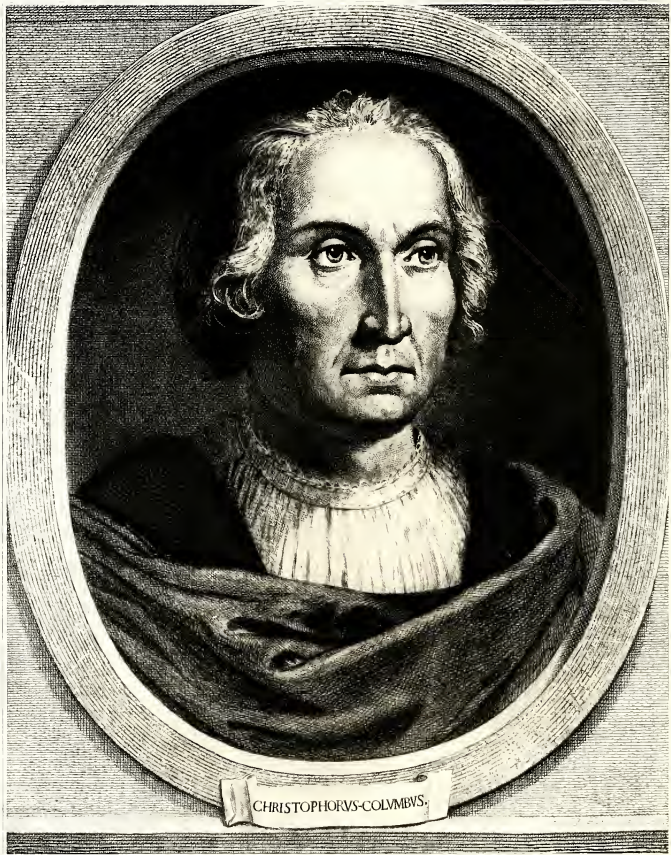
By JOHN BOYD THACHER

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## General Synopsis of the Work

- PART I.—“The First Historians of America”—Peter Martyr and Bartolomé de las Casas.
- PART II.—“Introduction”—A critical inquiry into the character of Columbus.
- PART III.—“The Man”—Biography of Columbus up to the time of his going to Portugal.
- PART IV.—“The Purpose”—Showing the influences and adoption of the project.
- PART V.—“The Event”—Describing the Discovery from the Admiral's *Journal*.
- PART VI.—“The Announcement”—Including the earliest publication of the news and the Papal recognition.
- PART VII.—“Exploration”—Giving details of the subsequent voyages of Columbus with the import of his larger discoveries.
- PART VIII.—“Personality”—An attempt to classify into types the portraits of Columbus, and to reproduce in facsimile all his known handwriting.
- PART IX.—“Los Restos”—Tracing the remains of Columbus and fixing the present repository of the precious relics.
- PART X.—“Arbor Consanguinitatis”—The Family Tree of Columbus with its blood-lines allied to Royalty.
- APPENDIX.—Containing the Majorat, the Will of Columbus, and Miscellaneous Documents.





CHRISTOPHORVS-COLUMBVS.



*An imaginative but satisfactory portrait of*

**Christopher Columbus.**

*Reproduction of the etching made by Henri Lefort in 1891 from  
the portrait preserved in the Naval Museum at Madrid.*

*(The rights to this etching are owned by M. Knoedler & Co., New York.)*

of the University of Cambridge

# Christophorus Columbus

By the Rev. John G. ...

London: ...

# Christopher Columbus

HIS LIFE, HIS WORK  
HIS REMAINS

AS REVEALED BY

ORIGINAL PRINTED AND MANUSCRIPT RECORDS

TOGETHER WITH AN

Essay on Peter Martyr of Anghera and Bartolomé  
de las Casas, the First Historians of America

By

JOHN BOYD THACHER

AUTHOR OF "THE CONTINENT OF AMERICA," "THE CABOTIAN  
DISCOVERY," ETC.

VOLUME I

NEW YORK

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

The Knickerbocker Press

1903

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# Christopher Columbus

By

John Boyd Thacher

Volume I—Part I





To  
HENRY HARRISSE



## PREFACE

WHEN we undertake a study of Christopher Columbus and his work, we meet at the outset two historians upon whom we are dependant, Peter Martyr of Anghera, and Bartolomé de las Casas. Therefore we take the reader into their presence at once. These men are of themselves interesting characters. Peter Martyr was the first epistolary writer of his time. Bartolomé de las Casas, by years of devotion, deserved the title of Apostle to the Indians.

This Work has a double purpose,—*first*, to give the reader of to-day, as far as practicable in exact fac-simile, such published knowledge of the Discoverer and the discovery as was available to a reader at the beginning of the sixteenth century; and, *second*, to give the reader of to-day such knowledge concerning the discovery as has come to the world since that time. A faithful study of the first printed accounts of the discovery will enable us to appreciate the opinions formed by the scholars and writers of that day, of what Columbus had accomplished and of what had been accomplished by other and subsequent explorers near to his time. A faithful study of what has since been learned of the great event will throw light upon the personality of the man in whom as the discoverer of a New World, we must always be interested.

Many of the documents introduced here appear for the first time in English. Some of the books given in fac-simile have never before been reproduced. The earliest published news concerning the First, Third, and Fourth Columbian voyages reached the world through books now represented in each instance by a unique example. Of the first two editions of the book giving the earliest account of the First Voyage, each is represented by a single example. These all, together with the

earliest published account of the Second Voyage, are reproduced in fac-simile, and, with the exception of the Folio Spanish Letter of the First Voyage, they are here given for the first time. Bibliographical notes concerning nearly all the books mentioned in this Work have been added, that the librarian and collector may be guided in the efforts they are making to acquire rare and precious Americana.

The entire *Journal* of Columbus is here printed directly from the text of Navarrete, with the corrections and additions found in the *Historia* of Las Casas.

No attempt has been made to correct quoted matter in Latin, Spanish, or Italian, except in instances where the careful student might be misled. The original text has been followed literally in order to furnish to bibliographers and students exact descriptions of original texts, by which they may verify examples of the same when sought for their own libraries.

The field of research and the attending rewards are perhaps not exhausted. Within a few years new manuscripts of Columbus have been found. In the present Work, it is believed, is a fac-simile reproduction of every known letter or document in the hand of the Discoverer.

The Author acknowledges the courtesy of Dr. Guido Biagi of the Laurentian Library at Florence, through whose interest he has been permitted to photograph the Quarto Spanish Columbus Letter preserved in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and the *Libretto* and *Lettera*, both of which are in the San Marco Library at Venice. He begs also to express his thanks to those in charge of the Lenox Branch of the New York Public Library for the intelligent assistance given him in reproducing certain pages and titles from books in that valuable collection.

The author desires to express his sense of obligation to the Duchess of Alba for her courteous permission to reproduce the letters and documents of Columbus in her family archives.

To the publisher of *Christopher Columbus, His Own Book of Privilege, 1502*, the late Mr. Benjamin F. Stevens, London, the author is indebted for permission to photograph a few of the interesting features from his reproduction of the Paris Codex.

J. B. T.

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PART I  
THE FIRST HISTORIANS OF AMERICA



# PETER MARTYR

---

## CHAPTER I

### THE STUDENT AND THE ACADEMY

THE traveller who makes the journey through the beautiful Italian lake Maggiore, sees in the town of Arona, on the western bank, at the south end of the lake, a lofty statue erected to the memory of St. Carlo, that Cardinal Borromeo who was so active during the later sessions of the Council of Trent. The fields, the hills, the very lake itself once belonged to the powerful Borromeo family<sup>1</sup> and the people of the lakeside look on this statue of bronze two and forty feet in height and can speak of no other great man sprung from the region round about. And yet, here was born Peter Martyr, the first historian of America. His name was given him in honour of the Dominican Inquisitor, Peter Martyr, who was assassinated by the Vaudois, whose memory was greatly venerated in Milan and whose tomb, a grand work of mediæval art within a chapel designed by Michelozzo Michelozzi, is still seen in the church of San Eustorgio.

An excellent description of Arona, the birthplace of Peter Martyr, is found in the epistle he wrote from Saragossa to Petrus Fagiardus, August 10, 1502.

The date of our Peter Martyr's birth is not absolutely fixed but we shall place it on February 2, in the year 1457, since we read in one of his epistles: "Septuagesimus quippe annus, cui nonæ quartæ [sic] februarii anni millesimi quingentesimi

<sup>1</sup> Pope Pius IV. was the uncle of Carlo Borromeo and his nephew Frederico Borromeo, also a cardinal, founded the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

vigesimi sexti proxime ruentis dabunt initium." Navarrete<sup>1</sup> accepts this date. Peter Martyr claimed distinguished descent and traced his house back to the Counts of Angleria, who in turn traced their family back to legendary kings and fabulous princes. The best expression of faith in the faded glories of one's ancestry is to lift one's self out of present untoward surroundings by education and cultivation. This, Peter Martyr set about with courage and zeal. In Milan, about the time of his youth, a powerful ray of learning was illuminating the darkness of the Middle Ages. Francesco Alessandro Sforza, made Duke of Milan in 1450, drew about his Court men famed for their learning, and it was for his daughter that Constantine Lascaris, the great Greek scholar, composed a grammar. Another famous scholar was Francesco Philelpho, who lectured on philology and Italian and Latin poetry. The upturned intellectual ground filled the air with the perfume of learning and the eager lungs of Peter Martyr breathed thereof and expanded with a new life. He went to Rome when about twenty years of age for the purpose of study. During the pontificate of Pope Innocent VIII., Peter Martyr was Secretary to Francesco Negro, a countryman of his own and who was then Governor of Rome. The devotee of learning often surrounds himself with the forms and ceremonies and the spectacular effects of worship and religion. The sober scholar can never quite put off the gown and hood of the performing student. When Peter Martyr went to Rome he found firmly established an Academy where grown men of real learning were playing the parts of the philosophers of antiquity. The Florentine scholar Buonaccorsi called himself Callimachus. The Roman Marcus became Asclepiades, the Greek. Marino of Venice, who might have

<sup>1</sup> Navarrete, *Biblioteca Maritima*, vol. ii., p. 529.

In the *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, vol. xxxix., p. 401, in his will, one reads that he was born *en la Villa de Arona, que es en la Ribera de Lago Verbano*. The illustrious family to which he belongs takes the name from the little village on the opposite side of the lake,—Angera. In the will of Peter Martyr this village is called Anguera.

Antonio, in his *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, says he was born in 1450.

Niceron in his *Memoirs*, vol. xxiii., p. 209, puts his birth as early as 1455.

In a work printed in German at New York in 1879, *Petrus Martyr der Geschichtsschreiber des Weltmeeres*, he is said to have been born February 2, 1445, an evident error.

J. Bernays, in his *Petrus Martyr Anglerius*, Strasburg, 1891, also adopts this date of February 2, 1457.



been satisfied with the illustrious origin of his own appellation, assumed the name of Glaucus. Not the least famous among the sodales of this school was Platina, Bartolommeo de' Sacchi, who wrote *De Vitis Pontificum*. But by far the most illustrious of all was its head, Julius Pomponius Lætus, a member of the powerful Neapolitan family of Sanseverini. He was born in 1435 at Amendaloro, in Calabre, and died in Rome on the twenty-fifth day of May, 1497. There are writers who say that Pomponius Lætus was of unlawful issue and that he was not recognised by his family. When he became illustrious through his own exertions and merits, he in turn declined to bear the family name. A passage in a letter of Peter Martyr is interpreted as alluding to this question of his friend's birth, where he says: "Pomponium Lætium, quem ego ut virtutis, non fortunæ alumnum observo." In the very year in which Peter Martyr was born, Pomponius Lætus took possession of the chair vacated by Lorenzo Valla and then founded his famous Academy, whose students were frequently called Pomponiani. As the founder of an order of philosophers it was incumbent upon him to distinguish himself no less by the assumption of his part on the stage than by his pretension to erudition. Thereupon he became Diogenes and clothed like him in frayed and open tunic he paraded the streets of Rome and taught in his little home under the Quirinal.

Shortly before the appearance in Rome of our author, the Academy had been visited by the severity of ecclesiastical inquiry, and Pope Paul II., suspecting the wearers of pagan names of holding pagan sentiments, hesitated not to put both Platina and his high priest of the institution to the pains of torture that he might test their adherence to the Christian faith. They must have passed the ordeal with a display of real or dissembled piety, for Pomponius returned to the chief chair in his Academy and continued to receive his companions and his pupils. Among these was probably Peter Martyr. Many of his letters are addressed to Pomponius and the virtue and learning of the latter are the subject of important passages in many others. He was on terms of intimacy with the Archbishop of Milan, Jean Arcimboldo, and with the Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, to both of whom he addressed many of his letters. He was not only an attendant at the feet of scholars, but young as he was, he was sought by

others to impart to them the knowledge he had already gathered from the wise and learned. Thus two men of the Church, already arrived at high preferment, studied literature under him. The one was Alonso Carillo, Bishop of Pampelune. The other was Petro Inghirami, Archbishop of Braga, a protégé of the royal family of Portugal. He refers to his literary teachings in one of his letters to the latter: "Non hæc à me profecto, quum ambobus Juvenalis aliquando divinam illam, quæ proxima est à secunda, satyram aperirem, sed adulatione nihil esse ingenuo fœdius didicistis."

## CHAPTER II

### THE LECTURER AT SALAMANCA

NINE years had Peter Martyr been in Rome when he met a Spanish nobleman whose friendship and influence changed the current of his life and made his genius to flow in other fields and among another people. This man was no other than the Count of Tendilla, the famous Iñigo or Inarcho Lopez de Mendoza, whom Peter Martyr frequently addresses in the *Epistolæ*. This member of the Mendoza family was the Ambassador to the Roman See from the Court of Ferdinand and Isabella, one of the illustrious captains of Spain and an especial favourite of the Queen. His estates in Castile yielded him an income of 15,000 ducats a year<sup>1</sup> and he lived in a style becoming his position. The Count of Tendilla<sup>2</sup> induced the young student to accompany him to Spain<sup>3</sup> when he left Rome on August

<sup>1</sup> As Velasco, the Constable of Castile, Pimental, Count of Benavente, Cordova, Duke of Sessa, Pacheco, Marquis of Villena, each enjoyed an income of 60,000 ducats, or an eighth of a million of our money, the patron of Peter Martyr could not be said to be the wealthiest man in the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. See L. Marineo-*Cosas Memorables*.

<sup>2</sup> There was another Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, Marquis of Santillana, one of the brightest literary lights of the reign of John II. His salon was an Academy and not only harboured the learned of Spain, but received men of genius and science from every great centre of Europe attracted by the character of Mendoza and his reputation as a poet and a wit. He presented to the world the pleasing spectacle of a statesman adorning a public life full of arduous duties with the practice of the arts and the cultivation of the flowers of literature.

<sup>3</sup> Some writers have declared that Peter Martyr was physician to Louis XI. of France and his Ambassador to the Pope at Rome. Louis XI. died in 1483 and certainly his historians do not make mention of any physician of that name. And much has been written about this King's leeches. No monarch ever so feared and rewarded his medical attendants. One of them, Angelo Catho by name, was both physician and astrologer, and him Louis made Archbishop of Vienna. Olivier le Daim, once called Olivier le Diable, had been his barber and physician, and him he raised to the dignity of Ambassador to the Court of Burgundy. The celebrated John Cottier was his favourite physician, to whom he monthly gave 10,000 crowns, and whose office it was to assure the King that he had successfully driven away the terrible phantom, Death. When the King was angry with him and threatened to drive him away also, the astute physician would inform him that it was written in the stars his royal soul should depart his body within eight days from that on which he discharged his physician.

## Christopher Columbus

29, 1487. Introduced by so great a patron, the Queen accepted his services at once and employed him in teaching the youthful nobles of her Court.

When the revival of learning spread through Europe, the wave movement was from Italy into Spain. The teachers were either native Italians or Spaniards who had been taught in Italy. Both Ferdinand and Isabella encouraged literature and the arts. The King, when a youth, had competent masters, but fortune led him at an early age from the library to the camp. Lucio Marineo Siculo, himself a protégé of the King, declares that the latter had a natural aptitude for learning and deplors the necessity for his abandonment of study. He says that Ferdinand had scarcely learned to read and write when the alarms of war called him to take up arms. Isabella, on the contrary, was a student. She had enjoyed the instruction of one of her own sex, the famous Beatrix Galindo, called La Latine, whom the Queen afterwards married to Francisco Ramirez. The Queen knew not only the Latin of Cicero but the Latin of the Renaissance and that employed by the writers of her own day. In her library, besides the numerous books of devotion and religion, were the works of Plutarch, Xenophon, Aristotle, Cicero, Livy, Virgil, and even Terence. We know she could at least read the Latin of our author, for in one of his epistles written to the Spanish sovereigns from Venice, on the first day of October, 1501, Peter Martyr facetiously refers to the Queen's reading aloud to Ferdinand the context of his letters and, "*sensusque qualescunque fuerint*, explaining the meaning if happily they had any." The Spanish nobility, devoted to military glory through the long years of the civil wars and the conflicts with the Moors, cared but little for letters and the cultivation of the mind. The King and particularly Isabella were impressed with the power of the intellect to at least supplement the work of the sword, and in every way encouraged the youth of their Court to classical and scientific study. Their own children, the Prince Juan, his sisters Isabella, Catherine, and Joanna, and likewise Alfonso, the illegitimate son of Ferdinand, all had the best masters the royal resources could find in Spain. We have already spoken of Lucio Marineo,<sup>1</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> Lucio Marineo Siculo wrote *Cosas Memorables de España*, printed at Alcalá in folio in 1530. He was born in 1460 and died in 1533.

Italian scholar. Two other of his countrymen, Antonio and Alessandro Geraldini,<sup>1</sup> were charged with instructing the young royal Princess afterward condemned to long years of sorrow and madness.

It was into such a Court and into an intellectual field where attempts at culture were already made, that Peter Martyr was introduced by his patron Mendoça. The field and the atmosphere were congenial and the young Italian found his new fortune smiling and promising. A chair in the University of Salamanca, the intellectual centre of Spain, was offered him, but he declined, contenting himself with lecturing before the students from time to time. In a letter written from Salamanca and dated September 28, 1488, our author describes his reception in the University and his first appearance before the students and professors. The students—the University held some two thousand students—were noted for their restiveness and the noisy methods they employed to interrupt uninteresting lecturers, so that a speaker might think twice before he ventured to speak once. It was the custom to exact an extemporaneous address upon a topic chosen at the moment by some one in the

<sup>1</sup> Antonio Geraldini, born in 1457, was a Papal legate and is said by his brother to have befriended Columbus. As Antonio died in 1488, if the assertion is true he must be numbered among the earliest of the few friends whom Columbus attracted to himself. In a letter of consolation addressed to the elder brother Alessandro, dated from his tent—he was then with the camp—August 23, 1489, Peter Martyr gives us an insight into his spiritual character such as we do not see often repeated throughout his correspondence. He has evidently but lately heard of the death of Antonio and he hastens to offer his sympathy. His reflections are pious, his expressions of Christian faith are simple and sincere, and throughout the epistle he reveals a nature uncorrupted by the cold teachings of the Pomponian Academy. He is a Christian minister speaking words of religious consolation to a fellow Christian.

"Cum itaque extra patriam, is est, in hæc peregrinatione, Deum tota mente coluerit, amaverit, adoraverit, ipsius Dei Justicia liqueferet, nisi nunc illum in proprio sinu super choros celestes gaudentem beatumque, Deus ipse foveret."

"And since, when he was still this side the vale, that is in this present world, he so loved and adored God with all his powers, Divine Justice would be a vain thing if now the great God himself did not enfold him rejoicing and happy within his own bosom above the celestial choir."

The brother, Alessandro Geraldini, was born in 1455 and died in 1524. Peter Martyr, in a letter to Antonio, speaks to him of Alessandro as "thy younger brother," but the biographers make the latter two years the elder of the two. He composed a work entitled *Itinerarium ad Regiones sub Æquinoctiali*, but which was not printed until 1631, when it was published at Rome with notes by Onuphrius Geraldinus. He declares himself to have been a warm friend of Columbus and his observations are often quoted by historians, but his voice is not regarded as authoritative nor his assertions as reliable. He was made Bishop of San Domingo and an epitaph found on a tomb in the Chapel of Christ, in the Cathedral of San Domingo, declares that he is buried there: *Hic Jacet R<sup>m</sup>us Alex. Geraldinivus, Patricius Rom. Eps. II. S. D. Obiit Anno Dni. MDXXIII., die VIII. Mensis Marci.*

## Christopher Columbus

audience. Between his friend Lucio Marineo Siculo and himself, a pleasant little comedy was prepared in which the former was to rise and propose that the young stranger should speak to them on the Second Satire of Juvenal. It fell out as planned and in the presence of the unsuspecting throng of students, before any embarrassing subject could be suggested, Lucio Marineo begged to offer as a theme fit to test the extemporaneous oratorical genius of their visitor, a certain piece of satirical writing found in the works of the Roman Juvenal. It was accordingly voted that this should be the subject of his discourse, and when Peter Martyr recovered from his surprise at being thus suddenly called to speak on an unexpected theme, he proceeded to enthral his audience with his eloquence and for more than an hour the orator held the wild students spellbound so that no cry was uttered, no foot moved. It was a triumph of genius, no less meritorious because it was prepared and not fashioned on the moment. Indeed there is no such thing as absolutely finished spontaneous oratory. We know of no orator, ancient or modern, who has ever sustained a long flight of consecutive eloquence on the moment's call. The appearance of improvisation may be there, but back of it is the studied speech and rounded phrase. Peter Martyr was thus successfully introduced into the student life of the Spanish University and the youths, with loud acclamations of delight and appreciation, bore him in triumph to the domicile of his host. It is doubtful if the standard of Latinity was as high as that of some European Universities, since we find Arias Barbosa saying,

"Vix duos tresne Salimanticæ inveniri qui latine loquerentur, plures qui hispane, quam plurimos, qui barbare: we find ourselves here at Salamanca where scarcely two or three speak the Latin tongue, many that speak Spanish, and a far greater number who speak a jargon."

And yet this one scene of University life discloses a classical atmosphere in which the elegances of the language must somewhat have flourished. This University was one of the four oldest in Europe and was already established in the year 1200. It has an interest for the American student since it was here in the late winter of 1486 or the early spring of 1487 that Columbus came to explain his theory and to advocate his project. The Court of the Spanish sovereigns was then holding in Sala-

manca.<sup>1</sup> Columbus himself was lodged in the convent of St. Stephen nearby. Nothing could be more natural than the consideration of this cosmographical question at that time and in that place. The presence of learned professors and an opportune moment counselled an examination of the plan and proposition submitted by Columbus. The world has been taught to believe that this conference resulted in hostility to Columbus and the rejection of his theories. Writers have confounded the results of two geographical congresses, this one held at Salamanca in the winter of 1486 and 1487, and one held at the Camp of Santa Fé in the latter part of the year 1491. So far as the University of Salamanca had lot or responsibility in deciding the feasibility of the project of Columbus, it was favourable and not hostile. Diego de Deza, a priest of the Order of Saint Dominic, was at that time Professor of Theology in the University of Salamanca and tutor of the Spanish Prince. This powerful priest warmly approved the project of Columbus. There never has been found in the records of the University any allusion to this conference nor is there any contemporaneous assertion that the conference was purely a University affair.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Memorial ó Registro breve de los lugares donde el Rey y Reyna Católicos estuvieron cada año desde el de MCDLXVIII.*, in MSS. Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, No. 6964, folio 121, and also printed in the Ribadeneyra Collection.

<sup>2</sup> Washington Irving has relied upon the account of this Council as given by Antonio de Remesal in his *Historia de la Provincia de S. Vincente de Chiapa*, published at Madrid in 1619, 133 years after the event described. The eminent American historian has assumed that the account of this Council given by Ferdinand Columbus in his *Historie* printed in Italian at Venice in 1571, referred to the hearing accorded his father in Salamanca. The *Historie* does not mention Salamanca nor the year in which the Council was held. But it does contain a curious explanation of the possible reason why the project of Columbus was not more warmly advocated. He says:

"Ma, percioche la cosa douea trattarsi più con fondamento di dottrina, che con parole, o fauori, le altezze loro la commisero al Prior di Prado, che poi fu Arcieuescovo di Granata, commandogli, che insieme con gl' intendenti della Cosmografia s'informassero di cio, a pieno & poi gli riferissero quel, che sentissero. Ma percioche in quei tempi non vi erano tanti Cosmografi, quanti son' hora, coloro, che si ridussero, non intendeuano quel, che doueuano, ne lo Ammiraglio si volea lasciar tanto intendere, che gli auuenisse quel, che in Portogallo gli auenne, & gli rubassero la benedittione."

"But since the matter was to be treated more with a foundation of knowledge than with words or favours, their Highnesses entrusted it to the Prior of Prado, who was afterwards Archbishop of Granada, commanding him, together with the cosmographers, to inform themselves fully in regard to it, and then relate to them [their Highnesses] what they thought. But as in those times there were not as many cosmographers as there are now, those who were assembled did not understand what they ought, neither did the Admiral desire to allow them to understand as much, since what befell him in Portugal might befall him here and they would rob him of the benefits" [of his ideas].

One ought not to reflect upon the intelligence of a jury in not supporting a party to a contention when that party deliberately withholds its case.

## CHAPTER III

### SOLDIER AND DIPLOMAT

PETER MARTYR interrupted his professional life to bear the sword and shield of Mars, and two years after his coming into Spain he was present at the siege of Baza, and in his correspondence relates glowing particulars of that famous conflict with the Moslem rulers and the glorious triumph of the Christian soldiery. He paints with his pen the irresistible advance of the 80,000 Christian troops, the spirited defence of the dark-skinned Moors, the brilliant escort of the Queen, the bravery of the Spanish chivalry, the heroism of the Moslems yielding only to the will of Allah, the humble devotion of El Zagal, the Moorish Prince, and the magnanimity of Ferdinand, the Spanish King.

Our versatile author went from the field of battle back to his library and lecturer's desk, and then turned his talents towards diplomacy. In 1497 he was selected to go upon a diplomatic mission to Bohemia and although the order was recalled and the journey abandoned, his mind was given to international matters of concern and dispute. In 1501 his great opportunity came and he was sent upon an Embassy to Egypt. For several years, indeed since long before the siege of Granada, the Sultan of Egypt had threatened the destruction of the sacred sepulchre. Indeed, when one considers the defeat and humiliation of the Moors, the brothers in faith with the sovereign of Egypt, one wonders at the moderation of the latter and his failure to take quick and terrible revenge, for the destruction of the Christian Mecca would have astounded and horrified not Spain and Rome alone, but all Christendom.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We have stood on the spot which the Christian world venerates as the sepulchre of the Saviour and we have marvelled at the moderation of the Mohammedan in



But now, after many years, rumours of trouble broke out afresh, and the Spanish sovereigns resolved to send an accomplished and dignified Ambassador to the Egyptian Court to bring about a peaceable understanding between the two nations. On August 14, 1501, Peter Martyr set out from Granada. Dominicus Pisanus, the Venetian Ambassador in Spain, strongly advised his making the journey by land, as the sea at that time was infested with pirates. Following this advice, Peter Martyr made his way to Barcelona and from there followed the coast of the Mediterranean to France. On September 2, 1501, he dates a letter from the little town of Salsas, situated near the frontier and the strategic key to the mountain passes. He travelled along the shores of the Gulf of Lyons, through the maritime Alps, over the Ligurian coast, traversing Italy from Genoa nearly to the Adriatic. The land had its perils as well as the sea, not merely the discomforts of rough roads and ill lodgings, but in the north of Spain and the south of France there raged a dangerous plague more terrifying than the pirates. Escaping this and other land hazards, he came safe and sound, as he says, to Padua on the twenty-ninth day of September. Here he sold his beasts of burden for a small sum and took boat for Venice, which he reached in the middle of the night of the last day of September, having been seven and forty days on the journey. When his eyes open on the following morning he says he has truly entered a city wonderful as a dream,—*urbem miraculo parcm.*<sup>1</sup> He marvels at the houses built not on streets but water-ways, and at the boats swiftly gliding along the canals. He visits the churches and palaces. He talks with the Venetians about their government, the choice of their Council, the power of the Doge, the method of building fortifications, the arsenal, the ships both of the sea and of the city. He studies their commerce and marks the commodities, the cloths, the spices, the treasures which their tireless ships bring back to them from the Eastern countries. His time is not all taken in sight-seeing. He has a mission to perform. Venice

preserving it all these centuries. It has been the object of warfare for ages between the followers of Christ and the followers of Mahomet. And yet with an exhibition of virtue unmatched in their antagonists there has scarcely been marred a stone of that sacred place. Their conduct shines with a heavenly light when contrasted with the treatment of the Jews by the Christians.

<sup>1</sup> Epistola CXXIX.

was in a sense bound to France by promise and by treaty. He is introduced to the Senate, and by all his arts and the powers of his eloquence he beseeches the Republic to side with his sovereigns against Louis XII. in the quarrel which is pending and the conflict which is impending. The Venetians at least were neutral and now and then, as under the walls of Trani, provided a fair duelling ground to the Spaniards and the French. It was here the Chevalier Bayard and one companion held seven Spaniards until night gave a mutual victory.

Time passes and he must hasten on his way. Across the Gulf of Venice, at Pola, in Istria, a fleet of eight galeaceæ<sup>1</sup> had its sails spread for a southern journey through the Mediterranean to Alexandria. In one of these vessels Peter Martyr embarked, a few days only after his arrival in Venice. Storms, contrary winds, and heavy seas followed their way through the waters of the Adriatic and Ionian seas. At Zara, on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, they were compelled to put into harbour by the force of the winds, and an opportunity was given our author to visit the tomb of the prophet Simeon and to behold the body preserved, it was alleged, without the embalming process. Passing by the islands of Greece they reached Candia on the 5th of December. Here the traveller visited the labyrinth of Minos, the ruins of which he found in the interior of the island, some twenty-five miles from the city of Candia. Leaving Candia on December 17, 1501, and turning their prows to the south they arrived at Alexandria on the twenty-third day of the month. Here he becomes the guest of the Spanish consul Philippo de Paredes, and while he indulges in a reverie over the past glories of the home of the Ptolemies, his arrival produces discord and dispute in the Egyptian Court.<sup>2</sup> Quansou Ghoury, one of the few rulers in this world's history who have

<sup>1</sup> The galeazza was a great double galley, armed and built for carrying much merchandise. Venice, at this time, had some 300 sea-going vessels with 8000 sailors, 3000 smaller boats with 17,000 men, while her fleet of 45 great galleys carried no fewer than 11,000 men. Her population then exceeded that of to-day and the whole world acknowledged her to be the centre of commercial interests. But she was even then conscious that her supremacy was threatened and that the new route to the Indies, discovered by the Portuguese, was destined to divert a great part of her valuable commerce.

<sup>2</sup> He exclaimed: "Proh dolor! illustrem, maximam, habitatoribus repertissimam, pulcherrimam opulentissimamque quondam Ptolemæarum sedem Alexandriam collapsam, dirutam majore ex parte desertam, miscrando spectaculo deploravi": "Alas, I have grieved over the unhappy spectacle of this Alexandria, this city illustrious,

ascended a throne protesting against the honour, was inclined to receive the Spanish Ambassador with a degree of cordiality, but the Spanish treatment of his fellow worshippers, the Moors, and the burning of the Egyptian fleet<sup>1</sup> at Calicut by the Portuguese, had so embittered the Mamelukes and the faction in power that for a time the Ambassador despaired not only of a written safe-conduct being given him but of his life itself. Under the protection of two Mamelukes and accompanied by all the Spanish merchantmen he could find, he travels from Alexandria to Rosette, where he takes boat up the Nile.

vast and populous, beautiful and rich, once the home of the Ptolemaic Kings, now dismantled and for the most part deserted."

The soul of this Italian scholar might well cry out against the carelessness which suffered 750,000 precious manuscripts to be destroyed by fire in the time of Julius Cæsar and the vandalism with which the Khalif Omar in the year 641 commanded the second library to be burned. It is said that the 300,000 manuscripts then destroyed heated the 4000 public baths of Alexandria for the period of six months. A philosopher of the time, Philoponus, ventured to protest, when there came the well-known answer of the Khalif, the very precipitate of ignorance and fanaticism: "If these writings of the Greeks agree with the book of God, they are useless and need not be preserved; if they disagree, they are pernicious and ought to be destroyed."

<sup>1</sup>It is possible that the reference to burning the Egyptian fleet, found in Peter Martyr's letter No. 185, is to be relegated to Vasco da Gama's second voyage and to the month of October, 1502.

## CHAPTER IV

### BABYLON ON THE NILE

IN the night of January 31, 1502, Peter Martyr draws up his boat at the Bûlâk side of Cairo, the Egyptian Babylon as it was called to distinguish it from the great Syrian capital. With the coming of the day there appears on the shore to speak with him a converted Spaniard, a native of Montoblanc, near Valencia, Ludovicus Batensis by name, who had become an important man among the Egyptians, adopting their faith and customs and changing his name to Tangaribardinus. He takes the Ambassador under the shelter of his wing, bearing him away to his own palace and testifying in every way his real attachment to the Spanish sovereigns. Together they mount to the citadel, passing the silent but frowning groups of Mamelukes. In the third court upon a high throne richly carpeted, they behold Quansou Ghoury, the Sultan of Egypt. Paulus Jovius, in his *Elogia*, has given us an engraved portrait of this remarkable man and it might have been drawn from the description made by Peter Martyr.<sup>1</sup> The interview was formal. It was devoted more to ceremony than to diplomatic considerations. Out of compliment to the Spanish sovereigns, their Ambassador was not required to prostrate himself but was permitted to be seated in the sacred presence. The journey of a Christian envoy to and from the palace and the reception

<sup>1</sup> "Is est vir natus annos circiter quinque & quinquaginta, patrio more barbatus, nec densa tamen aut oblonga nimium barba, vultu jucundo, facie pingui suffuscula, aspectu ferox aliquantulum, oculis reductis, parvis, gravi motu, statura, uti à sedente colligere potui, plusque mediocri": "He is a man about fifty-five years of age, wearing a beard after the manner of his country, though it is neither thick nor bushy, of a pleasing countenance, of an aspect somewhat spirited, with a rich brown complexion, eyes small and set well back in the head, sedate in his movements, of a stature, so far as I could judge from where I sat, rather above the medium."

[PETER MARTYR.]

accorded him aroused intense rage among the Mamelukes, and this sentiment was easily communicated to the populace until a revolt was in the air. The Sunday following had been fixed upon for another audience when would be discussed the mission on which our author had ventured so far from Spain, but when Sunday came the popular feeling compelled a private audience and he was conducted early in the morning and secretly to the royal apartments. Here the Sultan and Peter Martyr harangued each other through the mouth of an interpreter, the former reproaching the Spaniards for taking Granada and Peter Martyr declaring that the King only had his own again. Quansou Ghoury knew that his own throne was none too stable and that there were other nations with covetous eyes turned on his country and on Syria. His imagination saw a Spanish fleet coming to his rescue whenever a foreign foe landed on his territory or whenever the low rumble of domestic revolt developed into the sounding of arms. The alert Ambassador read his thoughts:

*"Aperito igitur mentis oculos, serenissime imperator, et sortem, quæ sese tibi obtulit, opportunam apprehendito libertiquæ animo ea perficito, quæ mei reges exoptant: et forte hæc sedes tua quæ subtili vitro fragilior est in adamantinum robur ex hoc nostro commercio convertetur": "Open then the eyes of thy soul, mighty ruler, and take advantage of this opportunity which fortune and the good-will of my sovereigns offer thee, and perchance this throne of thine, more fragile than brittle glass, may be hardened into adamant under our alliance."*

Quansou Ghoury wished to be convinced and this last appeal made it easy for him to yield. Calling the Mamelukes to an assembly, the Sultan explained the advantage of an alliance with the Spanish nation, and soon the chiefs adopted his opinion, and notaries were sent to Peter Martyr to put in writing the solemn promise of the Sultan to protect the lives and property of the Christians within his realms, the particular protection of the religious order established in their monastery on Mount Zion, the right to repair and rebuild the sacred temples and churches in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, in Beyrout and Ramleh. Throughout the Holy Land the reliques of the Hebrews and the Christians were to be respected and maintained inviolable. Surely this was a great ambassadorial triumph. The States of Genoa and Venice never obtained such concessions

nor ever made so good a peace. Now the Spanish orator might walk abroad by day and view the ancient city without molestation. Accordingly in the early hours of the morning on Tuesday, February 7, 1502, Peter Martyr and his companions pass out of the sleeping city of Cairo, past Bûlâk and Gizeh, making their way through the palm trees which hide from their view the coming wonders, finally to emerge on the plain and to behold in the light of the early sun the mighty pyramids of Egypt. There comes to his mind a descriptive verse of the poet Martial, who, he reminds the sovereigns, was a Spaniard from Baubola on the river Xalon. He does not quote the verse, but it was doubtless the opening lines of the *Spectacula*:

" Barbara pyramidum sileat miracula Memphis:  
Assyrius ' jactet nec Babylona labor."

" Let barbarian Memphis keep silence on the wonders of her Pyramids and let not Assyrian toil vaunt its Babylon."

Our author sends his companions to mount the largest pyramid while he himself goes around about the monstrous pile. He measures one of its four sides by pacing and finds it is equal to 315 of his own steps.<sup>2</sup> He evidently had read his *Herodotus* and *Pliny* and partially accepted the story of the Great Pyramid having taken twenty years and the employment of more than 300,000 men in its construction.<sup>3</sup> He inquires if the pyramid be solid or hollow and speculates as to what may be contained within its silent depths.<sup>4</sup> The Egyp-

<sup>1</sup> The adjective *Assiduus* appears in the edition printed at Milan in 1478 by Philippus de Lauania. The reading *Assyrius* is accepted by Andreas Aleiatus, Junius, and Scotus. This latter appears to us the better, as it differentiates between the Egyptian Babylon and the Assyrian metropolis, in which latter city was another of the wonders of the world, the Hanging Gardens.

<sup>2</sup> *Ex pede Herculem* and we can reckon that since the sides of the pyramid measure each 755 English feet, the passus of Peter Martyr was a trifle less than 29 inches and thus we construct a figure a little above the medium stature.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus relates that in the construction of the Great Pyramid 100,000 men worked in one party at a time, for three months, and then were relieved by another party of 100,000 men for three months, these again being relieved by another lot of 100,000 for the same period, giving way in turn to the first lot. But Peter Martyr places the number employed at 20,000. He also speaks of the bread, onions, and leeks consumed, a story first reported by Herodotus from an inscription which once existed on the exterior of the pyramid and which gave the exact sums expended in supplying the workmen with food.

<sup>4</sup> The Gizeh pyramids were opened by the Persians in the fourth or fifth century before the Christian era and when Egypt became a Roman province it is more than likely that they were again entered. The Great Pyramid was opened by the Khalif

tians tell him that long ago a Moor effected an entrance on the south-east side and about midway up its side. Into this passage-way, then still existing, Peter Martyr sends some of his companions and they find a chamber which would seem to be the famous room of the sarcophagus. Two others are found, the chambers of the King and Queen. The description does not indicate the entrance known and used to-day. Every pyramid so far opened has its entrance facing the north, and that leading into the Great Pyramid is about forty-five feet from the ground. If the old entrance had been half way to the top it would have been at a height of some 230 or 240 feet, making it impossible to reach the tomb of the sarcophagus by an inclined passage without steps. After having examined the pyramid he was conducted to the Sphinx, which he describes as the body or trunk of a marble colossus lying on its breast, with its ears and nose destroyed by the ravages of time. He measured its head and found it to be fifty-eight passūs in circumference. No allusion is made to its name or the meaning of the monument and in several respects his account is inaccurate. On the top of the pyramid they found a stone platform capacious enough to hold thirty men. Nevertheless the description by Peter Martyr of his visit to the Gizeh pyramids is not the least interesting which travellers have given us of those marvellous places of ancient burial. Ingenious theories have been suggested to account for their erection, but as they are found only in cemeteries, we believe with Peter Martyr and with the old historians, *Pyramides sepulchralia veterum habitacula fuisse legitur.*

Another excursion is undertaken the following morning, Wednesday, February 8, 1502, to Matariyyeh and Heliopolis. At Matariyyeh he saw the place where it was said the Holy Family rested when they came into Egypt in the time of Herod. He saw also an orchard of balsam trees. These trees, according to legend, were watered from the well in which the Virgin Mary washed the clothes of our Lord. The precious oil from these balsams had been used in Christian ceremonies and the

Mâmûn in the ninth century (A.D. 813-833) only to find that others had entered it before. It is said that he discovered treasures. In the twelfth century Melik El-Kamil set himself the task of destroying entirely the third pyramid at Gizeh, but when months had passed the result of his labours was one alone of its four sides stripped of its covering.

## Christopher Columbus

antiquarian in Peter Martyr is now merged in the ecclesiastic as he listens to what is told him of its properties. These balsams no longer exist in Egypt. They were said to grow nowhere else than in Egypt and the last of them died in the year 1615.<sup>1</sup> Our author also stood under the tree which is said to have sheltered the Holy Family and which was also called the tree of Pharaoh. *Ea vero est quæ à nostris Sicomorus<sup>2</sup> dicitur, terræ illius arbor peculiaris.* Peter Martyr thought it like a large fig tree and he preserved for the sovereigns three dried specimens of its fruit. Here mass was said by the guardians of Mount Zion—of the Order of St. Francis—who had accompanied the Ambassador. On February 21, 1502, Peter Martyr had his third and farewell interview with Quansou Ghoury. His reception by the Sultan, his Court, and the populace differed greatly from his first introduction. Now there were no honours too great to pay him who represented their ally King Ferdinand. He was given a blue silk robe,<sup>3</sup> embroidered with gold in a marvellous fashion and bearing Arabic letters interwoven. The Sultan then ordered his courtiers to accompany the Ambassador wearing his robe through the city to his dwelling-place. He was brought also to the great Mohammedan cemetery, where was extended him the courtesy, then almost unknown as paid to a Christian, of entering the sacred enclosure. It was a feast day among the followers of Mahomet and all the world of the Prophet was present. What a contrast between his secret travels at night through the Egyptian Babylon, fearing lest an enraged mob would destroy him and his European companions,

<sup>1</sup> The balsam tree of this variety is said to have been scarcely above a cubit high with two barks, the outer red and fine, the inner green and thick. The latter, when macerated in the mouth left an oily taste and an aromatic odour. When incisions were made through both barks a liquid flowed from them, and this was carefully collected and distributed among the churches, a single drop qualifying the water used in the ceremony of baptism. The legend as reported and believed by the common people was that when the Virgin washed the linen of the Divine Infant the waters imparted to the trees around about the healing and blessed properties of the balm.

<sup>2</sup> There is to-day at this same spot a grand old sycamore tree which the guardians of the place preserve as a source of no little revenue to them, but Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge declares it to have been planted sometime toward the end of the seventeenth century.

<sup>3</sup> The Spanish historian, Juan de Mariana, says, in speaking of this embassy of Peter Martyr:

"He did his message discreetly and obtained of the Sultan all he desired . . . and at his return was made Dean of Granada, where he afterwards died and ordered that he should be buried sitting on a chair with a *Casula* or vestment made of a rich silk the Sultan gave him."



and the triumphal procession escorting the richly robed Christian Ambassador amid the hallowed sepulchres of the departed faithful! Beneath the blue robe there walked a cunning Italian diplomatist and he deserved his triumph.

On February 27, 1502, the Ambassador embarked upon the Nile for his return journey, reaching Alexandria on the fourth day of March. He remained in the city of the Ptolemies until the twenty-second day of April, when he took ship, again embarking upon a vessel of the kind called galeacea. Venice was reached on the last day of May and the Ambassador was again in Europe and among Italian friends. He resumed his epistolary habits and dated some of his letters *Ex Urbe Aquis Circumsepta*. He was in Milan in the latter part of June and on the ninth of August he was once more in Spain writing from Saragossa in Aragon. Thus ended the journey of Peter Martyr, the Ambassador, and thus had success crowned his labours. He made a treaty in which his master, the Spanish King, gave nothing and received everything. The crusade which Christopher Columbus dreamed of organising, equipping it at his own expense from the revenues of his office and lands in the New World, was now no longer needed. Christendom had obtained the assurance of the Mohammedan ruler that the Holy Sepulchre and its worshippers should be henceforth safe and secure. A European fleet in the Nile and a European army on the shore might have wrung from an angry but conquered Sultan the promise of future protection. A single Spanish Ambassador, an adopted son, alone but for a few unknown merchants, asks audience of the ruler of Egypt and Syria and lo! the suit is granted and the protection is assured. Peace had a mighty victory. The blue robe with its silken texture given by the Sultan symbolised harmony and pacification. A mailed coat and a jangling scabbard might not have obtained concessions half so good. While we have most to do with Peter Martyr, the Historian, we must be permitted to inscribe our admiration for Peter Martyr, the Ambassador.

## CHAPTER V

### THE DEAD QUEEN AND THE MAD PRINCESS

Two months after his return to Spain, Peter Martyr was made tutor in the liberal arts for the young nobility,—*Maestro de los caballeros de su corte en las artes liberales*. His salary was thirty thousand maravedis, about one hundred and eighty-five dollars, a ridiculous remuneration, but we must remember that the money of that day had nearly twelve times the purchasing power of to-day, and the salary probably represented but one of many honorariums. It was an honourable office, Lucio Marineo having been his immediate predecessor. Thus he was connected still more closely with the Court.

When Queen Isabella died he was one of the funeral escort bearing her remains to the city of Granada from Medina del Campo, where she had breathed her last on November 22, 1504.<sup>1</sup> This was a memorable journey. From the day the cortège left Medina del Campo, the day after the Queen's death, storms beat upon them and the hostile elements seemed to bar their way. The rains fell and the winds blew with such violence that the lives of the little cavalcade were constantly imperilled.

<sup>1</sup>This was in accordance with the desire expressed in her will. "Let my body be interred in the monastery of San Francisco which is in the Alhambra of the city of Granada, in a low sepulchre, without any monument except a plain stone, with the inscription cut on it. But I desire and command, that if the King, my Lord, should choose a sepulchre in any church or monastery in any other part or place of these, my kingdoms, my body be transported thither, and buried beside the body of his Highness."

The bodies of the King and Queen sleep side by side in the royal chapel of the Cathedral of Granada. The speedy marriage of King Ferdinand with Germaine de Foix has served to cut deeper into the monument of Isabella the story of her faithful love for the King, her Lord.

Historians generally give November 26, 1504, as the day of the Queen's death, but we have followed Peter Martyr, who was in the Court at the time.

Streams which ordinarily were mere threads or perhaps most often almost dry, now swelled themselves to the volume of the Tagus. The heavens opened—*vastus calorū hiatus*—pouring forth veritable floods. All gates save that of pity were loosened of their fastenings. The beasts of burden were exhausted and fell by the wayside. The horsemen driven into deep ditches scarcely extricated themselves. There was never a mile in which they did not force themselves past threatening death. The sun never shone by day and the night knew not the stars. Altogether Peter Martyr describes it as a journey more full of peril and horrible fears than the entire way followed by him from Granada to Venice and thence to the Egyptian Babylon. It was on Christmas Day<sup>1</sup> when the tired escort rode into the city of Granada and deposited the body of Queen Isabella in its grave.

It was the purpose of Peter Martyr to return soon to the Court, but it was some time before his purpose was fulfilled. On April 15, 1505, he writes to Michael Perez Almazan, then Secretary of State, that at his request he will again repair to the Court, and on May 14, he is again with the King and the Court in Segovia. He finds the political complications most interesting and exciting. King Ferdinand has had probated the will of the Queen, before the Cortes and in the presence of the people. By this the Princess Joanna and her husband, Philip of Burgundy, were made the legitimate rulers of Castile; but if the Princess should develop any incapacity King Ferdinand should act as Regent. This strange being, the Princess Joanna, was adjudged to be already in that state of irresponsibility contemplated in the will, and accordingly the Cortes declared the King Regent of Castile. The Archduke, Philip of Burgundy, had his own party especially strong among the Castilian nobility, and by its adherents he was induced to proclaim himself the only qualified governor for the kingdom of Castile. Austria was using its influence for Philip, the son of the Emperor Maximilian. France under Louis XII. was only too glad to see clouds of revolt rolling down on the throne of

<sup>1</sup>Historians again give December 18 as the day when the funeral cortège arrived in Granada. It was the habit of our author to sit himself down to write directly he arrived at a suitable place and to describe events while they were still fresh in his mind. On December 25, 1504, he wrote to the Prince Ferdinand an account of his journey begun, as he says, on November 23 and then just completed.

her old enemy Ferdinand, and yet the French King could not look with entire pleasure on the prospect of Philip eventually ruling over a rich and united Spain, with her possessions in a new world, as well as over Austria, Burgundy, Flanders, and the Empire. The picture glowed with too much colour. Louis had a sister married to Jean de Foix of Narbonne, and the couple had a daughter Germaine, young and attractive. By espousing her, Ferdinand would have transferred to his title the claim of France to the kingdom of Naples, which kingdom had for years been a source of dispute and disquietude to the Spanish crown. Envoys and plenipotentiaries were accordingly sent to Louis by Ferdinand, and a treaty was signed at Blois, October 12, 1505, which included this disposition of the dispute between France and Spain. The following month, November 24, 1505, at Salamanca, an agreement was made between Ferdinand and Philip, by which Castile was to be governed jointly by the King on the one hand and Joanna and Philip on the other, but by which one half the revenues should go to Ferdinand. The following spring, March 18, 1506, Ferdinand was married to Germaine de Foix, in Dueñas, the very town from which thirty years before he had gone forth to marry Isabella. Of all these events, if not in shaping them, certainly in recording them, Peter Martyr was an important part. No history of Spain at the beginning of the sixteenth century can be written which omits his relation of the public affairs of Spain and the private affairs of Ferdinand. Day by day, to the Archbishop of Granada, to Count Tendilla, Pomponius Lætus, Michael Perez, and others, are these events described with an honest attempt to tell the truth about men and about things. Peter Martyr admired the King and always wrote of him with intense loyalty. At the same time he permitted himself to criticise his public and private conduct with much freedom.

Of all the mortals who walked on the high places of the world at the beginning of the sixteenth century none was quite so strange a being as Joanna, second<sup>1</sup> daughter of Ferdinand

<sup>1</sup> The oldest daughter Isabella had been affianced when three years old to the Dauphin of France, afterwards Charles VIII. She was, however, married in 1492, to Alonzo, Prince of Portugal, a youth of great promise, but who died a few months after his marriage, leaving a most unhappy and unfortunate widow. For international reasons she married Emanuel, soon after his succession to the crown of Portugal. This Prince, on coming to the throne, had evinced pity and consideration for the

and Isabella and wife of Philip, son of Maximilian, Emperor of Germany.<sup>1</sup> The French gave her husband the name of Philippe le Beau. The wife has gone down into history as Jeanne la Folle. Peter Martyr had known the Princess in her girlhood. He had watched her mind develop under her tutors and the illustrious guardians of her mental forces. He had seen her in her devotional exercises and had reports of her spiritual growth under the guidance of Fernand de Talavera, the Archbishop of Granada. He had witnessed her departure on August 22, 1496, for Flanders, where she was to meet her affianced husband, a Prince Charming to an unwedded Princess, but a Prince destined to make of his bride a jealous and unhappy wife. Nowhere does Peter Martyr speak of the appearance in her extreme youth of the idiosyncrasies which developed later into a form not far removed from positive madness. Like the good Spaniards themselves, Peter Martyr rejoiced in the man child born to Philip and Joanna at Ghent on the twenty-fourth day of February in the year one thousand and five hundred. This Prince was destined in the person of Charles V. to become one of the most powerful of kings and emperors. To his mother his arrival was of no more account than that it served to keep her husband nearer her for a time. Her only affection was for Philippe le Beau. It was an absorbing passion, demonstrated publicly, until, by its heat, it exasperated Philip, and made

Jews who had fled into Portugal when the sovereigns expelled them from Spain in 1492. He now issued a proclamation restoring to liberty all of that people who had been enslaved in his dominions. Isabella demanded as the price of her hand the expulsion of the Jews from Portugal, and love outweighed justice. Accordingly this unhappy people fled from Portugal as, a few years before, from Spain. Isabella died soon after her marriage and her sister Doña Maria sat upon her throne.

<sup>1</sup> The Princess Joanna was the second daughter and third child of Ferdinand and Isabella and was born in the city of Toledo, November 6, 1479.

The peripatetic character of the Court of Spain is illustrated in the birthplaces of the royal children. The Princess Isabella, the eldest daughter and the first-born, saw the light of day on October 1, 1470, in Dueñas. The only son, Juan, Prince of the Asturias, was born June 30, 1478, in Seville. Joanna was born in Toledo, November 6, 1470. Three years later the Princess Doña Maria was born in Cordova. The Princess Catherine, the last of the children and the future Queen of England, was born in Alcala, December 5, 1488. A strange fatality seemed to follow these daughters. All were married and all were unhappy in their domestic relations.

In his Letter No. CCL. to Pomponius Latus, and dated from Ocana, February 14, 1499, Peter Martyr says:

"Siderum curfus emulatur hæc noſtra curia, Pomponi, perpetuo namq; in motu eſt alias prope diem terras (vñ fertur) viſemus."

"Our Court, Pomponius, is like the courſes of the ſtars, for it is in conſtant motion. Soon, they ſay, we go into other quarters."

## Christopher Columbus

him ridiculous in the eyes of the world. In January, 1502, Philip and Joanna went into Spain, where they were received as the future sovereigns by the Cortes of Aragon and Castile. The dull ceremonial life of the Spanish Court was not inviting to the Austrian Prince and a few months were enough to content him with his visit. Then, too, there seemed to be an epidemic of fever seizing his followers, who from change of climate and food were peculiarly susceptible to its power. In September of that year, disregarding the appeals of his wife and of her royal father and mother, Philip went back into Flanders, passing through France. Joanna soon after gave birth to her second son, Ferdinand, and from that time Peter Martyr records the unmistakable exhibition of a disordered mind. Her grandmother, Isabella, the wife of John II. of Castile, had in her time showed a demented condition and her mental disturbance may have passed over Isabella, her daughter, to reappear in Joanna, her granddaughter. Our faithful chronicler, Peter Martyr, minutely records her career after Philip's death, when she wanders about the country by night with the body of her husband, refusing to enter cities or houses and sometimes declining even to dismount from her horse lest she be made a prisoner, opening the coffin from time to time to assure her doubting mind of the presence of the corpse, exhibiting the dreadful power of her jealousy by forbidding women to approach within a certain distance of her dead husband, finally resting at Tordesillas on the Douro, where a tomb was made for the remains of Philippe le Beau and where for fifty dreary years a living grave was found for Jeanne la Folle.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There have been writers who regard Joanna as sane in mind and as a martyr to religion. They declare that she placed herself in secret rebellion to the Church. When in Flanders, instead of accepting the confessors assigned her by her mother, she chose her own. The religious movement under the German reformers had not yet begun, but here and there, even in Spain, doubt and discontent were troubling the souls of many. If Joanna had ever been in real rebellion against the Church, the world would have known it. Men and women who are big enough to protest at the established orders of State or Church are big enough to record their protest in loud and piercing tones that reach down the ages. If Joanna was sane enough to think for herself, she was sane enough to know that there never was a day from that when Peter Martyr started with her mother's body from Medina del Campo until her own death in 1555 when a blast upon her bugle would not have rallied around her the nobles and people of Castile ready to effect her release and enforce her will.

## CHAPTER VI

### TRANQUIL YEARS

ANOTHER decade of years passes and now in the opening years of the reign of a new monarch, Peter Martyr finds a series of events unrolling themselves worthy of his facile pen. Charles the First of Castile and the Fifth of that name of Austria and the Empire, was entering upon his inheritance and to him our author paid an honest court. The character of Ximénès, a cardinal in sandals, a warrior without a sword, a Crassus in a monk's gown, did not appeal to him and he does not hesitate to indulge in criticising him and in railing at his work. The magnificent generosity of the Cardinal and his splendid contribution to learning and the arts in establishing the University at Alcala afford the satirist an item for ridicule.<sup>1</sup> During the regency, the aged Cardinal suppressed a large number of the pensions which were eating up the resources of the kingdom, but it is on record that he wrote to Charles suggesting the continued payment of that set down to Peter Martyr. There does not appear to have been any personal animosity against the great statesman. The late King himself had not been over-fond of the Cardinal and our author had perhaps something of his prejudices.

Spain under Charles had for King a ruler whom its people only shared. He belonged also to the people of Flanders and when the Spaniards called him to come to them he turned reluctantly from Gand and Bruges.

<sup>1</sup> *Crepidatus hic noster Cardinalis Hispanus, cujus animus in nostræ legis aversos pronus semper fuit, stimulis Regem agitavit, licet ejus rei cupidum, ut in oranum urbem, quandoquidem arcem ejus Mazalchibir, & magnum portum possidemus, provincia caparetur. Ad id se pecunias mutuaturum obtulit est namque uti nostri, crasso Romano pecuniosior, quia thesauris cogendis inhiaverit.*—Epistola CCCXIII.

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Spain was soon to become a province of an empire. Just now she was in sore trouble. The people were burdened with taxes and between them and the order of nobles was an implacable feud. Then there arose a brotherhood of men called Germanada or Comuneros, and a revolt was spread throughout a large portion of the kingdom. City after city, Segovia, Zamora, Madrid, Toledo, Burgos the rich, Medina del Campo, the home of the merchants, all raised the standard of insurrection. Charles had made the Cardinal Adrian<sup>1</sup> his Regent and this vice-ruler found himself in Valladolid without money or men, without power or authority. Peter Martyr narrates this civil war with fairness and spirit. He recognises the offence of revolution, the wildness of mob-rule, and the danger to the ship of state when the pilot is thrown overboard and inexperienced hands are upon the tiller. But he also realises the sufferings of the masses, the wrongs inflicted upon the many by the few, on the common people by the nobles, and he would fain be the means of restoring peace to his adopted land. He proposes an arbiter. Who can be so fair and just as the Sovereign Pontiff, father alike of king and peasant, noble and plebeian? The Apostolic Nuncio, Vianesi Albergati, undertook his pacificatory labours. He wrote a letter to the rebels or Junteros, and as the letter was in Latin Peter Martyr went before the Junta and translated it into pure Castilian. Thus we see our author intimate with the young King and future Emperor as he had been with his royal grandfather, influential at Rome so that the Pope at his instance empowers his Nuncio to arbitrate a bitter national quarrel, an acceptable companion among the nobility, and *persona grata* to the associated insurrectionists. His situation was like that of a modern reporter of the press who passes freely from army to army and from the Court to the barricades. The Papal Nuncio was a man of nervous temperament and failed in his undertaking, and the battle of Villalar decided the defeat of the rebellious Commu-

<sup>1</sup> Adrian, son of Florentius Boyens, was a native of Utrecht. He was educated at the Pope's College at Louvain and it is said of him that he studied and read the night through by the dim light of the church lamp which was kept constantly alight. Maximilian made him tutor to his grandson Charles, and the latter, when he became Emperor, made him his Regent in Spain, and when Leo X. died, influenced a sufficient number of the members to have him selected as Pope by the Sacred Conclave, the election occurring on January 9, 1522. Adrian had never been in Italy, it is said, until he took possession of St. Peter's chair on August 30, 1522.



neros. But the effort for peace gives us a pleasing picture of our author.

When Adrian of Utrecht, the Cardinal Bishop of Tortosa, was elected Pope, we can imagine the hurried whispers of ambition to the ears of Peter Martyr. Was there any preferment to which he might not reach? Here was a new Pope, not only his warm personal friend but one not born an Italian and not yet identified with Italian interests, in no way pledged to a particular distribution of fortune and of place. At heart Peter Martyr was still a son of Italy. Like many men who in their middle life and old age turn their thoughts back to the scenes of their youth, he thought of Arona and the beautiful Lake Maggiore, and visions of official or churchly station near his old home beckoned his fancy across the mountains to the land of his birth. The prospect was inviting. The clouds in the evening sky as he sat in his garden at Valladolid were tinted by the setting sun with colours now purple like the robe of a bishop, now red like the hat of a cardinal. Alas! the preferment was like the clouds, thin, vapoury, fleeting. He could not say he had been neglected. We have already seen that he was appointed on December 15, 1502, to be preceptor in the liberal arts to the youth of the Court. A few years after he was made Prior of the Cathedral of Granada and rents from a rich abbey in Jamaica were bestowed upon him.<sup>1</sup> In 1507 he was given the living of Renera which brought to him sixty gold ducats per year. Again in 1516 he was presented with the benefice of the parish of Lorca in the diocese of Carthagea. His preferment did not depend on the Queen, for after her death he was made Apostolic Protonotary and member of the Council of the Indies, as is seen in the epistle on the verso of the title-

<sup>1</sup> These revenues, as we shall see in his letter dated from Toledo, June 13, 1525, almost his last letter, were dedicated to the building of a stone church in the town of Seville in the island of Jamaica. Over the door of this church there was once this sentence.

"Petrus Martyr ab Angleria, italus civis mediolanensis, protonotarius apostolicus hujus insule, abbas, senatus indici consiliarius, ligneam prius ædem hanc bis igne consumptam, latericio et quadrato lapide primus a fundamentis extruxit."

"Peter Martyr of Angleria, an Italian, citizen of Milan, Apostolic Protonotary of this island, priest, member of the Indian Council, erected from brick and square stone this church, formerly a wooden structure and twice consumed by fire."

The letter of Peter Martyr is so appropriate at this point and contains matter so personal to him that we introduce it here instead of in the chapter treating of the *Epistole*. It is numbered DCCCXIII. in the edition of 1530.

DCCC  
xiii.

P.M.A.M. Archiepiscopo Cusentino.

**A** Nobis ad Indos, ab Indis ad nos frequentior est classium concursus, quam sarcinarii rumi fumentorum a mundinis ad mundinas. Sexto Kalendis Maii vela fecit vna classis nantium. xxxiiii. In ea Ioanes Mendigurrenus Cantaber, familiaris meus tibi notus venit. Mitto salutatum sponfam meam Iamaicam in sulam, felix regnum, septuaginta leucarum longitudine, ab Oriente in Occidentem, latitudine triginta, ubi non hyems rigida non aestas torrida, ubi fere nullum est diei & noctis discrimen, quod proxima sit aequatori ad gradus octo decim, & paulo plus, pauloque minus pro latitudine. Vbi toto anno frondescent, & vna fructibus onustae acerbis & maturis arbores, ubi semper prata florescent. In particularibus latius, sunt in ea insula erectae duae coloniae quas licet paucis habitate civibus, vult Caesar civitatum nomine ac prerogativis frui. Sibillam appellant vnam, Oristanam alteram. In utraque, quod ex trabibus & paleis essent erecta, combusta sunt templa. Statuunt e redditibus meis primarie, quae Sibilla est, lapideum inchoetur templum, & lapideum saltem fiat sacrarium, in quod tanta sit cum ornamentis eucharistia, ne tanto ulterius discrimine subsiciatur. Tantumdem meo supplicatu mandatae Caesar expendi. Is me, vt economi & in redditibus colligendis officio fungatur, missus est a me. Optatum est vt foelicibus sulcet Oceanum auspiciis. En dum ista versare, Lupicus meus ab Cortesio, quaedam & magna Caesari ad aurem dicenda portat. Ea pretermittamus in praesentiarum deteguntur aliquando, publica sunt haec. Contra magistratum regionum assensum Fernandus Cortesius ita cum exercitu valido ad delendum Christophori Olitum ab eius imperio alienum. Hinc strages expectantur Hispanorum, hinc labefactio eorum viribus, timetur Indorum defectio, sunt impauctes Hispani non priores modo, sed neque pares a quo animo ferunt, ad eundem tendunt locum cum Gilgosalus & a Petro Ariç putati contentis gubernatore praefectus alter, nomine Franciscus Fernandez. Misit & mari Cortesius in Olitum eius ductibus vni nomine Franciscus delas Casas sub spe freti reperendi. Tendunt omnes. De Indis factis nunc, alas plura. . . . .

LETTER DCCCXIII.

TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF COSENZA

"From us to the Indies and from the Indies to us is a constant line of vessels more frequent than the heavily laden beasts of burdens passing from market to market. On April 26 a fleet of twenty-four ships set sail. In this is carried John Mendigurrenus, a Cantabrian [region of Biscaya] a friend of mine and known to you. I send my salutations to my spouse, the Island of Jamaica: that happy domain seventy leagues in length from east to west and thirty in width, where there is neither cold winter nor unbearable heat; where there is scarcely any difference of night and day, and which is situated near eighteen degrees of latitude, a little more or a little less, from the equator. Where throughout the entire year the trees are in leaf and laden with fruits at one and the same time green and ripe. The fields are in perpetual flower. These things are in detail elsewhere. There have been established in this island two colonies which, while inhabited by few colonists, the Emperor desires shall enjoy the name and privilege of cities. They call one Seville, the other Oristiana. The churches in both of these cities, built of timbers and straw, are burned. So I have determined to devote the revenues from my first church which is in [this] Seville for rebuilding the church of stone, so that at least there shall be a stone sanctuary in which the vessels of Eucharist shall no longer be subject to dangerous risks. For this purpose at my prayer the Emperor has ordered this expenditure. He [Mendigurrenus] is sent by me in the office of Overseer and steward of the revenues collected. It is desired that the ocean passage may be under happy auspices. While I have been engaged with these matters, my Lupicus has carried from Cortez for the Emperor's ear certain grave news. We pass over those for the present. They will be disclosed hereafter. These things are published abroad: that Fernandus Cortez

page of his *First Decade* printed in 1511.<sup>1</sup> On the 5th of March, in the year 1520 he was selected to fill the post of Royal Chronicler with a salary of 80,000 maravedis and no paid or unpaid historian ever chronicled more faithfully the passing events than Peter Martyr of Angleria, the first historian of America. In 1524 he was appointed by the Emperor, Secretary of the Council of the Indies.

The salary attached to this office of Royal Chronicler, as we calculate the maravedi, would have been equivalent to \$493 in our money of to-day. The purchasing power of this sum in the sixteenth century must have been ten or twelve times its present power. Add to this his other salaries and revenues and we are prepared for the lavish manner in which our historian is reported to have lived.

Peter Martyr, although he followed the Court from place to place, had his home in Valladolid. His house was spacious, his gardens delightful, his domestics many, his table hospitable. Lucio Marineo visited him and with an unusual curiosity took the opportunity to pry out the house. He writes:

with an efficient army, with the approval of the authorities went against Christopher Olid to destroy him as encroaching on his province. The overthrow\* of the Spaniards is expected. Their men are weakened and the defection of the Indians is feared. Neither those Spaniards in command nor their followers are able to bear themselves hopefully. Gil Gonzalez † and another leader Franciscus Fernandez sent by Pedro Arias, the Governor of the Continent, are destined for the same place. Cortez has sent by sea one of his leaders named Franciscus de las Casas ‡ against Olid—all are going in the hope of discovering the strait. This is sufficient for the Indies—more another time.

Dated Toledo, June 13, 1525.

<sup>1</sup>In the introduction to his *History of the New World*, Juan Baptista Muñoz refers in a note to the statement of Casaus in his *History* that Peter Martyr was raised to this dignity in the year 1518 while the Emperor Charles V. and his Court were at Saragossa, and the latter declares that he himself was present when the diploma was given him. This may simply have been a confirmation under a new ruler of a previous appointment, for we know he was already a Counsellor when the *First Decade* was printed in 1511.

\*The massacre did not take place, for Olid had already been killed by Francisco de las Casas, whom Cortez marched to relieve. See *Bernal Diaz*, paragraphs 122, 150.

†The expedition of Gil Gonzalez had already been made: as to the second captain cited by Martyr, Francisco Hernandez de Cordova, he had just founded in Nicaragua the city of New Granada, the city of Léon, at the eastern extremity of the Lake Managua, discovered the river St. John and assured himself that it emptied into the Atlantic.

‡Francisco de las Casas was conquered by Olid and made prisoner, but he plotted the death of his conqueror, surprised him at table, and killed him without mercy. He immediately took command of the colony and founded Truxillo, which during a long time was the capital of Honduras.

No one could be more hospitable than Martyr, no one could receive his friends with more cordiality. Entering the bedroom I cast my eyes about on all sides. When I had thoroughly examined all the nooks and corners, I approached the bed, which was covered with silk and purple stuffs. At the foot of the couch was an open piece of furniture, most rare, costly, and of the greatest taste, most beautifully polished and of most perfect construction. In one corner was no small quantity of gold and silver: in another many finely bound books; in the centre of the room were many other objects of great value, all negligently preserved: which might easily tempt the most incorruptible of men.<sup>1</sup>

Peter Martyr did not neglect his table. The same writer recalls the foods and viands with which the table abounded: "peacocks, turtle doves, partridges, pheasants, quails, carp [or perhaps thrush], fig-peckers, heath-cocks served in the form of pyramids, and every other known kind of dish."

While Adrian was Regent, about the time of the battle of Villalar, Peter Martyr wrote him for permission to join him at Lucronia, but the former replied to him under date of July 28, 1521, advising him to remain in Valladolid and thus closing his letter:

"Vale, felix mi Martyr, cujus hortensibus deliciis & pafferulorum concentibus magis invideo, quam miserear solitudine, holera sic fovere ac rigare cura, ne nobis istuc euntibus emarcuerint": "Fare thee well, my happy Peter Martyr: I am more envious of thy delightful gardens and their singing birds than concerned for thy solitude: foster well and water thy good vegetables, that they be not withered against our coming."

Old age was coming speedily upon our author and in the early summer of the year 1526 he found himself with the Court at Granada, but enfeebled and oppressed with infirmities. Sensible of the approach of death he dictated his last will and testament on the twenty-third day of September, 1526, disposing of his estate with the minutest care. To almost every member of his circle of relatives some testimony of his love was bequeathed, while his friends received presents and his domestics legacies. The bulk of his property went to his brother George and to his favourite niece Laura. He enjoins upon his friend Gaspard Rotulo, a rich Milanese, the care of marrying Laura into some good family and if possible to some one in Arona.

<sup>1</sup> Lucii Marinci Siculi *Epist. familiarium libri XVII.*, Valladolid, 1514. Liber quartus 31.

The document disposed of furniture, clothing, articles of decoration, many and various. His robe was bestowed upon Hernand Fernandez, his faithful servant, while to one of his intimate friends he left his favourite mule, Pardilla. He prepared for his funeral, and, although his official condition and ecclesiastical offices would have obtained for him a free burial, he set aside three thousand maravedis to defray its cost and assuage the grief of the mourners. He appointed the number of masses to be said and the number of candles to be burned and designated the costumes of mourning to be worn by his servants in his honour. When October came he died in Granada, close by the Court, the movable scene of his active and useful life. Perhaps it was a more fitting end than if he had passed away in the northern town where were his garden and his flowers and his singing birds. He loved men and their activities better than the quiet and the beauty of the field. He was buried in the great church in Granada and over his tomb were inscribed by his fellow members of the Cathedral chapter these words reciting his virtues and his offices:

" Rerum Ætate nostra gestarum  
 Et Novi orbis ignoti hactenus  
 Illustratori Petro Martyri Mediolanensi  
 Cæsareo Senatori  
 Qui Patria relicta  
 Bello Granatensi miles interfuit  
 Mox Urbe capta  
 Primum Canonico  
 Deinde Priori hujus ecclesiæ  
 Decanus et Capitulum  
 Clarissimo Collegæ Posuere Sepulchrum Anno MDXXVI."

## CHAPTER VII

### THE DECADES

WE turn from the life of Peter Martyr to examine some of his literary labours. While the *First Decade* of his *History of the New World*—to be here reproduced from its first publication—is known to be his work, the reader must know it was surreptitiously printed at Venice in 1504. The book was first printed under the name of Peter Martyr in 1511.

1511

It is a folio volume of 74 leaves as follows: title /a/, *aii*, *aiii*, *aiiii* + 4 blank [i.e., *without signatures*]; b, *bii*, *biii*, *biiii* + 4 blank; c, *cii* + 2 blank; 2 blank leaves with the map and errata; d, *dii*, *diii*, *diiii* + 4 blank; e, *eii*, *eiii*, *eiiii* + 4 blank; f, *yii*, *yiii*, *yiiii* + 4 blank; g, *yii*, *yiii* + 3 blank; h, *hii*, *hiii*, *hiiii* + 4 blank; i, *yii*, *yiii* [sic pro *yiii*] *yiiii* + 4 blank; k, *kii*, *kiii* + 3 blank.

The title<sup>1</sup> is on the recto of the first leaf:

“ P. Martyris Angli  
Mediolanensis Opera  
Legatio Babylonica  
Occeani Decas  
Poemata  
Epigrammata.  
Cum Preuilegio.”

<sup>1</sup> Copies differ, one from another. HARRISSE, following the copy in the Carter-Brown library, has *Occeani* in the title instead of *Occciani* [as in the author's copy] and no periods at the end of line six and of line seven. In the copy preserved in the Library of the Department of Public Works in Madrid, the word is printed *Occcanea*, but the wording of the title is quite different.

That is to say: *The Works of Peter Martyr of Angera in the Duchy of Milan, the Embassy to Babylon, the Decade of the Ocean, Poems, Epigrams. With Privilege.*

On the verso of the title is a letter to Inarcho Lopez de Mendoza, *Litterarum Cultor*, covering twenty-five lines.<sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> In the Library of the Department of Public Works, at Madrid, and in the Lenox Library are copies with the following title:

" P. Martyris ab  
Angleria  
Mediolanensi  
Opera.  
Legatio Babilonia  
Occanea Decas.  
Poemata.  
Cum Privilegio."

In this copy the letter to Inarcho Lopez de Mendoza, which, as in the first copy, occurs on the verso of the folio *a*, consists of twenty-seven lines instead of twenty-five, and adds several sentences to the letter. HARRISSE, upon the strength of having found in the Madrid copy the two supplementary leaves containing the maps and the table of errata, regards this as the first issue, but we place it second to the copy mentioned in the text as the map is sometimes found in both issues and as this contains a more elaborate epistle to Mendoza, particularly in the author saluting him not only as his "Companion in peace and war" but as "Treasurer of Granada [after the expulsion of the Moors] and Captain General of the Kingdom." The introduction of added honours indicates a subsequent issue. In other respects the issues are alike, even to perpetuating the error of *aiii* for *iiii*, showing that only the first leaf, with the title and the letter to Mendoza, was altered.

There have been found no copies with the page containing the errata for the poems missing. No one would have prepared a list of errata for the poems without at the same time preparing one for the obvious mistakes in the *Decade*.

Our theory is that the book was first issued with the two leaves, the one containing the map and the other containing the errata of the *Decade*: that the Spanish Government, Ferdinand the King being at that time in Seville, strongly objected to the issuing to the world of any map or chart exhibiting the lands of the New World and that thereupon Peter Martyr caused the one mischievous leaf with its innocent companion to be withdrawn from the book, only a few copies having escaped to gladden the heart of the collector of to-day. It is well known how jealously the Spanish Government guarded its maps and charts. This explanation, this daring act of publishing a map of the new found regions, might account for the author's strong repudiation of any responsibility for its publication.

The following are the two renderings of the passage in the letter to Inarcho Lopez de Mendoza and which, with the modified title, makes the only difference found in some copies of this edition:

" Bello paccę infignis comes falue. diftuli ad te mittere operum in mea officina tam libero ꝑ irretito pede decufforum exemplaria: que pifas te diu cupijffe mihi figñificalti: vt ea ceteris tue bibliotece voluminibus commiferes: que habes in numera: ꝑ fero reperi qui ea exciberet.

[HARRISSE B. A. V. No. 66.]

" Bello paccę infignis comes ꝑ prime [amaris eiectis] granatenfis arcis ꝑfecte ac regni ipfius ꝑ irretito pede decufforum exemplaria: que pifas te mittere operum in mea officina tam libero ꝑ irretito pede veculorum exemplaria: que pifas

recto of the twenty-first leaf contains the famous map<sup>1</sup> of the Western world. On the verso of this same leaf is the letter to Cardinal Ximènès. The next leaf is devoted to a table correcting errors which had occurred as far as signature *f*. On the verso of the seventy-third leaf, or the next to the last, is the colophon:

"Impressum Hispali cū summa diligencia per Jacobū corumberger alemanū. Anno. Milleffimo quingenteffimo xi.<sup>2</sup> mẽse vero Aprili."

The water-mark is the *Hand and Wrist* with a five-pointed star at the end of the fingers, measuring 93 mm. in length and 26 mm. in width at the wrist. This water-mark differs from those in use by the printers of Lorrain, Gouda, and Lyons and is somewhat similar to [although not identical with] that used by Meynardo Ungut and Stanislao Polono,<sup>3</sup> in Seville. The

te diu cupijffe mihi [que habes innumera] comiferes nō quia fas esse putē posse me a tuis mādatis referre pedē quō te duce me cōtulerim in hispania hisq̄ lfarū ? cultor ? obseruator: f₂ q̄ fero reperi qui ea excriberet.

[Harris B. A. V. Additions No. 41.]

<sup>1</sup> It is said by some that this map was made by Nuño Garcia de Torenó in Seville and reference is made to it in the second book of Xeres—*Conquista del Peru*—[Venice, 1534].

<sup>2</sup> Historians and writers who know nothing of the science of bibliography, frequently mistake the date at which a work is published. Morelli, Zurla, and even Hain [No. 10,863] have asserted that the *First Decade* of Peter Martyr was printed in 1500. This assertion they support by a passage in Peter Martyr in the seventh book of his *Second Decade*,—printed for the first time in 1516 at Alcalá,—where he complains that his work had been previously printed without his permission. This does not refer to the Seville edition of 1511, but either to the *Libretto* printed at Venice in 1504 or to the *Pacsi*, printed in Vicenza in 1507. As Peter Martyr inveighs against Portuguese writers and writers of Portuguese voyages the inference is that it is the latter work which is drawing his wrath. The *Libretto* speaks only of the voyages to the New World. The *Pacsi* on the other hand includes all that the *Libretto* contains and in addition it gives the relations of the voyages made by Gama, by Cadamosto, and by Pietro di Lintra under Portuguese auspices to India and Africa. No edition of the *Decades* is known prior to the one printed at Seville in 1511, and the erroneous statement is due to a misinterpretation of Peter Martyr's complaint or to a careless reading of the colophon of the Seville edition, where the date *Fifteen hundred* is printed in full *Millesimo Quingentissimo*, followed by XI. in Roman numerals. The additional figures carrying the date into the second decade of the sixteenth century were perhaps not observed.

Nor do we think Peter Martyr, in his letter to the Emperor Charles V., dated September 30, 1516, and which prefaces his edition of 1516, intends to intimate that the *First Decade*, printed in 1511, was without his authority. His words are: *Duas Decades Addidi Prima quæ me Inconsulto Prælis fuit Impressorum Exposita*. As the *Libretto* and the fourth book of the *Pacsi* give nearly the greater part of the *First Decade*, the complaint might very naturally refer to one of them, probably to the *Pacsi*.

<sup>3</sup> In the first of the two imprints of these printers mentioned below he is called Stanislao, while in the Boetius he is called Langalao Polono.



types used are for the most part those employed by these last mentioned printers in their editions of *Vergel de Consolacion* and *El Libro de Boecio de la Consolaciō Philosophical*, both printed at Seville in 1497. The printer of the *First Decade*, Jacobus Cromberger, or Corumberger as it is here printed, obtained his type from the above mentioned printers and improved it by adding some capitals in woodcut borders and some letters to replace those worn out. Twenty lines of the types of each printer measure 96 mm. and thus we are enabled to identify the source whence Cromberger procured his type and probably his press. This Jacobus Cromberger has an interest for us. He had set up his press in Seville as early as 1508 and in 1526 he took into partnership with him Juan or Johannes Cromberger,—probably his son,—who first introduced printing into the New World, in the city of Mexico about the year 1540.<sup>1</sup> This last died in 1544.

As the title promises, the book presents first an account of Peter Martyr's embassy as the representative of their Catholic Majesties, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, to the Sultan of Egypt, undertaken in the year 1501. His journey, in which we have already followed him, was from the royal city of Granada through Spain and the south of France, across Italy to Venice, where he was well received by the Republic, whose affections for his country were being seduced by France and which he fastened more firmly to Spain. From Venice he went to Alexandria, where he successfully discharged his mission.

Then follow the two unnumbered leaves with the map on the first and the *Errata* on the second. This may be the proper place for the map, but it is not the natural location for a table of errata. The last folio in the book is the continuation of the errata here begun, but that they were not made at the same

<sup>1</sup> Some bibliographers claim this honour for Johannes Pablos and some would have it that printing had been practised in Mexico as early as 1535, but no book exists with a date earlier than 1540 and the name of Johannes Pablos does not appear in any book for at least eight years after this date. This latter printer is called Johannes Paulus Brissensis in his *Speculum Conjugiorum*, although we think he printed the *Regula Christina*, dated 1547, the last book known to have been printed by Johannes Cromberger being dated 1544. [Examples of all these are in the author's library.] Just as Hain was mistaken regarding the 1500 edition of Peter Martyr—not having himself seen a copy—so the early writers on American printing who have reported the *Escala Spiritual* of 1539 are likely mistaken. They themselves never saw a copy.

time is evident, for the continuation is on the left hand of a two column space, while in the leaf found here the reading extends across the page. We are therefore of the opinion that these two leaves were originally placed in this portion as found in our copy, and in some of the subsequent examples they were purposely transferred to the end of the book.

The map is of great rarity and of the first importance in American cosmography.<sup>1</sup> As this map gives a large part of the coast of Florida and as Juan Ponce de Leon did not explore this coast until some time subsequent to February 21, 1512, the date borne by his letters patent, it serves as an argument to enforce the claims of Americus Vespucius that this region was visited by him on his first voyage nearly fifteen years before. On the back of the map are twenty-five lines explaining to his patron Cardinal Ximénès the meaning of the sketch and describing four islands and the lands intended to be depicted.

Peter Martyr begins the first book of his *First Decade* on the recto of folio d and finishes it with the twentieth line of *viii*, the last two leaves containing his Epilogue written to Iñigo Lopez Hurtado de Mendoza.<sup>2</sup> On the recto of folio *gi* is a further epistle to Cardinal Ximénès, after which follow the various poems<sup>3</sup> and epigrams promised on the title. From the recto of folio *hi* to the end of the book there are two columns on each page.

Peter Martyr was a historian and not a biographer. He tells us in this, his *First Decade*, that Christopher Columbus was a Ligurian.

*Christophorus Quidam Colonus Ligur Vir Regibus Proposuit et Suasit se ab Occidente Nostro Finitimas Indie Insulas Inventurum.* He does not tell us where in the Cisalpine territory,

<sup>1</sup> See the author's *Continent of America*, where it is described in full and given in fac-simile.

<sup>2</sup> Navarrete, in his *Historia de la Nautica*, relates that a marriage was contemplated between the daughter of this Mendoza and Louis, the grandson of Christopher Columbus.

<sup>3</sup> These poems seem to have been arranged and edited by Antonius de Leprija, better known under his Latin name of Nebrissensis, the most famous classical scholar of Spain in that day. In the very year of the Columbian discovery he published his *Gramática Castellana*, which made him the authority on Spanish philology and composition.

Humboldt—*Examen Critique*—Vol. ii., 293—says that Leprija retouched the style of the *Decades*, but without examining the statements made therein. Other writers do not think that any hands save the author's touched the different books.

whether in Piedmont or Genoa<sup>1</sup> or Lucca, our Columbus was born. He tells us nothing about his life, nothing about his personality. When Richard Eden translated into English and published the *Decades* at London in the year 1555, he took a liberty with the text and makes Peter Martyr say:

*Christophorus Colonus* [otherwise called Columbus], a gentleman of Italy, born in the citie of Genua, persuaded Fernando and Elyzabeth, Catholike Prynces, that he doubted not to fynde certayne islandes of India, etc., etc.

In the seventh book of the *Second Decade*, published at Alcalá in 1516, in alluding to Vicente Yañez Pinzón, Peter Martyr says: *Is Christoforo Colono Genuensi Postea Admiranto in Primo Navigatione fuerat comes*. It is curious to note that when Richard Eden came to put this into English he omitted the reference to his having been a Genoese. Peter Martyr certainly had a personal acquaintance with Columbus.<sup>2</sup> He was with the Court at Barcelona when the Admiral returned from his first voyage and immediately wrote about its results to Giovanni

<sup>1</sup> In the *Historia de L'Indie Occidentali*, published in 1534, composed from the joint works of Peter Martyr and Oviedo, Columbus is said to have been born in the ancient and noble city of Genoa.

<sup>2</sup> In the second book of his *First Decade* Peter Martyr says:

"Prope diē [viti fpo] a me cetera q̄ detegentur habiturus scripsit. n. ad me p̄fectus ipse maritimus: cui sum intima familiaritate deunctus sese mihi latissime quecūq̄ fors ostēderit significaturū."

"Very soon, as I hope, you shall have other news as matters are made known, for the Admiral himself—with whom I am on terms of intimacy—writes me very freely of whatever things of importance come to pass."

In Epistle CLIII., written December 29, 1494, to Pomponius Lætus, the historian says:

"Urbem Condere Colonus, Uti ad me Nuper Scripsit. Nostras Sementes Jacere, Animalia Nutrire Nostralia Incipit."

"Columbus has begun to build a city, as he has lately written me, to plant seed-corn and to rear our native animals."

In several other letters he mentions a correspondence with the Admiral.

Navarrete on page lxxviii. of his first volume declares:

"Pedro Mártir de Angleria is another of the contemporary writers who should be consulted in regard to the events of the first voyages and discoveries of Columbus, because he was intimately acquainted with him even before the conquest of Granada, and was present in Barcelona when the Sovereigns received Columbus on his return from his first voyage. He received information in regard to all the occurrences from Columbus himself and from others who accompanied him: and he wrote everything daily, according to his custom, from the time he came to Spain and was presented to the King and Queen in Saragossa in the beginning of the year 1488.

In regard to this matter, Fr. Bartolomé de las Casas, in speaking of the writers who relate the first events of the Indies without having seen them or with small reflection and knowledge, adds: "Among whom, in regard to these first events, to no one should more faith be given than to Pedro Mártir, who wrote his *Decades* in Latin, being in Castile at that time: because what he said in them touching the beginning was by the assistance of the Admiral himself, the first Discoverer, to whom he spoke many times, and inquired of those who were in his company, and of the

Borromeo and shortly after to the Count Tendilla. His writings show that he made it his practice to interview not only the leaders of an expedition but the followers as well, the common sailors, that he might obtain all possible information concerning the voyages. He knew he was writing for posterity. He expected that a permanent character was to be given his work.<sup>1</sup> Yet with it all he never describes the personal appearance of Columbus nor says a word concerning his origin or his introduction into Spain, except that in the *First Decade* he denominates him a Ligurian by birth, and in the *Second Decade* he refers to him as "a Genoese."

He does not even tell us where and when the Admiral died, although in the first book of his *Second Decade* he begins a sentence, "But Colonus being now departed out of this life. . . ." In the tenth book of his *Second Decade* he indirectly refers to his death. In an interesting passage where Peter Martyr describes how he secretly closeted himself with the Bishop of Burgos, surrounding themselves with instruments and globes and charts, or seamen's cards, one of which was drawn by Americus Vesputius, the historian says: *Colonus, the Admiral, while he was yet alive and had explored these regions, made a beginning to another map.*

The *First Decade* came under the notice of Pope Leo X.,<sup>2</sup>

others who made those voyages in the first place. In the other matters relating to the development and growth of these Indies, his *Decades* contain some falsehoods.

Navarrete continues.

"It is a pity that a man so learned and devoted to writing should be so careless and negligent in rectifying his narrations and correcting his books, as Don Bautista Muñoz shows, advising that prudent reflection be employed in reading his works in order to avoid errors and equivocations resulting from the facility and lightness with which he wrote."

We shall discover many errors and even some confusion of dates in the writings of Peter Martyr, but we hope to show that he was a painstaking, and, on the whole, reliable historian.

<sup>1</sup> In one of his letters he declares that he is not willing to leave Spain because there he finds the sources of news of the West Indies and that these advantages give him the hope of bequeathing his name as a historian to the latest posterity.

<sup>2</sup> In letter CCCCLIX. of the 1530 edition, written to Pope Leo X., and dated from Guadaloupe December 26, 1515, Peter Martyr says:

"Ea relatum est S. tuam ipfam Cardinalibus plerifq. & amata forore aftanti-bus, amota menfa, ferena fronte, ad laetitudinē vifq. legiffe vniuerfa."

"The story is told that thou thyself in the presence of thy beloved sister and many Cardinals, didst read with cheerful countenance, the cloth being removed, the whole of the book until weariness overcame thee."

The story, as generally related, is somewhat embellished by allusions to burning candles and the small hours of the night.

Writers are fond of telling the story of Pope Leo sitting up through the long

and so interested his Holiness that he caused word to be sent by some learned persons to Peter Martyr, urging the continuance of his writing, and as the historian says in the first book of his *Second Decade*, which is dedicated to the Pope, he "thought it good to satisfy the request of these wise men, especially since they have used the authority of your Holiness' name."

Allusion has been made to the complaint of Peter Martyr that his *First Decade* was printed without his authority and knowledge. In the first book of his *Second Decade*, printed at Alcalá in 1516, he says:

*In Decadis Nostræ Oceanæ Narratione Quæ me Inconsulto per Christianum Orbem Impressa Vagatur: In the relation of our ocean decade, which was disseminated throughout the Christian world in printed form without consulting me, etc.* This sounds

hours of the night reading aloud to his sister the *First Decade* of Peter Martyr. This story brings to mind two contradictory accounts of the Pope's vision. In the facetious work attributed to Sicur des Accord—frequently printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—it is recorded that the Pope caused the numerals MCCCCLX. to be written as signifying the year of his pontificate and that some did thus interpret the numbers as initial letters: *Multi Cardinales Cæci Crearunt Cæcum Leonem Decimum*. While he certainly was not blind, it is generally conceded that he did possess peculiar sight, holding printed or written matter almost against his eyes to read it, and yet by aid of a concave glass being able to watch the flight of a hawk soaring through the sky. Lucas Gauric relates that he read letters by bringing them close to his nose and eyes, but also relates the strengthening of his sight by means of a crystal glass. The story of the Indies, as told by Peter Martyr, is interesting enough to hold the attention of the reader whether he be Pope or layman, whether he be near-sighted or blessed with the vision of the hawk.

Pope Leo was born Giovanni de' Medici and was the son of Lorenzo, the Magnificent. According to Panvinius—Onuphrius—who continued Platina's *Lives of the Popes*, Pope Innocent VIII., who only created eight cardinals during his entire pontificate, soon after the marriage of his son, Francesco Cibo, to Maddalena, the daughter of Lorenzo de' Medici, conferred the Cardinal's hat upon her brother Giovanni, then not yet thirteen years of age. When his family was driven out of Florence, the young Cardinal went into France and Germany. Pope Julius II. made him Apostolic Legate, in which character he was present at the battle of Ravenna, where he was captured by the French. On the death of Pope Julius he hastened to Rome and on the eleventh day of March, in the year 1513, he was elected to the chair of Saint Peter, at the age of thirty-seven years. Some writers, like Guicciardini, say he was chosen by a combination of the younger cardinals, who agreed among themselves to choose the first Pope from out of their own number. Others, like Pallavicini, in his *History of the Council of Trent*, and Antonius Varillas, in his *Anecdotes of Florence* seem to think he was elected as a temporary compromise between the several factions, all agreeing that the Cardinal Giovanni, although young, was so enfeebled by the life he had led as to give them hope of his early demise, during which brief period of waiting they might strengthen their several camps. He lived for nine years after his election and raised his family again to their high estate. History does not record if the wife of Francesco Cibo was that sister to whom Pope Leo read Peter Martyr's fascinating narrative of Columbus and his discoveries.

like a genuine protest against the publication of his *First Decade* and is simply incomprehensible in view of the following formal document of privilege which was printed in Spanish on the verso of folio *aii* in the edition of 1511, the very issue objected to by the author:

Doña Joanna, by the grace of God, Queen of Castile, of Leon, of Granada, of Toledo, of Galicia, of Seville, of Cordova, of Murcia, of Jaen, of the Algarbes, of Algeiras, of Gibraltar, and of the Canary Islands, and of the Indies and islands and main-land of the ocean-sea: Princess of Aragon, and of the two Sicilies, of Jerusalem: Archduchess of Austria, Duchess of Burgundy and of Brabant, etc.: Countess of Flanders and of Tyrol, etc.: Lady of Vizcaya and of Molina, etc.:—

To all the Mayors, Assistants, Alcaldes: and other Justices and Judges whatsoever, of all the cities, towns and places of my realms and Seignories, and each one and whatever one of you, to whom this, my Royal Order shall be shown or the copy of the signature of the Notary Public,—Salutation and Grace:—

Know that the protonotary, Peter Martyr, through my Council made relation to me by his petition, saying:—that he had written certain works, especially a book in which is contained the things which are found in the ocean-sea and its newly discovered islands, and another which is called, *Babylonian Itinerary* which contains the Legation to the Sultan of Babylon and another called *In Ianum* in which is contained some tales, and another called *Inaco* which treats of the peace which was made between the Pope Innocent, of happy memory, and the King, Don Ferdinand of Naples, and other books and verse where he has made epigrams on diverse things of war and peace and moralities,—which he wishes printed as being very profitable books and containing great instruction: Therefore having supplicated me to order that he should be given license and privilege for the same: and that no other person positively should be able to print them in these my realms nor carry them away in order to print them, or sell them in other realms, without his permission, or as my pleasure might be: it being seen by the members of my Council, it was agreed that this, my Royal Order, should be given to you for the said reason, and I approve it and by these presents give license and privilege to you, the said protonotary, Peter Martyr, in order that you or whomever you authorise, for the space of five years immediately following, may be able to print the said books and cause them to be printed, as above declared: and I order and maintain that during the said time, no other person or persons shall dare to print or sell the said books, or take them from these my realms in order to print them, or sell any in these my realms, without your power and license, under penalty of my displeasure and a fine of 50,000 maravedis, the half for you, the said protonotary: and the other half for my exchequer: Which said penalty, I order you, the said my Justices, and each one of you, to execute and cause to be executed on the persons who shall oppose or

act contrary to what is contained in this my Royal Order, during the said time, and neither one of you shall disregard it in any manner under penalty of my displeasure and a fine of 10,000 maravedis for my exchequer.

Given in the city of Madrid, the 6th day of the month of January, in the year of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, 1511.

The unfortunate Queen Joanna, at the time this privilege was granted, was not in condition to perform any public act, and the use of her name was simply an administrative fiction. Her husband Philip had died in 1506, and soon after she had been placed by her father, King Ferdinand of Aragon, in her palace at Tordesillas, where she passed nine and forty dark and useless years. During all that time she performed no public duty, signed no royal document, transacted no official business, what thoughts she had centring on the tomb of her husband in sight from the windows of her palace, a miserable woman, an irresponsible Queen, dead to her kingdom, her father, and her son. At the beginning of January, in the year 1511, the very year and the very month of the issuing of this privilege, King Ferdinand, who had bound himself to act for his unhappy daughter in all things pertaining to the kingdom of Castile, was in Seville, where this book was awaiting authority that it might issue from the press and be, as its author afterwards said in his complaint, "disseminated throughout the Christian world." Yet the old official form with its exalted titles is sponsor for the book in the Queen's name. Even when the Prince, her son, held the reins of government, it was the Queen's name, until her death, which usually came first in the documents and records of the realm.<sup>1</sup> While the Queen's part in this privilege was a fiction, it is difficult to understand how Peter Martyr could claim the same discharge from responsibility. The petition must have been his prayer, the relations of the Embassy and the *Decade* must have been made by him, and who but the author could or would collect scattered and various children

<sup>1</sup> We find an exception to this in that interesting example of Americana entitled: *Suma de Geographia Q̄ Trata de Todas las Partidas y Prouincias del Mundo*: etc., etc., by M. F. de Encisco, printed at Seville in 1519 by Jacobus Cromberger. In this the royal privilege is issued in the name of the King [Charles V.], the son of Joanna, and is dated from the city of Saragossa, September 5, 1518. This work is believed to be the first book on America printed in Spanish, taking its place, however, after the folio and quarto Spanish Columbian letters and the Spanish privilege in the 1511 edition of Peter Martyr.

of his brain to be united under one bond and by royal privilege and decree introduced into the world ?

On the recto of *fvi*—unmarked—is the perpendicular epilogue written to Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza in which he makes a further recital of events in the New World, with descriptions of its geography and its people and which shows that the author did actually prepare his *First Decade* apparently for the purpose of publication in accordance with the above petition.

It is a strange fatality that the first writer of the history of the New World should find his work seized and given to the public on two occasions, according to his own complaint, without his consent. The first occasion was when Trivigiano printed that portion of the *First Decade* containing the three voyages of Columbus in the *Libretto* of 1504. The second was the publication of the Seville edition of the *First Decade* in 1511, for the appearance of which the author seems to apologise, but for which we must hold him responsible and accord him our thanks.





*Collegij Parisi Societatis Iesu*

# OPVS EPI

stolarū Petri Marty

ris Anglerij Mediola

nelis Protonotarij

Aplici atqz a cōsi

lijs rerū Indica

rū: nūc p̄mū et

natū z medio

cri cura excu

sum: quod

q̄dē p̄e

ter stili venustatē / nostrorū q̄qz

tēporz historie loco esse poterit.

Lōpluti Anno dñi. M. D. LXX

Lū privilegio Cēsareo.



*Sustine. & abluere.*

*Title-Page of the Alcalá Edition of Peter Martyr's "Epistolarum."*



## CHAPTER VIII

### THE EPISTOLÆ

PETER MARTYR was the most voluminous epistolary writer of his time and there have come down to us no less than 812 of his letters, commencing in 1488 and ending only with his declining years, some more elaborately composed than others, but all filled with interest and life. Johannes de Vergara, who was his familiar friend, declares that his letters were sometimes written with such celerity that two or more would be commenced and completed while servants were laying the cloth for dinner. Vergara may have referred to letters of a more ordinary correspondence, but historians have seized upon this assertion of his friend to explain the sometimes rude and unfinished style of his composition. These letters were published at Alcala in 1530, and in 1670 Daniel Elzevier reproduced them from his famous family press at Amsterdam. They are of interest to us because some of them describe the earliest events of American history and were indited, not years after the occurrence of these events, but immediately upon the news reaching the Court or coming to the notice of our author. Taken, therefore, in connection with his composition of the *First Decade*, they become a supplementary and essential part of his history.

1530. The colophon on the recto of folio CXCIX reads:

“Excufum est hoc volu  
men Epiftolarum Petri Martyris Mediola  
nenfis citra controuerfiã eruditiffimi  
in celeberrima & in omni literarũ  
genere maxime florenti Aca  
demia Complutenfi in  
Ædibus Michæ  
lis de Eguia  
Anno a  
Chrifto  
nato.  
M. D. XXX.”

[COLOPHON.]

"This book, containing the Epistles of Peter Martyr of the Duchy of Milan, is completed and published in a manner beyond the cavil of the most learned, in the most celebrated Academy of Complutum [commonly called Alcalá], which excels in every sort of polite learning, in the establishment of Michael Eguia in the year of our Lord 1530."

This is a folio, the title being in large woodcut border, as will be seen in the reproduction on the opposite page. After the title the folios are marked †ii, †iii, †iiii, †v, one unnumbered leaf, ††i, ††ii, ††iii, ††iiii, ††v, one unnumbered leaf, making twelve leaves, containing the Index. On the recto of A begin the epistles and the leaves are numbered consecutively in Roman numerals until we come to the first of several examples of grotesque pagination: what should be folio LXXVII. is written LXXII.; folio LXXIX. is LXXVI.; folio C is XCIX., making two leaves with this number; folio CXLII. is written CXL.; folio CLVII. is CCCXLI.; folio CLXII. is CLXIII., followed by the real CLXIII.; folio CLXXXVIII. is written CLXXXVII., thus duplicating the number of the preceding leaf; folio CXCIX. is CXCIII.; following this the leaves go on duplicating the numbers from this second CXCIII. until we come to the last folio, CXCIX., making in all 205 leaves.

Each epistle is numbered in Roman numerals beginning with No. I, addressed to Cardinal Ascanio Sforza dated from Caesar Augusta [Saragossa], January 1, 1488, and running through to No. 816, written *Ad Marchionibus* but without place of address or date. The previous letter, No. DCCCXV. [wrongly written DCCCXX.], is written from Toledo and is dated April 25, 1525. What should be letter No. DCCCVIII., written *Ad Marchionibus* and dated from Mantua Carpentana [Madrid], February 18, 1525, is not numbered. The letters vary in length from two epistles of four lines each to one covering nearly three pages. They average two letters to each page.

There has been carelessness in printing these letters. In 1670 there issued from the celebrated Elzevier<sup>1</sup> press at Amsterdam, when Daniel Elzevier printed alone, a second edition

<sup>1</sup>The title of this Elzevier edition is here given in exact fac-simile, but the size of the folio itself in the original is 356 mm. by 215 mm. The side margins of this magnificent product of the press when Daniel Elzevier printed alone are not less than 49 mm. in width.

O P U S  
EPISTOLARUM  
PETRI MARTYRIS

ANGLERII MEDIOLANENSIS,

Protonotarii Apostolici, Prioris Archiepiscopatus Granatensis, atque à  
Consiliis Rerum Indicarum Hispanicis, tanta cura excusum, ut  
præter styli venustatem quoque fungi possit vice Luminis  
Historiæ superiorum temporum.

*Cui accefferunt*

E P I S T O L Æ  
FERDINANDI de PULGAR

Coætanei Latinæ pariter atque Hispanicæ cum Tractatu Hispanico de  
Viris Castellæ Illustribus.

EDITIO POSTREMA.



AMSTELODAMI, Typis ELZEVIRIANIS.

Veneunt

PARISIIS,

Apud FREDERICUM LEONARD, Typographum Regium,  
c10 100 LXX.



of these Epistles<sup>1</sup> and constant difficulty is found in identifying the letters in the two editions so far as their numbers are concerned. The first difficulty comes from the letter on the recto of folio *Aiii* of the first edition addressed to Petrus Cobarruvias and dated from Quero or Quesada April 17, 1488. This letter has no number in the first edition, while in the Elzevier edition it is called No. XII. This enumeration makes a difference in the numbering of the letters throughout the latter edition. It is evident that the printer of this first edition has misplaced some of these letters. Letter No. LXVII., which will soon invite our study, is dated from Jaen, April 5, 1489. The letter No. LXVI., immediately preceding this, is also dated from Jaen, December 13, 1489, while the previous letter, No. LXV., is dated from Guadalajara, December 13, 1488. On the other hand we find letters No. LXXX., dated Jaen, January 4, 1490, No. LXXXI., dated Jaen, January 8, 1490, and No. LXXXII., dated Jaen, January 6, 1490. Letter No. LXXXIII. is dated Alcala, August 24, 1490.

The year 1491 was an unprofitable epistolary period for Peter Martyr and only two letters are dated in that year, both from the Camps before Granada. Letter No. XCI. is of interest since it is dated March 11, 1492, and is the first of

<sup>1</sup> This edition was prepared by the celebrated scholar Charles Patin, from a copy of the first edition printed at Alcala in 1530. Charles Patin was born at Paris February 23, 1633, and was the son of even a still more celebrated father, Guy Patin, Professor of Physics in the Royal College of Paris. Charles Patin, at the age of fourteen, wrote and published Greek and Latin theses on the several parts of philosophy. Between the years 1662 and 1682 he wrote and published in various countries no less than twenty-five important works. It is probable he read and prepared the letters of Peter Martyr for this edition either in Holland or Switzerland. The copy of the 1530 edition from which this was made was loaned by William Lamignon, who was first President of the Parliament of Paris, and who sent his copy to Charles Patin in Holland. Because of this civility Daniel Elzevier prefaces his edition with a letter of praise to the illustrious Frenchman.

Nic. Antonio, in his *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus*, Madrid, 1788, vol. ii., 373, says that when F. Barbarini was nuncio to Spain from his brother, then Pope Urban VIII., about 1630, this 1530 edition had become so rare that he had to pay a very high price for even a manuscript copy, the work itself being unattainable. It is, of course, a very rare volume. The Elzevier edition is also getting to be quite rare and when we said that the reader should prefer the first edition we referred only to its historical importance. Bibliographically speaking, he should not rest content until he possesses both the Alcala and Elzevier editions. And then he should set himself the task of collecting the 1511 [with the map], 1516, 1530, 1533, 1555—English—and 1612 editions of the *Decades*. When he has all these he may ask for and wear with complacency the button of the Legion of Honour of the Brotherhood of American Collectors.



these epistles written from within the city of Granada. In the Elzevier edition of 1670 this letter is No. XCII. and the reader will have to observe the different enumeration in that edition. HARRISSE advises the use of the Elzevier edition, in which counsel we cannot join, since in the end to verify any event or passage one must refer to the original edition, the one we are now considering, and especially since this is now to be found in the largest and best American libraries.

There is no letter No. CXIV. in the 1530 edition. Letter No. CXV., *Ad Bracharensem*, and dated from Cæsar Augusta [Saragossa], Kalendas, Septembris M. CCCCXCII., is correctly numbered and at this point, and for this one letter, the numbers agree in the two editions. The next letter in the 1530 edition written to Bartholomeus Scandianus and dated Cæsar Augusta [Saragossa], in Kalendas, Septembris M. CCCCXCII., is No. CXVII.—thus omitting entirely any No. CXVI.—which in the Elzevier 1670 edition is correctly numbered CXVI. From now on the 1530 edition is one number ahead of the 1670 edition. The letter to the Count of Tendilla, written from Burgos, and dated May 9, 1497, has no number in the 1530 edition, but is numbered CLXXV. in the 1670 edition, thus putting the numbers again in agreement. In the edition of 1670 letter CLXXXVII. is called CLXXXVIII., thus duplicating this latter number. The letter written to the Bishop of Braga and dated from Complutum [Alcala], June 5, 1498, duplicates the number of the preceding letter and is wrongly numbered CXCI. in the 1530 edition and rightly numbered CXCII. in the 1670. Thus we find the latter edition one number ahead of the 1530 edition. The letter to Petrus Fagiardus, dated from Cæsar Augusta [Saragossa], August 10, 1502, is a duplicate No. CCXLVI. What should be letter CCXLVII. is numbered CCLXVI., while the next written to the Archbishop and dated Toledo, September 11, 1502, is No. CCXLVIII. in the 1530 edition, and No. CCXLIX. in the 1670 edition, thus again placing the latter one number in advance of the former in numbering the letters. This enumeration continues until we reach the letter written *ad Fernando Aragonis*, and dated from Granada, December 25, 1504.<sup>1</sup> This letter in the 1530 edition is

<sup>1</sup> This is wrongly dated *Octavo Kalendas Januarii, M.D. IIII.* It should be *M.D.V.*



numbered CCLXXVI., while in the 1670 edition it is correctly numbered CCLXXX. The next letter begins the *Liber Decima Octavus* of the *Epistolæ*, and is No. CCLXXX. in the 1530 edition and No. CCLXXXI. in the 1670 edition. We have no further difficulty until we come to the beginning of *Liber Vigesimus*, when we find the folio numbered LXXII. instead of LXXVII. The contagion of error spreads to the epistles themselves, and the first letter is numbered CCCXXIIII., while the following, written to Johannes Ruffus and dated from Turricremata, January 12, 1507, is numbered CCCXXV. In the 1670 edition this is called CCCXXVI., thus again putting the latter edition one number ahead. The next error occurs on the folio with signature KVII. [unmarked], which is numbered LXXVI. when it should be LXXIX. This error in the number of the leaf does not affect the numbering of the epistles. On the folio with signature L., numbered LXXXI., the numbers are again confused. Sometime in April, 1507, Peter Martyr became a guest in the country house of the Furnilli, or Fornilli, family, and twenty of the letters are dated from there. The letter dated June 17, 1507, is No. CCCXLVIII.; the next one, dated June 28, 1507, is No. CCCLXXI.; the one immediately following that, and dated July 5, 1507, is No. CCCL. This in the 1670 edition is No. CCCLI., or one number ahead for that edition. Letter CCCLVII. in the 1530 edition is dated from Furnillo sexto idus, Augusti MD. XXVII., instead of MD. VII. This advantage of one number for the 1670 edition is maintained until on the verso of the folio with signature MIIII., numbered XCII., the printer drops ten numbers and the letter which he should have called CCCCXIX.—even according to his strange numbering—he numbers CCCCX. This shortage of ten continues through the next folio until the first letter on folio XCIIII. is numbered CCCCXIX., corresponding to CCCCLXXX. in the 1670 edition. Thus the two editions are again one number apart, the 1670 edition being ahead. On duplicate folio XCIX.—which should itself be marked *C* since it is the one hundredth leaf—the letter written to Fagiardus and dated from Seville, June 8, 1511, is numbered CCCCLIIII., when according to his prevailing enumeration, it should be CCCCLIV. The next letter is numbered CCCCLV., while the corresponding letter in the 1670 edition is numbered CCCCLVI., thus again

putting the latter edition one number ahead. On folio CXII. the letter dated Lucronium, October 27, 1512, is numbered CCCCCXVIII., when the one immediately preceding is No. CCCCC. The following letter is numbered CCCCCXIX. The next is numbered CCCCCII. in the 1530 edition, while the same letter is No. DIV. in the 1670 edition; thus the latter is two numbers ahead. This relation is maintained until on folio CXVII., letter No. CCCCCXVIII. is the duplicate number of the preceding, and the following letter dated from Valladolid, June 5, 1513, is numbered CCCCCXIX. in the 1530 edition and DXXII. in the 1670 edition, thus placing the latter three numbers ahead in the system of enumeration. The letter beginning on the third line from the bottom on the verso of folio CXVII. has no number, but the following letter on folio CXVIII. is numbered CCCCCXXII. in the 1530 and DXXV. in the 1670 edition, thus keeping the latter edition three numbers ahead.

On the verso of folio CXXI., the letter addressed to Ludovicus Mendocius and dated from Valladolid, March 3, 1514, is numbered CCCCCXLIII., notwithstanding the letter immediately preceding this is No. CCCCCXXXIII. The corresponding letter in the 1670 edition is No. DXXXVII. The next letter in the 1530 edition is numbered CCCCCXLV., corresponding to DXXXVIII. in the 1670 edition, where the year is given as M. D. XIII. instead of M. D. XIII. Then the letters resume their old relation, the next following being CCCCCXXXVI. in the 1530, and DXXXIX. in the 1670 edition, a difference still of three numbers in favour of the latter edition. What should be letter CCCCCLIV. in the 1530 edition has the number CCCCCLV., while the following letter is also numbered CCCCCLV.; the following letter is numbered CCCCCLVI. in the 1530 edition, and DLIX. in the 1670 edition. In the 1530 edition *Liber Vigessimus Octavus* ends with the letter numbered CCCCCLXI. written to Marchionus Bellecensis and dated from Guadaloupe the day before the Kalends of January, 1515. This letter in the 1670 edition is DLXV. In the 1670 edition *Liber Vigessimus Octavus* ends with the letter DLXV. and *Liber Vigessimus Nonus* begins with letter DLXVI. written to Ludovicus Marlianus, and dated from Guadaloupe, January 23, 1516. The arrangement is curious in the 1530 edition. Letter CCCCCLXIII., written to the Marquis Mondeiaris [Ludovicus

Mendocius] from Guadalupe, January 22, 1515, forms by itself *Liber Vigésimus Nonus*. Then another *Liber Vigésimus Nonus* begins with letter CCCCLXV., written to Ludovicus Marlianus, and dated Guadalupe, January 23, 1516, corresponding to the same letter beginning *Liber Vigésimus Nonus* in the 1670 edition and there numbered, as we have said, DLXVI. Thus the latter edition is one number in advance of the 1530 edition in its enumeration and this relation is continued until we reach, on the verso of folio CXXXI. in the 1530 edition, the letter addressed to Marlianus and written from Madrid, August 10, 1516, which is numbered CCCCLXXV., corresponding to the same number [DLXXV.] in the 1670 edition, the two editions agreeing for the first time since almost the beginning of the book. This proper enumeration was too harmonious for the printer of the 1530 edition, and when he arrived at the letter addressed to the Marcioni, from Valladolid, November 10, 1517, instead of the number DCII., which it should have had, he gave it the number DCIII., thus placing the same letter in the 1530 edition one number ahead of that in the 1670 edition. This relation we find maintained until we reach the letter written to the Marcioni, dated December 10, 1519. In the 1530 edition this letter is without any number, while in the 1670 edition it is numbered DCL. In both editions the following letter is numbered DCLI., thus again bringing the two editions together in their enumeration. There is no change until we come to the letter written to the Great Chancellor from Valladolid, March 19, 1521, and which, in the 1530 edition, is without any number. It should have been numbered DCCXVI. The following letter in the 1530 edition is numbered DCCXVII. in both editions, and this identical enumeration proceeds until on folio CLXXII. we reach a letter written by Alfonso Valdés to Peter Martyr, and to which the printer gave the number DCCXXIII., regarding it as a separate letter, although it is simply enclosed in the preceding one numbered DCCXXII. The printer of the 1670 edition understood this fact and included it in letter DCCXXII., but this error confuses the numbering again and the same letter in the 1530 edition is now one number in advance of that in the 1670 edition. Confusion soon again reigns in the printing establishment of Michael de Eguia, in Alcalá, for when he begins *Liber Trigesimus Quintus* with the

letter to the Marcioni, or Marquises, written from Valladolid, and dated January 27, 1522, he gives it no number. If he had then gone on with a succeeding number the two editions would have been together, but the next letter he numbers DCCLII., while that same letter in the 1670 edition is DCCL. Thus the 1530 edition is two numbers ahead, but this is only maintained for a short distance. The letter written to the Marcioni from Valladolid, February 13, 1522, has no number whatsoever in the 1530 edition, while in the 1670 edition it is DCCLIII. The next letter in the first edition is numbered DCCLVII., while it is DCCLIV. in the 1670 edition, thus placing the same letter in the 1530 edition three numbers in advance of that in the second edition. This relationship is maintained until we reach the letter written to Pope Adrian VI., from Valladolid, August 13, 1523. This should be, even according to the printer's wild system of enumeration, DCCLXXXV., but he has made it DCCLXXXVI., and as the numbering in the 1670 edition has flowed regularly along, it places the 1530 four numbers in advance of the second edition. The first letter in *Liber Trigesimus Octavus* is not numbered in the 1530 edition. In the 1670 edition it should have been numbered DCCCIV., the letter next preceding, the one which closes *Liber Trigesimus Septimus*, having been numbered DCCCIII., but the printer, for the second time, lost control of his enumerating powers, and in humble imitation of his brother of the press in the sixteenth century, calmly added an extra number to his enumeration. Thus the Alcalá, or 1530 edition, is three numbers in advance of the Elzevier, or 1670 edition, until the epistles end, the last being number 816 in the 1530 edition and 813 in the 1670 edition. As a parting exhibition of unconventionality, however, the Alcalá printer called letter DCCCXV. by the unusual number DCCCXV. There are exactly 812 letters in this *Opus Epistolarum*. While the 1670 Elzevier edition evidently intended to improve the orderly arrangement of the first edition, it made the two errors mentioned, duplicating the number CLXXXVIII. and beginning book 38 with numbering the first letter DCCCV. instead of DCCCIV., as it should be. Notwithstanding the difficulty in numbering the letters in the first edition, we still insist on recommending the student to refer to it whenever he can find it, in preference to the edition printed by the Elzeviers.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE FIRST NEWS

GRANADA had surrendered on January 2, 1492, and a detailed account of the form and ceremony on the part of the Spanish conquerors in taking possession of the city might have been expected from such an observer, but Peter Martyr does not give us this account. In the first few letters from Granada he tells us much of the Jews and the public feeling which drove them first from commerce and then from Spain. His language would seem to indicate an earlier date for their formal expulsion than that of March 30, 1492, as given by historians, but we must remember that the discontent of the Christians over the wealth and power of the Jews had long existed and that the King and Queen had been importuned before to banish every unbaptised Israelite from the land. While history is compelled to fix upon Ferdinand and Isabella <sup>1</sup> the official responsibility for this fanatical and cruel act, their reluctance to take the step and the bold demand of the Inquisitor General, the Dominican Torquemada, expressing no doubt the feeling of the Spanish people, relieve them of something of the moral accountableness for the deed.

Letter CXXXI., addressed to Borromeus, is dated from Barcelona, May 14, 1493. It begins with a reference to the attempt on the life of Ferdinand, which occurred on the seventh of the preceding December, and which left the King long in a critical condition, but Peter Martyr exclaims, "The King still lives, escaped from the wicked deed which was hatched

<sup>1</sup> It must be remembered that there had been instituted in various of the Spanish cities Municipal Ordinances directed against the Jews and that these were not agreeable to the Queen, who recognised their injustice if not their impolitic character.

in the Infernal Regions."<sup>1</sup> The next passage in the letter contains the first reference to the discovery and the discoverer:

"Post paucos inde dies rediit ab antipodus occiduis Chriftophorus quidam Colonus vir ligur, qui a meis Regibus ad hanc prouintiam tria vix impetrauerat nauigia, quia fabulofa quę dicebat arbitrabuntur, rediit, preciofarum multarum rerum, fed auri præcipue, quę fuapte natura regiones illę generant, argumenta tulit, fed aliena omittamus, Comes egregie, omittamus."

"A few days after there returned from the Western antipodes a certain Christopher Columbus, a Ligurian, who with barely three ships penetrated to that province which was believed to be fabulous: he returned bearing substantial proofs in the shape of many precious things and particularly of gold which is a natural product of these regions: but, Illustrious Count, we must pass over foreign matters."

It is well known that the Admiral, on his return from his first voyage, landed at Palos after the noon hour on Friday, March 15, 1493. The student cannot help complaining because Peter Martyr, so prolix in describing other events, has failed to tell us what we most want to know from him, the reception given Columbus and what passed between him and the King and Queen, in whose presence the young historian was also permitted to stand. But in this very paucity of matter is a

<sup>1</sup>Peter Martyr, in letter No. CXXVI., written on December 8, 1492 (wrongly dated November 8, 1492), the day after the attempted assassination of the King, gives an interesting account of that wild deed. From that we learn that the wretch's name was Cagnamares, a native of a country village near Barcelona, some sixty years of age, who crazily dreamed he should become King if Ferdinand were dead. The next letter, No. CXXVII., contains further news of the King's health, but it is wrongly dated XIX. Kalendas Januarii, MCCCCXCII. Of course the year should be 1493.

<sup>2</sup>Humboldt (vol. ii., p. 293, note) in commenting on this phrase, remarks:

An already acquired reputation and the long life of the most popular Greek prose-writer did not suffice to prevent the *nescio quis* Plutarchus of Aulus Gellius. *Noct. Att.*, xi., 16.

Humboldt has done an injustice to the author of *Noctes Atticę*. In the passage quoted, it is not Aulus Gellius who is speaking, but "a certain person unlearned and ignorant of Greek," to whom Aulus Gellius is explaining certain Greek words, and it is this unlettered Greek who says *nescio quis hic Plutarchus*.

If there is any one author known to Aulus Gellius, it is Plutarch. He begins his first book by referring to him and indeed Plutarchus is the very first word printed in his work. In chapter xxvi. of Book I., we read:

"Sed quod et Plutarchus noster vir doctissimus et prudentissimus senserit non ab re est, ut id quoque audias."

"But it is not immaterial what our Plutarch, a most learned and careful man, thought, and this you shall now hear."

Again in Book III., cap. xi., Aulus Gellius says:

"Plutarchus quoque homo in disciplinis gravi auctoritate in primo librorum quos de Homero composuit."

"Plutarch, a man of great authority in teaching, in the first of the books he composed on Homer, etc."

proof of the genuineness of his epistles. If they were manufactured afterwards, or if they were changed and improved long afterwards, surely this particular letter would have tempted a decided elaboration. And if he was given to literary deception, some previous letter would have invited the insertion of a spirit of prophecy.

We come now to an important letter:

## EPISTOLA CXXXIII

## P. M. A. M. Comiti Tendillæ &amp; Archiepiscopo Granatenfi.

CXXXIII

**A** Tollite mentem sapientissimi duo senescentes, audite nouū inuentum, Meministis **Co**lonum ligurem, inſiſſiſſe in caſtris apud Reges, de percurrēdo per occiduos antipodes, nouo terrarum Hemispherio, meminisse oportet. Quia de re vobiscum aliquando actū est. Nec sine vestro, vt arbitror, consilio rem hic aggressus est. Is rediit incolumis, mira se repisse prædicat: aurum, aurifodinarum in eis regionibus argumentum ostentat. Gosamium aromataq; tū oblonga, tum teretia, cauceo pipere acutiora, detulit. Quæ, simul & coccineas arbores suapte natura tellus parit, occidentem secutus, a gadib⁹ milia passuum, vti prædicat, quinq; milia, in plures incidit insulas. Inter eas vnam captauit, quā maioris esse ambitus, q̄ Hispaniā vnā uersa, asseuerat. Homines reperit natura contentos, nudos, cibis depastos natiuis, & pane radicali, ex Spitalibus quibusdam fructus internodiis plenis, quæ ipsi terra suis contegunt temporibus, ex quorum internodiis singulis, singuli turgescunt globi, in piri, aut cucurbitule sibi similitudinem. Hos maturos, vti nos rapas, & rafanos eruiunt, ad solem siccant, scindunt, terunt in farinam, pinſunt, coquunt, comedunt, vocant hos globos agies. Cætera ex arboribus, vt plurimum edulia, a nostratibus diuersa. Quadrupes nullum insula gignit, præter immensos lacertos, minime tamen noxios, & cunctuli quoddam paruuli genus, quod nostros mures emulat. Reges habet gens hæc, & alios alſis maiores, sudibus, arundinibusq; adustis præcutis, & arcibus, intra se certant. Viget inter eos, quamuis nudi sint, imperiū cupido, vxores ducunt, Quid colant præter numen cœli, nõdum didicit. Tria colono dederatis nauigia, in etus insulæ littore, illisum super rupe aquis cooperta, plana, grandius amissit, cum duobus reliquis minoribus regressus est, octo & triginta viros, qui interea dum ipse reuertatur ad eos, locorum naturā scrutentur, in insula reliquit, commendauitq; regulo eius puinſic, quā trinit, noie Guadcanarillo, nudo & illi, maior paratur classis, redibit. Quæ succedent per me, si vixero, scietis. Valet Barcinonæ, Idibus Septembris. M. ccccxciii.

Mira & nouis terris, & nudis gentibus.

## LETTER 134

Peter Martyr of Anghera in Milan to Count Tendilla and the Archbishop of Granada:

Attention, you two most wise and venerable men, and hear of a new discovery. You remember Columbus, the Ligurian, who persisted when in the camps with the sovereigns, that one could pass over by way of the Western Antipodes to a new hemisphere of the globe: it is important you should recall it. Because the deed was in a measure due to you both. And I hold it true that without your counsel the thing had not been done. He

is returned safe and declares he has found wonderful things. He displays gold, a token of the gold mines in those regions. He brought away with him cotton, and spices both oblong in shape and smooth sharper than the pepper of Caucasia. The ground naturally produces all these things as well as the trees of scarlet dyes. Travelling westward five thousand miles from Cadiz as he relates, he happened upon many islands. Among these he captured one which he asserts is greater in circumference than the whole of Spain. He found men content with nature, naked, consuming native foods, and bread of roots; certain plants, the joints of which are frequent, are covered over in the ground for certain periods of time, from each joint of which grow round-shaped things like a pear or gourd. These they dig out when ripe as we do turnips and radishes, dry them in the sun, break them open, grind them into flour, crush them, cook and eat them. They call these vegetables by the name of Agies. There are other growths, many of which are edible, but differing from our trees. The island produces no quadrupeds, except immense lizards, yet not at all noxious and a certain species of small hares, which are comparable to our rats. This people have Kings and some among them are greater than others, and they contend among themselves with spears and rods burned to sharpened points and with bows. A desire for government exists among them even if they are naked; they take wives. He has not yet told what things they worship except the Deity of Heaven. You gave three ships to Columbus; he lost the largest on the shore of the island, which was dashed against a rock covered with water. With the two remaining smaller ones he returned; he left in the island eight and thirty men, who until he returns to them are to investigate the character of the places, whom he commended to the petty King of that Island, Guadcanarillus by name, who himself goes naked; he will return, a larger fleet is preparing for him. If I live you shall know from me what happens. Fare thee well.

BARCELONA, September 13, 1493.

The importance of this letter is in the passage where Peter Martyr's friend and patron, Count Tendilla, and his other friend, Hernando de Talavera, are declared to have promoted, if not actually decided, the project of Columbus. The successful man need never want for patrons. When the project is an accomplished fact, its promoters are numerous and post-prophets arise in great plenty and all indulge in much exultation. Columbus, the Ligurian, did not seem possessed of many friends or of over-warm supporters when he turned away from the Camp at Santa Fé. When he returned from the New World he was an Admiral, and he was an Admiral because he had found a new world. We are disposed to grant these two good men the honours due them as friends of Columbus and promoters of his



project. But the real friend of Columbus, his best patron,—the one individual without whom the expedition would not have been undertaken,—is mentioned in the preceding sentence. This was the one man who *insisted* and who *persisted*, Columbus himself, the *homo unius libri*,—the man with a single thought, a powerful soul committed to one supreme purpose, never turning aside, never slackening in his pace, pressing on past obstacles and hindrances, cheerful in adversity, confident when there was no light,—on, on to triumph. Whether he was inspired, elected, foreordained, it matters not. He thought he was all of these things, and the result was due to his own conception of himself.

The next letter is of the same date and is as follows:

## EPISTOLA CXXXV

P. M. A. M. Ascanio Sfortiæ Vicecomiti  
Cardinali Vicecancellario.

**T**anta est obsequēdi tibi, Princeps illustrissime, mea cupidō, ut etiam summis rerū flus-  
tribus implicito, gratum facturum putem, si quæ accidunt apud nos tibi significauero.  
Mira resex eo terrarum orbe, quem sol horarum quatuor & viginti spatio circūit, ad no-  
stra vsq; tempora, quod minime te latet, trita cognitaq; diuīdiā tantum pars, ab aurca ut pote  
cherfoneso, ad gades nostras Hispanas, reliqua vero a cosmographis pro incognita relīta est,  
Et si que mentio facta, ea tenuis & incerta. nunc autem. O beatum facinus. meorum regū auspi-  
cis: quod latuit hætenus a rerū primordio, intelligi cœptum est. Res sic se habet, aduerte Prin-  
ceps illustrissime, secutō occidentem solem a Gadibus, Christophorus quidam Colonus, vir  
ligur, præbitis illi a meis Regibus tribus nauigis, perrexit ad antipodes, miliana supra quinq;  
milia. Tres & triginta continnos dies, cœlo tantum contentus & aqua, adnauigant. Terrā post  
hec, e cauea grandioris nauis, qua Colonus ipse vehebatur, speculatores proclamant. In insulas  
percurrit ab equore sex. In ipsarum vna, quam Hispania maiorem esse cuncti, qui sunt illum  
secuti, rei nouitate pellecti, prædicant. In terram descendit. ibi dies aliquot immoratus, aurum,  
gofampium, aromata, ob longa, in cinamī formā, & in piperis teretiā, arbores coccineas, succi  
num, colorem glaucum, multarūq; rerum apud nos præciosarum, copiam, terrā illam suapte  
natura gignere comperit, ex quactiq; re, in argumentū tullit tantillum. Reges habet insula plu-  
res, sed nudos, & cum eis omnes vtriusq; sexus, quibus natura cōtenta, ut pote nuda, solisq; arbo-  
rum cibus, & radicali quodam pane gens illa vescitur. Imperiū tamen est ambitiosa, seseq; inuis-  
cem arcubus & præcitis adusis sudibus, mutuis bellis ea cupiditate conficiunt, cogitūq; vi-  
sus regulus, victori parere, ac si meum ac tuū, veluti inter nos, inter eos versaretur, lautiq; ap-  
paratus ac pecuniarum cumuls desiderarentur, qua nanq; re indigere nudos homines, putabis,  
cætera quæ succedent, si optare ista galli permittent significabo, fertur Karolum Regem dato  
iam Perpeniano per Episcopum Albigeſem de illustri Ambascie familie genere, accingere se  
vt ad vos cat. Dis bene vertāt. Valeatq; vtinā bene. Bar chinonē Idibus Septēbris. M. ccccxcii.

CXXXV  
Mira & in-  
nec ad idos  
de caroli re  
gio cogitans  
post pbitus  
ppinianum

## LETTER 135

Peter Martyr of Anghera in Milan to Ascanio Sforza, Viscount, Cardinal, and Vice Chancellor:

So great is my desire to comply with thy wishes, Illustrious Prince, that although thou art in the midst of most stirring events, I think it will procure me thy favour if I relate what has occurred here. It is a strange thing not at all unknown to thee, that of this world of ours about which the sun used to make his circuit in the space of twenty-four hours, only the half has been down to our times known and travelled, as far as from the Golden Chersonese to our own Spanish Gades, the remaining portion being left unknown by cosmographers. And if mention has been made of this, it is doubtful and without details. But now, oh, happy deed, that which from the beginning has been hidden to the very present, now under the auspices of my sovereigns is beginning to be known. Learn then, Illustrious Prince, that this is the thing which happened: A certain Christopher Columbus, a man of Liguria, followed the western sun from the Gades, with three ships furnished him by my sovereigns, and proceeded to the Antipodes, about five thousand miles. They voyaged for three and thirty consecutive days, blessed by both wind and wave. After that the explorers from the upper deck of the largest ship, which bore Columbus himself, proclaimed land. He hurriedly visited in those waters six islands. He landed on one of them which all his followers, allured by the novelty of the scene, declare to be larger than Spain. There he tarried some days. He ascertained that the land produced naturally gold, cotton, spices in form like cinnamon and smooth like pepper, trees of scarlet dyes, the juices of which make a bluish-grey colour, and many other things most precious to us, small samples of which things he brought away. The island has many Kings, but naked, as indeed all are of both sexes. This people, wholly content by nature, naked as they are, feed only on such nourishment as comes from trees, with a kind of bread made of roots. Notwithstanding, they are fond of government, and owing to this desire they wage wars against each other, with bows and with pikes burned into very sharp points. The King who is conquered is considered to be subject to the conqueror. And the principle of Meum and Tuum has a part in their lives as it has among us; and so the things belonging to luxury and the accumulation of money are sought by them, a thing you would hardly think necessary for naked people. I will notify you of what other things happen, if the French will let me have my way; it is said that King Charles, Perpignan having been given by the Albigenian Bishop [of the illustrious Amboise family] is equipping himself to go against you. May the Gods turn their countenances on you. Fare well, and so may all be well.

BARCELONA, September 13, 1493.

CXXXVI

P. M. A. M. Archiepiscopo Bracharenfi.

**C**onfueti haecenus de vna tantū re scribere, tria tibi nunc est ammus significare. Colonus quidam, occiduos ad nauigauit, ad littus vsq; indicium (vt ipse credit) antipodes. Infulas reperit plures, has esse de quibus fit apud cosmographos mentio, extra oceanum orientale, adiacentes indie arbitrantur. Nec inficior ego penitus, quamuis spherę magnitudo aliter sentire videatur, neq; enim defunt qui paruo tractu a finibus Hispanis distare littus indicum, putent, vt cuiusq; sit, magna se reperisse predicant. De his quę dicit, signa tulit, maiora se inuenturum pollicetur. Nobis satis, quod latens dimidia orbis pars, in lucē veniat, & Portugaleses indies magis ac magis equinocciali se circulo subiciunt. Ita ignota haecenus littora, per uia cūcta, efficiuntur prope diem, alter nanq; alterius emulatione, sese laboribus ac periculis exponit ingenibus. ad cœtera veniamusa . . . . .

## LETTER 136

Peter Martyr of Anghera in Milan to the Archbishop of Braga (Petro Inghirami):

Formerly it was my custom to write you on one subject, now it is my purpose to communicate to thee three things. A certain Columbus has sailed to the Western Antipodes, even, as he believes, to the very shores of India. He has discovered many islands beyond the Eastern ocean adjoining the Indies, which are believed to be those of which mention has been made among cosmographers. I do not wholly deny this, although the magnitude of the globe seems to suggest otherwise, for there are not wanting those who think it but a small journey from the end of Spain to the shores of India; however this may be, they declare that a great thing has been accomplished. Concerning the things of which he speaks he brought proofs; greater things still are promised to be discovered. It is enough for us that the hidden half of the globe is brought to light and that day by day the Portuguese go farther and farther beyond the equinoctial circle itself. Regions hitherto unknown, as if they were all so many thoroughfares, will soon be explored. For one nation emulating the example of another, sets forth on labours and great dangers. We come now to other matters. . . . .

BARCELONA, October 1, 1493.

The next letter to speak of Columbus is No. 139, written to Cardinal Ascanio Sforza and dated from the Court, which was still at Barcelona, November 1, 1493. After speaking of the letters brought him by Garcias Caynas from the Archbishop, Peter Martyr says:

"Bracharenfi Archiepiscopo significetur Ioānem Portugalię Regem, qui illum & patrum ei? Cardinalem erexit, interiisse, magni quippe animi Rex erat."

Here again Hallam<sup>1</sup> might charge Peter Martyr with an anachronism, for John II., King of Portugal, did not die until October 25, 1495. The treaty made at Tordesillas June 7, 1494, was signed by him in the latter part of the same year. And yet Peter Martyr only repeats something, a passing rumour, perhaps that very day brought in and which simply says that the Archbishop of Braga has heard that King John had died. Epistolary correspondence with its flying report and its *oui-dire* is scarcely history. The next passage, with which the letter closes, refers to Columbus:

"Colon? ille noui orbis repertor, Architalaffus (quem Hispani admiraldū vocant) maris indici, ab occidente a meis Regibus effectus, cum decem & octo nauium claffe milleq; armatis, & opificibus omnifariam, ad nouam vrbem condendam remiffus est, animaliaq; ac fementes omnis generis [*sic*], fecum affert. Valete si per gallos ad vos euntes licuerit in Kalendas Nouēbris ex curia. M.CCCCXCIII."

"Columbus, he who discovered the New World, the Sea-Chief of the Indian Ocean (whom the Spaniards call Admiral), appointed for the western lands of my sovereigns, with eighteen ships and a thousand soldiers and artificers of every sort, has been sent back to build a new city and he carries with him animals and seeds of all kinds. Fare thee well, if only these may be permitted to reach you by the French who are marching against you. From the Court, November 1, 1493."

The next Columbian letter is as follows:

EPISTOLA CXLI

P. M. A. M. Archiepiscopo Granatenfi.

cxli

De Indici  
reb? Almi  
rātis vocaf  
colonus.



Vc de bellico tumultu accidunt ad illinstrem nostrum comitem scribo, perturbari nanq; huiusce cruetis narrationibus sanctum animum tuū per supernos orbis continue incedentem, nequaq; licere arbitror. Colomum ex ea prouincia honorifica redeuntem, admiraldum oceanū maris Rex & Regina Barchinonē crexerunt, sedereq; illū coram ipsis quod est (vt nostri) supremum apud Reges nostros beniuolētē & honoris, ob res preclare gestas, tributū argumētum fecerunt. De hinc classē illi decem & octo nauium munitam, qua regressus est, sunt impartiti. Magna pollicetur se detesturū, ad occiduos antarcticosq; antipodes. Nil aliud est quod nūc referri possit, propediem complutum, quod Alcala de henares dicitur, proficiscemur. Inde recentiores habebitis līteras meas, qui propriores crīs nobis. Ex Valle lecti pridie Kalendas Februarii. M. cccc. xciiij.

<sup>1</sup> See note on Hallam's criticism at end of our essay on Peter Martyr.

## LETTER 141

Peter Martyr of Anghera in Milan to the Archbishop of Granada:

I communicate the things which happen in the war-like disturbance to our illustrious Count [Tendilla], for I do not think it right to disturb with stories of these horrors, thy contemplative spirit, which may continue fastened on celestial things. The King and Queen at Barcelona have created an Admiral of the Ocean-Sea Columbus, returned from his most honourable charge and they have admitted him to sit in their presence which is, as you know, a supreme proof of benevolence and honour with our Sovereigns. A furnished fleet of eighteen vessels has returned to the New World. Great things are prophesied as about to be discovered in the western and southern antipodes. We are to depart soon for Complutum, which is called Alcala de Henares. Thence you will have my more recent letters as you will be nearer to us. From Valladolid, January 31, 1494.

## CHAPTER X

### "THE NEW WORLD"

THE following letter is likewise of interest:

EPISTOLA CXLIII

P. M. A. M. Io. Borromeo aurato equiti cæs.  
 uī mediol. Comiti lacus verbanū,

. . . . . mira Indies magis ac magis ab or-

cxlili.

be nouo, per colonum cum ligurem præfectum maritimum, ob res bene gestas a meis Regibus effectum, afferuntur. Auri copia ingens, in terræ superficīe reperitur, percurrisse inquit se, ab Hispaniola rotati orbis ad occidentem tantum terræ, vtaurcam fere chersonesum ab oriente cogniti orbis termini vltimi attingerit, duas tantum horas de quattuor & viginti, quibus sol ambiens perlabitur, vnuerfum se putat reliquisse, homines reperit humana carne depastos. Canibales vocat vicinia eorum, & hos nudos veluti vnuerfa est gens illa, libros cœpi de tante rei inuento perferibere. Si dabitur viuere, n. memoratu dignum præmittam, qualescunq; decussit euent, illorum ad te mittetur exemplar. Præbebo saltem vris doctis, magna scribere agredietibus, ingens ac nouum materic pelagus. Valere. Ex oppido cōpluto in oretania quod dicitur Alcala. xiii. Kalendas Nouembris, M. cccc. xcliii.

Epylog<sup>o</sup> p  
 teritep t ne  
 gociano du  
 plicis mari  
 menti inter  
 Letare ano  
 stros reges/  
 de india.

LETTER 143

Peter Martyr, &c., to John Borromeo, Knight of the Golden Spur, citizen of Milan, Count of Lake Maggiore:

. . . Day by day more and more marvellous things are reported from the New World through Columbus the Ligurian, who has been created an Admiral of the Ocean by my sovereigns on account of good services. A great quantity of gold has been discovered on the surface of the ground. He [the Admiral] declares that he has pushed his way from Española so far toward the West that he has reached the Golden Chersonese, which is the farthest extremity of the East. The Admiral thinks that there remains for him to discover only the space covered by two of those four and twenty hours consumed by the encircling sun in his daily passage. He discovered men feeding on human flesh, who are called by their neighbours cannibals,

and these go naked, as in fact do all the others of that race. I have begun to write a work concerning this great discovery. If I am suffered to live I shall omit nothing worthy of being recorded, and whatever portions of this work come out of the press a copy shall be sent you. At all events I shall supply the learned world, in undertaking the history of great things, with a vast sea of new material. Fare thee well. From the town of Complutum in Oretania, which is called Alcala.

October 20, 1494.

The importance of this letter is three-fold. To begin with, this learned man, the first historian of America, recognises the geographical fact that the lands discovered by Christopher Columbus are in a new world, another world. This is the earliest application of the phrase in any dated document. Columbus himself uses it in his holograph *Journal* of the third voyage, when, in August, 1498, he was trying to get out of the Gulf of Ballena. Addressing the sovereigns, he says: "Your Highnesses will gain these lands, so very great, which are ANOTHER WORLD. . . ."

In the letter written by Simon Verde to Mateo Cini, January 2, 1499, he says: "I have read a letter which the Admiral has written to the Sovereigns expressing great hopes on the subject of his enterprise. . . . And it is certain that the Admiral has exhibited a grand courage and genius in discovering *another world—altro mondo.*" Therefore Peter Martyr, so far as we know, makes use of this expression, the New World, for the first time, and he continues its use in almost every reference he makes to America for the next twenty years and more.

In the second place, this is the earliest use—outside the *Journal*—of the term "Cannibal" with which we are acquainted. Columbus first mentions these Indians in his *Journal* under date of November 23, 1492, when certain of the natives said that in Bohio were *canibales* who devoured men. In the first Spanish letter the Admiral speaks of "an island which is here the second in the journey to the Indies, which is inhabited by a people<sup>1</sup> whom in all the islands they regard as very ferocious, who eat human flesh." In the Latin or Cosco letter he simply alludes to them as a people in "a certain island called Charis." The reader will recall that Nicolaus Syllacius wrote an account of

<sup>1</sup> Columbus, in his memorial to the sovereigns, which he sent back by Antonio de Torres, calls these Indians *Canibales*.—Navarrete, vol. i., p. 231.

the first part of the second voyage, and accompanied it with a statement of its composition and dated it Pavia, December 13, 1494. On the second expedition of Columbus, in the latter part of October of the year 1493, the Admiral fell in with some islands before he reached Española. Syllacius says: *Insulæ canaballis parent: gens illa effera et indomita caribus vescitur humanis quos anthropophagos jure nuncupaverim*: "These islands belong to the Cannibals: this people, wild and indomitable, feed on human flesh: by right I might call them anthropophagi." The account is much like the narration of Dr. Chanca, who wrote home by the returning expedition of Antonio de Torres, which left Navidad February 2, 1494. His letter no doubt was read by Peter Martyr, who, struck with the name, quotes it to his correspondent in this letter and thus it is adopted into the language. But it is also probable that Peter Martyr was himself favoured with a letter from the Admiral.

The third interesting and important point in this letter is Peter Martyr's announcement of his purpose to write a serious, continuous relation of the discoveries in the New World:

*Libros capi de tantæ rei invento perscribere. Si dabitur vivere, nil memoratu dignum præter mittam, qualescunque decussi evadent, illorum ad te mittetur exemplar.*

"I have begun to write a work concerning this great discovery. If I am suffered to live, I shall omit nothing worthy of being recorded; and whatever portions of this work come out of the press, a copy shall be sent you."

This is the first intimation we have of the wise literary project of our historian. He knew that such a discovery as Columbus made when he opened to Spain and the world a new hemisphere must be followed by many interesting events, moral and entertaining, and that a relation of them should be preserved in the only permanent method,—that of reproducing them in countless copies from the imperishable type. We also know from the letter written by Angelo Trivigiano to Domenico Malipiero that the narrative account of the first three voyages of Columbus was completed before the summer of the year 1501.

We again direct attention to the fact that this historian as early as October, 1494, calls the lands discovered by Columbus the New World.



## CHAPTER XI

### NEWS FROM THE SECOND VOYAGE

THE next letter, numbered CXLV., is written jointly to the Archbishop of Braga and to the Bishop of Pampelune (Alfonso Cavillo), and dated from Alcalá, October 31, 1494. Only this passage, referring to the return of part of the large fleet, is of Columbian interest:

“ . . . De nuper autem ab occidente hemispherii antipodum rebus repertis hec audite. Idem Colonus prefectus maritimus cum decem & octo nauium claffe, vt in ea infula. Hispaniola, ab ipfo vocitata, vbi pedem fixerat, ciuitatem condere ftuderet, missus est, coeteraq; vt vltiora litora percurreret, claffis partem maio rem remisit. Mira referuntur, hec vt conferibam nuncii celiritas non patitur.”

“ . . . But hear what things have lately been discovered at the Antipodes in the Western hemisphere. This same Columbus, the Admiral of the Ocean, is sent with a fleet of eighteen vessels, that he may set about building a city in that island Española, as he calls it, where he has settled, and that he may explore other and further regions. He has sent back the larger part of his fleet. Marvellous things are related. These I would describe, but the impatience of the messenger will not suffer it.”

This, so far as we know, is the first use of the expression, *the Western hemisphere*. The news here told was reported when there arrived in Spain the fleet of twelve vessels sailing from La Navidad, February 2, 1494. The Admiral, we are assured, was himself a correspondent of our historian. The officers, sailors, and adventurers returning with the fleet were subject to personal and searching inquiries by the indefatigable chronicler, and we may be sure he exhausted every possible source of information. Peter Martyr, then, is the author of two famous phrases, both descriptive of the regions newly discovered, and which are

in use to this our day,—the *New World* and the *Western hemisphere*. History has insisted that neither then nor ever did Christopher Columbus realise he had landed elsewhere than on the shores of Asia. Here was a scholar within the gates of Hercules across the seas, interpreting the news he had from Columbus and his companions, and accurately describing the geographical situation of the new discoveries. For ourselves, we believe the Discoverer himself had an appreciative knowledge of the import of his discovery.

## EPISTOLA CXLVII

P. M. A. M. Pomponio Lepo  
to viro insigni amico.

cxlvii

L'authisp  
nie.

cellas magis indies ac magis, alas protendit Hispania, impertum auget, gloriam nomenq; suū ad antipodes porrigit, a Bracharenſi & Pamplonenſi præſulibus quæſito, quæ ad illos de nuper altero ab occidente hemiſpherio reſerto, ſcripſerim, tuq; illis hæc ſuper addita reſerto, quom eos habeas (quia ſunt amatores bonarum artium) in amicorum numero. Ex nauibus decem & octo, quas a meis Regibus ipſi Colono almirante (vt aiunt Hiſpani) præfecto maritimo dastas, ad ſecundam nauigationem ad eos nemini me ſcripſiſſe, duodecim reducere, ſuapte natura referunt, qui ab eo hæctenus orbe latèti redeunt, telluræ illam, coccineas, ingentes ſiluas, goſſampium, atq; alia multa apud nos præcioſa, enutrire. Sed præter cætera nõ paruam auri copiam. Proh mirum Pomponi. In terræ ſuperficie globos reperiunt aureos, rudes, natiuos, tanti ponderis, vt pudeat fateri. Vnciarum ducentarum quinquaginta nonnullos reſerere, multo maiores ſe reſerturos ſperant, vti noſtris inſinuant nutibus incolæ, quom nouerint noſtros aurum magnificere. Nec fuiſſe Leſtrigones, vel Poliphemos, humanis carnibus depaſtos, dubites, aduerte, & caute ne horrore tibi inſurgant ariſte. Quom ex fortunatis (quas volunt alii quæ canarias) mouetur ad Hiſpaniolam, hoc nanq; nomine inſulam, in qua pedem figunt, appellant, proſas aliquidulum ſi uerterint ad me meridem, in inſulas inciditur innumeras, ferorum hominum, quos vocant caniballes ſue caribes, hi, quantum nudis, bellatores ſunt egregii. Arcubus & claua maxime valent, lintres habent vniſigneos, multicapaces, canoas vocant, quibus ad vicinas inſulas mitium hominum, traſciunt turmatim. Pagos inſularum ad oſiuntur, quos capiunt homines, comedunt recentes. Pueros caſtrant, vt nos pullos. Grandiores pingioresq; effeſtos iugulant, comeduntq; argumento noſtris id fuiſt, qd applicantibus ſe nauigijs, in ſolita mole nauum territi, domos Caniballes deſerere, ad montes atq; ac denſa memora proſugere. Ingreſſi domos caniballium noſtri, quas habent extrabibus erectis conſtructas, ſphericas, appenſas trabibus ſale conſectas hominum pernas, vt nos ſuillas ſolemus, & nuper occiſi iuuenis caput, adhuc ſanguine aſperſum, atq; in ollis elixandas, anſerinis & pitacinis permixtas, eius iuuenis partes, & verubus aſſandas, igni appoſitas alias reſerere. vna nauis caniballiam Regnam comitatam ſilio, ſexq; alijs uiris deprehenſam, venatu redeuntem, apprehenderunt. Ex incolis neminem conſequi potuerunt. Triginta vtriuſq; ſexus tamen ex his, quos veluti in ſtabulis comédandas vitulas, ſeruabant, ad noſtros proſugere, quos ex vicinis inſulis raptauerant, ab his multa didicere, quæ aliquando habebis.

## LETTER 147

Peter Martyr, etc., to his friend, that distinguished man, Pomponius Lætus:

. . . While these disturbances are going on in Italy, Spain spreads her wings more and more over the Indies, widens her dominion, stretches her glory and name to the antipodes. Ask of the prelates of Braga and Pampelune what I have written them concerning the second discovery lately made in the Western hemisphere: and thou shalt be included since you hold them, who are lovers of good things, in the number of friends. I recall that I wrote them about the second expedition consisting of eighteen vessels which my Sovereigns gave to Columbus (the Admiral-in-Chief, as the Spaniards call him) of the Ocean-sea, and that twelve of these vessels had returned from this new world conceded up to this time, and that this land produces dye-woods, remarkable forests, cotton, and many other precious things: and, more than everything else, no small quantity of gold. And oh! wondrous thing, Pomponius, they discovered on the surface of the earth grains of gold, unwrought and natural, and of such weight that I am almost ashamed to relate it. They found about fifty nuggets weighing a couple of hundred ounces, and they are confident they will find larger ones as the inhabitants intimate to our sailors by signs, since they seem to know that our people make much of the gold. Learn and beware, lest your hair stand on end with horror, that there are in that place Læstrygonians and Polyphemi feeding on human flesh. From the Fortunate Islands, which some call the Canaries, an advance is made to Española (as the island is named) in which they are settled, they bend their course a little toward the south, and they have fallen in with numerous islands inhabited by ferocious men called cannibals or Caribs, who, although naked, are skilled warriors. They are very effective with their bows and a great shaft; they have boats made from a single tree, holding a large number of persons, which they call canoes, with which they cross over in bands to neighbouring islands in which the inhabitants are of a peaceable character. They assail the inhabitants and eat such as they capture. They dismember the young as we do our young fowls. They cut the throats of the larger and fatter captives and eat them. A proof of this was offered our men, when the ships having been brought to land, the cannibals, terrified at the unusual size of the vessels, fled from their houses to the mountains and thick groves. Our people entered the houses of the cannibals, which are constructed of upright reeds; joints of salted human flesh were hanging from the roofs, just as we might do with pork; and they found the head of a youth lately severed still dripping with blood, and other parts of the body boiled in pots together with portions of geese and parrots and other things ready for the fire. They captured a cannibal queen with her son returning from the chase; none was able to follow; thirty-six others of these whom they had stolen from the neighbouring islands, preserved in stalls like calves ready for eating, fled to our people. Much more might be added, but sometime you will hear further. . . .

Humboldt found some difficulty in reconciling the matter in the next important letter, numbered CLIII., with its date. As we have already said, the fleet of twelve vessels under command of Antonio de Torres and bearing the earliest intelligence of the second expedition set sail from Española on its return voyage, February 2, 1494, and it was on the sixteenth day of March, in the year 1494, that it anchored off Cadiz. The letter is written to Julius Pomponius Lætus d'Amendalaro, and is dated IV. Kalend. Januarii, MCCCCXCIV., which is December 29, 1493. It gives an account of the results of the voyage and of the sad fate which overtook the three and forty men left in La Navidad when Columbus returned on his first voyage. The date is simply an error, and should have been written IV. Kalend. Januarii, MCCCCXCV. The several letters which precede this are dated in December, 1494, and the fourth letter after this, the one numbered CLVII., also written to Pomponius Lætus, is dated from Alcala, IV. Idus Januarii MCCCCXCV., which is January 10, 1495. This is the more clear from an allusion in this to his "former letter written a few days since," and which he thinks may have gone astray. The following is the famous letter which we think was composed after receiving a letter from Columbus himself and not from having perused the letter written by Dr. Chanca or the correspondent of Nicolaus Syllacius.

## EPISTOLA CLIII

cliii

P.M.A.M. Pōponio lēto viro insigni doct̄ina, amico.

**P**Rę lētita proflūisse te, vixq; alachrymīs p̄regaudīo temperasse, quando literas aspexisti meas, quibus de antipodum orbe latentī hactenus, te certiorē feci, mi suauissime Pomoni, insinuasti. Ex tuis ipse literis colligo, quid senseris. sensisti autem, tantiq; rem fecisti, quanti virum summa doct̄ina. Insignitum decuit, quis nanq; cibus sublimibus prestari potest ingenis isto suauior? quod condimentum gratius! a me fatio coniecturam. Beari sentio spiritus meos, quando accitos alloquor prudentes aliquos, ex his qui ab ea redeunt prouincia, implicent animos pecuntarū cumuls augēdis miserū auari. Libidinibus obscēnt, nostras nos mentes, postquam deo plent aliq; andiū tuerim, contemplando, huiuscemodi rerum notitia demulceamus. Habebis ista igitur Pōponi, modo liceat per Bracharensem Pampilonensemq; meos p̄sules, ad quos scribere ista soleo, postquam desii ad Ascantiū, quem procellis vndiq; circumseptum variis, animū curis grauib; habere pessundatum video. Ad rem ventam, prima nauigatione Colomus maris indici p̄fectus (dicitur Hispanice almirantis) in Hispaniola octo & triginta viros in Guadcanarilli Regis & ipsi nudo, prouinctam reliquerat, qui telluris illius naturam, dum ipse rediret, explorarent. Hos reperit omnes, quom rediit, trucidatos; & aggeres, quos ad habitaculum illis & tutelam considerat, equatis solo fossis, disceptos, com bustosq;. Guadcanarillus, qui nostris aduentantibus, profugerat, tādē repertus coactusq; de viris, in eius custodia relictis, rationem reddere, Cannaboam Regem montium, eundemq; potentissimum, ipse Regnum armis inuasisse, q; nostros suscepisset, nostrosq; eo inuito, la

Deo bene  
no multa.

chrymīs etiā obortis, & de Cannaboa conquerens (vti per signa colligere fas fuerat) trucidasse innuebat. Rem dissimulare Colonus ipse Almirantus sanius duxit, ne insularum animos perturbaret, in alia tempora. *L. v. m.* admitti sceleris vindictam, statuit differre. Qui redire recum duodecim illis nauibus, quas supra memorauī, mira de regionis illius vberitate, de spe reperiri duorum operum, de aeris temperie, quamuis sint proximi tropico cancri, nam equa est illis fere diei toto anno nox, de aurea illorum incolarum ætate, de moribus referunt. Urbem condere Colonus, vti ad me nuper scripsit, nostras sementes iacere, animalia nutrire nostratia, incipit. Quid iam mirabimur, Satui nos, Cereres, & Triptolemos, noua inuenta hominibus prebuisse? Quid fœnices vt Sidona, vt Tyrū, conderent, quid tyrios ipsos, vt alias regiones inhabitarent, ad alienas terras migrasse, nouasq; vrbes crexisse, nos populos formasse. Miratur gens illa turbarum tympanorumq; sonitus, Machinarum stupet tonitruis, e quorum gressu, cursu, or natu mustitat, hæret ab omni rerū nostratiū aspectu. Attonita pendet ore aperto. Ex coelo missam gentem hanc putant, sed tunc pro diis colere nostros cœperunt, quando captos ex itinere septem canibales cum eorum Regina, qui eos comedunt, truculentos offenderunt, vinctos etiā horrore summo cum pauore videbant. Auerſa illos facie spectabant. Hispaniola hæc insula, foliis castaneæ formam emulatur, aiunt e septentrione articum eleuari polū gradibus sex & viginti, a meridie vero vnum & viginti, ab oriente ad occidentem produci inquit, & elongari sphericæ longitudinis gradus decem nouem. A gradibus per occidentum distat gradus, vt aiunt, qui accurate rem dimetiuntur, nouem & quadraginta. Hæc pauca nunc habeto, habiturus aliquando plura. Et vale scribo ista non quando accidunt, sed quando a te de mea euocantur officina. *iiii. K. las Januarii. M. ccc. xciij.*

## LETTER 153

Peter Martyr to his friend, Pomponius Lætus, a man distinguished for his learning:

Thou hast been transported with pleasure, my most dear Pomponius, and scarcely able to restrain thy tears, when thou hast inspected my letters in which I have made known to thee the news of the world of the Antipodes, until this time hidden. I gather from thine own letters what are thy feelings, and thy sentiments are well becoming so worthy and learned a man. What food could be more agreeable, what flavouring more grateful to elevated souls! I judge from my own feelings. I feel my own spirits buoyant when I hold converse with those who have actually returned from that country! Let the avaricious heap up riches! Let the wicked give themselves over to their pleasures! As for ourselves turning our thoughts inward, after praising God, we may well enjoy a reading of such great events. You have had an account of these, Pomponius, from the letters I have addressed to my friends of Braga and Pampelune, for no longer do I correspond with Ascanius since I have beheld his soul overwhelmed by various storms and weighed down by heavy cares. To return to our subject,—Columbus, the leader of the Ocean-sea (he is called Admiral by the Spaniards), left on his first expedition at Española, a Province of the King Guadcanarillus, himself accustomed to go without vestments, thirty-eight men who were to investigate the character of the country until the Admiral's return. When he did return, he found all these murdered and the

fortified mound which he had built and which was to be their home and fortress had been burned and destroyed and the defences levelled. Guadcanarillus had fled at the approach of our people, but he was found and there was demanded of him an account of the men who had been left in his care. He accused Cannaboa, a King of the Mountains, a powerful chief, who had invaded his own kingdom because he had entertained our people. With tears in his eyes, he intimated (as was gathered by signs) that our people had caused the difficulty for which they had been killed by Cannaboa. Admiral Columbus himself considered it better to dissemble in order not to disturb the minds of the islanders, and he determined to postpone to some other time the punishment for this wickedness. Those who have returned with twelve of the ships mentioned above, relate marvellous things concerning the richness of that country; of the hope of discovering yet others; of the temperate climate, very near as it is to the Tropic of Cancer, and during almost the entire year the night is equal to the day; of the customs of the natives such as might belong to the Golden Age. Columbus, as he has lately written me, has begun the building of a city and the planting of our seeds and the raising of cattle. Why longer should we admire the Saturns and Ceres and the Gods of husbandry for having taught men new inventions? Why should we admire the Phœnicians for having built Sidon and Tyre, or the people of Tyre themselves for having emigrated to other lands, for founding new cities and colonising other regions with new peoples? This people are astonished at the sound of our trumpets and drums, stupefied by the thunder of our cannon, speechless at the prancing, running, and trappings of our horses; perplexed at the sight of everything belonging to us. They stand in open-mouthed astonishment. They think our people have come from heaven, but now they begin to regard us as gods when they see seven cannibals and their Queen, whom our people have taken *en route* and who have eaten their friends: even as bound captives they regard them cringingly and dare not look them in the face. This island of Española is in shape like the leaf of a chestnut tree: it is situated in twenty-six degrees of latitude on its northern side and twenty-one on its southern, while from east to west it is elongated some nineteen degrees. According to those who have accurately measured it, they say it is forty-nine degrees westward from Cadiz. Thou hast these few details now, later thou shalt have more. And so, farewell. I write these things not when they happen, but when they are drawn out of my library by thee.

December 29, 1494.

## CHAPTER XII

### THE SOIL OF THE NEW WORLD

As we have already seen, these letters of Peter Martyr formed the groundwork for his history. He doubtless kept copies of such as he wrote to distinguished correspondents, and afterwards elaborated them into whole chapters for the *Decades*.

For instance, the following letter to Pomponius Lætus, and which may be considered as a continuation of the one last given (letter 153), was incorporated into the second and third books of his *First Decade*, although in the work itself the second book is presumed to be written to Cardinal Ascanio Sforza. The reader may compare the brief reference in the present letter to the hammocks used by the Indians with the fuller description in the second book of the *First Decade*.

In the present letter, Peter Martyr barely touches on the fertility of Española, while in the third book of the *First Decade* he treats the marvellous fecundity of the soil at great length and cites an instance where "a certain farmer sowed a little wheat about the Kalends of February (a thing marvellous indeed in the sight of all), and on the third day of the Kalends of April, which fell this year on the vigil of the resurrection of our Lord, he carried a handful of the ripened grain into the city." We recommend, therefore, a careful reading of the *Epistolæ* with the *Decades* of both the 1511 and 1516 editions.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The bibliographer will be interested to see the marked differences between these two editions. For instance, in the reference to the hammocks in the 1516 edition, Peter Martyr has changed the word "bombasine" to the word "gossampine," and says that the Spaniards commonly called this cotton texture "algodonus," while the Italians called it "bombasine." We find that Richard Eden undoubtedly made his English translation of the *Decades* from the 1516 or 1533 edition, and probably never saw the very rare edition of 1511. This translation was published at London by William Powell in 1555 and constitutes the earliest collection of voyages printed in the English language. It has a map of the New World. Some examples have a map of Muscovia.

## EPISTOLA CLVII

P. M. A. M. Pomponio Læto vtro singulari doctri-  
na amico dilecto.

clvii.

De gradibus  
Ispaniolę  
de illarum ter-  
rarum & cęli  
natura de  
mō viuendi  
& de regibus  
de quibus scri-  
bitur.

**V**is Pomponi mi charissime, vt latius, vt capatioribus tibi tabellis minuta quęq; de nouo orbe recitem, non detrecto mandata tua, vir insignis, sed eo pedibus in fissa tua. Vis locorum tractus, vis longitudinis & latitudinis gradus, vis terrarum & gętium naturam. De his omnibus non multis ante diebus ad te scripsi, sed cum (vti video) intercepta fuerit epistola, aut forte, si portum attingit, cum hæc tua a te dimitteretur, non dum tibi fuerat in portu portata, breuibus pauca repetam. Scripsi longitudinem eius esse graduum polarium, decimūnonū, latitudinem. qnto distare aiunt a gradibus p longitudinem orientalem, gradus quadraginta nouē, non recta tñ poenitus ad occidentem, eleuatur enim gaditanis polus gradus nondum sex & triginta insularibus vero illis vnum & viginti a meridie, a septentrione vero sex & viginti, varii tamen de gradibus varia sentiunt, stelle polaris motum errore istum arbitror emuttrire. sunt namq; qui tollant, quiq; augeant rationem vtranq; terrę illi natura fortunatur vberissime. Quantum præciosis rebus abundet scripsi alias. Radicali patrię illius pane vesci malūt nostri, q̄ tritico, q̄ lapidi sit gustus, faciliusq; stomacho concoquat. Vtranq; sunt experti, aiunt a nocte toto anno parum discrepare diem, nec sphere ratio aduersatur, nec vigere sibi calores immensos, nec vlla frigora inquit. Id arbitror accidere propter imbres, quos aiunt cadere creberrimos, aliter enim cum sint equatori proximi, estuarent acriter, arbores esse aiunt proceras, altissimas, herbas in pratis ita densas altasq; enutrirī, vt pedibus aut equo nequaquā ad iter illas finire possint, armenta q; ibi nostrata nasci corpulentiora, maioraq; multo euadere, propter pinguiora pascua referuntur. Hortensia fataq; reliqua, ad illos allata, nra temporis breuitate, coalescunt, cucurbitę, melones, cucumeres, cęteraq; huiuscemodi a factio semine, intra diem sextū & trigessimū, comeduntur, lactuce, rasani, boragine cęteraq; id genus olera, intra quindecimū. Ex vitium satione, secundo anno se aiunt suaves vvas collegisse, Cannas, ex quibus saccharum extorquetur, intra diem vigessimū prodire cubitalis prædicant, vterq; sexus vniuersa in insula nudus agit, præter corruptas mulieres, quę semoralibus quibusdam gosampinis pudenda tantum contegūt, suos habet quęq; prouincia Reges. Domos habent sphericas, ex diuersis trabibus constructas, palmarum foliis, aut quarundam herbarum textura, contextas, a pluuia tutissimas, trabum fixarum terre, ita coeunt cuspides, vt castrenses emulentur papilionis. ferro carent. Ex fluuialibus quibusdam lapidibus, fabrilia formant instrumenta, lectos habet penfiles, gosampinis quibusdam lodicibus, ad trabes deductis funibus, lodici alligatis. Funes ex gosampio vel herbis quibusdam sparto tenatoribus cōtorquet. Vocor ad curiā, disceditq; tabellaris. Ignosce si sum breuis, & propterea obscurus. Vale Cōplutiū in Oretanja. quarto Idus Ianuarius. M. ccccxcv.

## LETTER 157

Peter Martyr to his dear friend, Pomponius Lætus, a man remarkable for his learning:

You desire, my most dear Pomponius, that I should recite to thee matters concerning the New World more freely and with more detailed descriptions: I do not refuse thy requests, oh, worthy man; on the contrary, I hasten to obey them. Do you wish to know the distances of places, their degrees of latitude and longitude, the character of the countries and peoples! I wrote to thee concerning all these things but a few days since, but it seems to me the letter may have been intercepted, or if by chance it reached its haven, it had not yet reached thee when thou wrote thine to me. I will



repeat a few things in brief words. I wrote you about the longitude: the latitude is nineteen degrees and it is forty-nine degrees distant, as they say, from the Straits of Cadiz on its eastern side, although the island is not exactly to the westward, for the Straits of Cadiz are thirty-six degrees, while the latitude of the country of these islands is twenty-one degrees on the southern side and twenty-six on the northern. Concerning the degrees, opinions differ: I suppose this error is due to the motion of the Polar Star, for there are those who lessen and others who increase it in their calculation.

This land is most fertile by nature. I have told in other letters how it abounds in precious things. They prefer bread made from roots to ours made from ground wheat, for the taste is more relishing to them and it digests more easily: but they use both. They say that during the entire year the day scarcely differs from the night, which is probable from their place on the globe. They experience discomfort neither from great heat nor cold. I imagine this is owing to the showers which they say fall frequently, otherwise they would suffer bitterly. They say that the trees project in great branches and are lofty. The grass grows so dense and thick that one can scarcely make a way either on foot or by horse. Our herds are said to fatten and grow much more quickly on account of the pasturage. And likewise the garden stuffs have their growth in a wonderfully short time, squashes, melons, cucumbers, and such other vegetables from the sown seed may be eaten within thirty-six days; lettuce, radishes, and other cabbage-like vegetables within fifteen days. They say that the second year after the planting of the vines delicious grapes are gathered. The canes from which sugar is extracted grow a cubit in height within twenty days. Both sexes go universally naked, except the married women, who for shame cover their natural parts with cotton cloth. Each province has its own Kings. They have houses that are round, constructed with divers beams, covered with the leaves of the palm or woven grasses, most efficient against the rains: the tops of the beams, which are imbedded in the earth, are joined as if they were army tents. They have no iron. They fabricate their hardened tools from stones taken from the rivers. They have hanging beds with a sort of cotton coverlid, suspended from the beams with ropes or twisted cords. These ropes are made from the cotton-tree or from certain grasses stronger than the Spanish Sparta plant. I am called to the Court and the messenger departs. Ignore my brevity and consequently my lucidity. Farewell.

COMPLUTUM IN ORETANIA (ALCALA), January 10, 1495.

The following extract is from a letter addressed to the Archbishop of Granada. In view of the subsequent treatment of the natives, the solicitude of the Spaniards for the souls of the Indians seems a mockery:

EPISTOLA CLIX

clix

P. M. A. M. Archiepiscopo Granatensi.

... Ex antipodibus Indies, magis ac magis grandia referuntur. Prætermitto de opibus que tibi sunt parue cure. ad Christianam religionem hominū ventura multa milia speramus. & cū hoc fitaū politico margine cœne valeto. Compluti prope diem hinc discedem⁹ ut Burgos proficiscamur. xviii. Kalendas Februarii, M. cccc. xcviij.

LETTER 159

Peter Martyr, etc., to the Archbishop of Granada:

... Great things are reported daily more and more from the Antipodes. I omit matters which would have small interest for thee. We have hope that many thousands of these men will be converted to the Christian religion. And with this pleasant postscript, as it is supper time, I bid thee farewell. We set out at an early day from Complutum, where we now are, for Burgos.

January 15, 1498.

The next letter of Columbian interest is numbered CLXV. It is written to Cardinal Bernardino Carvaialo and dated from Tortosa, August 9, 1495. The opening sentence suggests that the letters of Peter Martyr were encyclical in character and were passed from hand to hand, giving to many the first news of these great events. Peter Martyr states explicitly that the Admiral wrote him a personal letter after reaching Española. As the reader will notice, it must have been written after the return of Columbus from his exploration of Cuba. If Peter Martyr had incorporated in his letters some entire letter of Columbus, as he sometimes did with his other correspondents, we would have been grateful to him. In this letter he expresses the Admiral's belief that he was in the region whence in ancient times King Solomon drew his gold, and that the shores of the New World touched by him were really those of the continent of India,—the India of the Ganges. There is no doubt that for a time Columbus regarded Cuba as continental land. Soon we shall see one of his officials procuring affidavits from pilots, seamen, and cabin-boys upholding this opinion. But that the great navigator long held this opinion we do not believe. As the letter says, the long wedge-shaped peninsula struck Columbus with force and he confidently thought himself on the extreme end of the continent. The letter reads as follows:

EPISTOLA CLXV

P. M. A. M. Bernardino cardinali Hispano generoso.

**F**Asturum te participè eorum quæ scripsero meum Heroem pomponium letum, & Bracharensem ac Pampilonensem antistes, auditores quondam meos, e quorum faucibus tu, quia potentior es, cibum arripis, fuisti pollutus, vidisse te scribis, quæ ad illos missa sunt de orbe nouo, alias igitur oras, atque alia littora percurramus. Ex hispaniola quam admirantur, ipse colonus, tanti autor inuenti, offiram Salomonis aurifodinam putat, in aliam ad occidentem prouintiam traiecit, cuius finitum ab ultimo hispaniolæ angulo, tractu distat exiguo, septuaginta namque milia passuum inquit, cuneata est hæc regio, quam vocant incole cubam, latus meridionale huius terræ colonus arripit, ad occidentem septuaginta se continuos dies naturales, per eius terre littora nauigasse: ad me scripsit. reuersus namque cit ad hispaniolam, ibique pedem fixit, & nuntios ad reges de suo regressu destinauit, curuari ad meridiem eius littora terre plurimum scripsit, ita ut se proximum aliquando reperiret equino ætate. A leua, innumeras se vidisse insulas narrata, huius magne telluris littoribus in mare, aduertit cadere flumina multiformia, frigida hæc, illa calidissima, dulcia pleraque, alia saporis alterius. In plerisque, piscium ingentem copiam, alibi nulla conchilia, ex quibus vniones abraduntur, inuenit. per maria se transisse inquit, testudinibus scuta maioribus fere condensata. Per vadosa, lactesque albiora alia, perque torrentes inter insularum angustias gurgites, iter se fecisse dicit. Per etiam turbida cenosaque alia prædicat. Per inferiorem nobis terræ ambitum maiorem se ignoti orbis partem percurrisse putat. Nec existimat se duas integras ad auream chersonesum orientalis terminum metas horas solares, reliquisse. Nosti enim Reuerendissime purpurate, cum doctrinæ omne genus optime calleas, pro incognito hæcenus fuisse relictum, quicquid a gadibus nostris ad auream Chersonesum, per inferius Hemispherium trahitur. Hanc ergo terram admiratus iste, se humano generi præbuisse, quia lætentem inuenit sua industria, suoque labore gloriatur. Indiæ gangeticæ continentem, eam esse plagam contendit, nec Aristoteles, qui in libro de celo & mundo non longo intervallo distare a littoribus Hispaniæ indiam, Senecaque ac nonnulli ut admirer patiuntur. Falcatis portubus regionem hanc esse fultissimam dicit, & internis grandibus animalibus plenam esse, illorum vestigia quæ descendenti bus cernere erat, indicabant, in mari vero stantibus, horrendi per noctem auditu mugitus, magnam esse plagam testabantur, per suos interpretes insulares, quorum idio ma proximum erat huius terræ idiomatibus, nullo in loco desinere terram didicit, pro certo igitur habet esse continentem. Nudos tamen & reperit eos incolas, veluti insulares diximus. Paucis in locis ne moraretur discursu tamen excepto regni, cõtentus, rediit in hispaniolam, vnde se prope diem ad reges venturum, ut late rationem de inuentis reddat, pollicetur, cum amicis ista meis conferatur. Et vale Tortosæ. v. Idus Augusti. M. ccccxcv.

LETTER 165

Peter Martyr to the illustrious Spanish Cardinal, Bernardinus (Carvajal):

Thou hast been promised that thou shouldst become a participant in whatever I wrote to my Hero, Pomponius Lætus, and to the ecclesiastics of Braga and Pampelune, my former pupils, from whose jaws thou seizest the food because thou art the stronger: thou hast read whatever I have communicated to them, therefore we may run over other regions and other shores. The Admiral Columbus himself, the Hero of this great discovery, has left Española, which he thinks may be the gold-producing Ophir of

<sup>1</sup> Wrongly written *Tertosis* in the Elzevier edition.

Solomon. He made an excursion into another province to the west, the beginning of which is not a great distance from the extremity of Española: he says this region, which the inhabitants call Cuba, is in the form of a wedge some seventy miles (seventy thousand passūs) long. Columbus ranged along the south side of this land, sailing along its shores for seventy consecutive days. He wrote to me since his return to Española, where he is settled: he has sent messengers to the Sovereigns to inform them of his return; the shores of this region incline so much toward the south that he may soon find himself near the equinoctial line. On his left hand he reports he has seen innumerable islands; he reports that rivers of various descriptions precipitate themselves into the sea from the shores of this great land; some are cold, some most warm, for the most part the waters are fresh and others are of a better taste. In almost all is there an abundance of fish: elsewhere he found the shell-fish, which yields the large single pearls. He relates that he has crossed seas almost solidly covered with gigantic turtles. He narrates that he has had to make his way among the narrow passages of the islands, sometimes over shoals whiter than milk and sometimes past raging whirlpools. He relates that he has passed by other waters sluggish and muddy. He thinks to have run over in the hemisphere opposite to us the greater part of the unknown world. He does not calculate that there remain to be travelled by the sun more than two of its hours to the Golden Chersonese, the boundary of the eastern end of the earth. Thou art not ignorant, Most Reverend Cardinal, for thou understandest every science, that in the opposite hemisphere the land up to this time unknown has been claimed to be that which lies between the Straits of Cadiz and the Golden Chersonese. It is this land that the Admiral prides himself upon having offered humanity, because he discovered its secret by his own perseverance and by his own toil. He insists that this land is the continent of the Indies of the Ganges, and indeed in this he is supported by Aristotle (who, in his book on *Heaven and Earth*, said that the shores of Spain were not very far distant from India) and Seneca and others. He says that this region is most strongly supplied with harbours shaped like the sickle, and that in the interior of the country there are many large animals of great size, as is indicated by their footprints in the pathways leading down to the sea, and by the horrible bellowings which are heard throughout the night. The vastness of this country is vouched for by the native interpreters of these islands, whose language is nearly the same as that spoken in this country, and who say that the land nowhere ends. Wherefore it is surely a continent. However, he found that the inhabitants were accustomed to go naked, as we have reported of the people of the islands. He has not delayed by running about much, as was in accordance with directions from the Sovereigns, and he returned to Española, whence he might the more quickly give to the Sovereigns an account of his discoveries as he had promised. Let this letter be communicated to my friends. And so, farewell.

TORTOSA, August 9, 1495.

Letter CLXIX. was also written to Cardinal Bernardino Carvaialo, and dated from Burgos, October 5, 1496. Columbus had returned to Spain on June 11, 1496, and it is thus nearly four months before Peter Martyr records it in his correspondence. He devotes but a few lines to him and to the affairs of the New World. The portion of the letter relating to Columbus is as follows:

## EPISTOLA CLXIX

clxix

P. M. A. M. Bernardino Caruatallo Cardinali.

uo attulit Admirantus noster colonus, ab oris quibusdam, quas percurrit, ad meridiem, ad gradum ab æquinoctio sextum, vnionum orientalium ferta pleraq; putat regiones has esse cube contiguas, & adherentes. Ita q; vtrq; sint Indię gangetidis cõtines ipsum, cõtes, & per hæc littora, nauigauit plures, nec finem aut terminũ, vllum se vidiſſe argumentum fatetur. Pariam ipſe tractum hunc appellari ab incolis dicit, populis reſertiſſimam, habitatores carnibus Cõchilium, e quibus vniones abradunt, cum reliquis cibis veſcuntur. Pleriq; in locis goſampinis femoralibus, pudibunda contegunt, alibi cucurbitula includunt, aliſcubi funiculo preputiũ, reducto neruo, ligant, ad miſtum tantum, aut coitum ſoluunt, cõterum & ipſi nudũ. Fuit magno noſtris argumento, terram eam eſſe continentem, q; animalibus paſſim noſtratibus eorũ plena ſunt nemora, ceruis, vt pote apris, & id genus reliquis, & ex auibus, anſeribus, anatibus, pa uonibus, ſed non verſicoloribus. A ſceminis parum diſcrepare mares aiunt, ſagaces ſunt incole venatores, quoduis animal ſagittis facile tranſigunt, ſpinteribus, tintinabulis, calculis vitreis, & huiſcemodi artis inſtorię mercibus, vniones alacres permutant. Quorum ſe copiam inſigentem collecturos, ſi reuerſuros ſe promiſerint innuebant. Hec latius in librũs, quos de his tantum inuentis, ſcribo, ad alia nunc deueniamus. . . . Tu vale data Burgis tertio nonas Octobris. M. ccccxcvi.

De orbe no  
uo/ cõcluſa  
eſt ceſare af  
finitas / qd  
Regia Ma  
uarrę / quõ  
reſ cat / rad  
qd / noe lau  
reto magna  
clafſe mitti  
mus Joan  
nã ad ſitig  
pũ virũ.

## LETTER 169

Peter Martyr, &amp;c., to Bernardinus Carvajal, the Cardinal:

. . . Our Admiral Columbus is home from the New World. He tells certain things concerning the countries he has run over. Toward the south these lands are in sixteen degrees of north latitude, and they are rich in pearls like those of the East. He regards these regions as a continuation and prolongation of Cuba, and so likewise of India beyond the Ganges. That which seems to prove his assertion is the fact that he has sailed along these coasts for many days without finding an end. The country itself is called Paria by the inhabitants, who are very numerous. They feed upon the shell-fish from which they dig out the great single pearls, making use of the rest for food. In many places they cover the natural parts with cotton cloths, and in others they sheathe themselves in gourds. Sometimes they bind the foreskin, the tendon being put back, with a cord, which they loosen when they attend to necessities or pleasures.

Others go entirely nude. That which affords our people with a strong argument as to this being a continent is that the forests here and there are full of animals like our own,—deer, the wild boar, and other similar kinds, as well as birds, geese, ducks, and peacocks, but not with colours so variegated; and they say the males differ little from the females. The inhabitants are skilled hunters. They pierce with their arrows any animals whatsoever. They eagerly trade their great single pearls for bracelets, little bells, and glass beads. They indicate by signs that if our people come back they will have collected for them a great quantity. I write more fully of these great discoveries in my books. We turn now to other subjects. . . . Fare thee well.

Done at Burgos, October 5, 1496.

There is an interesting passage in the letter directly following this in the Alcalá edition, in which Peter Martyr, mindful that there is another nation engaged in exploration, and that discoveries are making in the south as well as in the west, refers to the grand work accomplished by the Portuguese.

In letter CLXXXI. to Pomponius Lætus, he says:

*Quid castellana gēs coloni ligūris ductu, ab occidēte repererit, fatis ample lateq̄ me scripsisse existimo:* "I think I have written with sufficient detail and fullness concerning the discoveries made in the west by the Castilians under the leadership of Columbus, the Ligurian."

The letter<sup>1</sup> is dated Methinna, the ancient name of Medina del Campo, not far from Valladolid, September 1, 1497. In it Peter Martyr speaks of the arrival of a Portuguese expedition at the Cape of Good Hope, and the fear that Italian commerce will be affected by this event. It was Wednesday, November 22, of the year 1497, when Vasco da Gama made his way around this land's end and thus we have another instance, not of a fabricated letter, but of one carelessly dated or wrongly inserted by the printer.

<sup>1</sup> We think that letters 181 and 185 belong to a much later period than the year 1497. They treat of Portuguese maritime matters, some of which could only have happened during the year 1502. Vasco da Gama did not return to Portugal until August 20, 1499, although Nicolas Coelho of his expedition preceded him somewhat, reaching Lisbon on July 10, 1499. But the letter 181 opens with an apparent connection with letter 180, the letter in which Martyr describes the King Naiba and the religious beliefs, and which seems to have been written in 1497. Certainly letter 185, referring to the Portuguese massacres of the Mussulmans returning from Mecca, which occurred October 3, 1502, could not have been written before 1503. We think the compiler of these letters, several years after Martyr's death, is to be charged with the discrepancies between events and dates.

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE RELIGION OF THE INDIANS

THE following letter, while it refers incidentally to Columbus, is of interest as an attempt to describe the natural worship of the Indians. It is addressed to Pomponius Lætus. The information concerning the religious customs of the natives is derived from the Catalan priest, Friar Ramon Pane of the Order of the Hermits of St. Jerome, who, according to some, accompanied the Admiral on his second voyage, but more probably on his third, since we find Las Casas, who himself certainly arrived at Española in 1502, saying:

Fray Ramon el ermitaño . . . que vino á ella (isla) cinco años ántes que yo: ("Friar Ramon, the Hermit, who came to this island—Española—five years before I did.")

If Las Casas intended this to be just five years previous to his own arrival, it would fix the arrival of the Jeronimite priest as in 1497, and Columbus sailed from Spain on his third voyage on May 30, 1498. However this may be, we learn from this letter that the priest went to the New World by the advice of Columbus for the purpose of acquainting himself with the religious customs and principles of the Indians. The Tenth Book of Peter Martyr's *First Decade*, published at Seville in 1511, is devoted almost entirely to the forms of worship among the natives. On the folio of fv we read:

"Ex cuiusdam heremitarus studio fratris ramoni <sup>1</sup> qui ex coloni mandato apud infulares (vt eos christiane erudiret) regulos diu verfatús de infularum ritibus libellum cōposuit hispano idioma: pauca hec leuiorib? ommiffis colligere fuit animus. Illa igit accipito. . . ."

<sup>1</sup> In the Alcalá edition of 1516, *scriptis* is here properly inserted.

" Brother Ramon of the Hermits, who at the command of Columbus has long been among the Island chiefs in order to instruct them in Christianity, has composed in the Spanish tongue a little book on the rites of the inhabitants of the island: I was minded to collect a few things from his writings, omitting inconsequential matters and therefore these I have learned. <sup>1</sup>"

## EPISTOLA CLXXVII

P. M. A. M. Pōponio suo de superstitionib⁹ insularū.

**E**Rige aures Pomponi mi suauissime, legisti, vt arbitror, quecūq; ab initio orbis ad nra vsq; tēpora, de diſſonis & veris ceremoniis cœlestium scripta sunt, ne te vltra factes, cū ſta vidisse auſcultato, q̄ nra insulares Hispaniolę, nudi hoies, referant, apud eos diu nra verſati ſunt, priuſq; an aliud colerent, quā cœli numen potuerint intelligere, nunc autē, cū familiarius apud primores, ex præfecti maritimi coloni præcepto, Romanus quidā heremitanus (vt vulg⁹ inquit) cōuerſat⁹ fuerit, vt nro ritu regulos erudiret, noſtroſq; mores illos edoceret, mire, apud pleroſq; obſeruari antra duo cognouit, e quorū pfundis ſpecub⁹ ſolē ac lunā pdiſſe pueracū, veroq; verſus id eſſe autumāt, apud alios cucurbitulā ſummo eſſe in præcio quandā, qm̄ ex ea ſcaturiuſſe mare cū ſua piſcū multitudiſe fabulant. Ex cutus pfluxu terrā illā, q̄ cōtinēs erat, ſinumeras aūt, quas videre fas eſt effectas eſſe iſulas, cū ex illa pdeūtū aquarū alluuię, valles implerent, locaq; obruerent, cū ſuis gētibus, & aialibus paſſim. Magnificiūt alii monilia q̄dam, ex auricalco, q̄ affigunt pectori reges, quā data quondā referunt iſulari principi primario, a formoſa femina, ad quā principē eſt in pfundo maris viſari inquit, vt cū ea coiſet deſcēdiſſe, de hoim aūt origine, pulchrū eſt audire, quid balbutiāt. E duobus nāq; aliis ſpecub⁹, ortos prædicāt. Multa pretermittit, ne me in veterib⁹ his aūtis impliçē, ex libris quos de his tā tum inuētis formo, aliquādo cognoſces. Nūc vale Methinç Cāpi ſcūb⁹ Iunij. M. ccccxcvii.

clxxvii  
Quid dho  
nunc qd de  
ſole ac luna  
garriant in  
iſularco.

## LETTER 177

Peter Martyr, etc., to his friend, Pomponius, concerning the superstitions of the islanders:

Open thine ears, my dearest Pomponius: thou hast read, I am sure, whatever has been written from the foundations of the world even to our own times concerning the false and true worships of the Gods: but take care not to boast of having examined all until you hear what our Islanders of Española, men without vestments, say: our people lived among them a long time before they discovered that they had intelligence more than sufficient to understand the name of Heaven, but now, more familiar with their customs, Ramon, a certain Jeronimite, as he is commonly called, at the

<sup>1</sup> We are prepared to exalt this good priest to a high place for his devotion to his calling in teaching the Indians at the expense of long study and the endurance of much hardship while living among them, until we hear Las Casas declare in commenting on this very priest and his struggles to acquire a speaking and preaching knowledge of the Indian tongue: "It was not that the languages were so difficult, but the clergy, like the laity, care only to learn enough of the language to exclaim, 'Give bread; go to the mines; dig gold!'" A work composed by Ramon Pane, entitled *Nuestra Señora de Izamal*, has been translated into the French by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg. Peter Martyr, as we have said, has quoted very largely from the writings of this Jeronimite, and the reader will do well to consult the last book of his *First Decade* in the Seville edition of 1511, or the Ninth Book of the *First Decade* in the Alcalá edition of 1516. We also recommend the reader to secure the edition of the *Decades* printed at Bâle in 1533.



order of Columbus, the Admiral of the Ocean-Sea, has had much converse with the chiefs, in order that he might teach them our rites and instruct them in our customs: among many, they have great esteem for two grottoes, from one of whose deep caverns they believe the sun and moon to have come forth<sup>1</sup>: they assert that there is nothing more certain than this: among others a bitter gourd is held in great esteem inasmuch as they declare that out of it comes the Sea with its multitude of fishes: from the overflow of which, as they say, this land which once was a vast continent, was converted into innumerable islands as seen in this time: and from the outburst of the waters the valleys were filled up and all places submerged, even with the people and animals. Others greatly regard certain necklaces of copper which the Kings wear suspended on their breasts, because such a necklace was a gift to the first of the Island Chiefs from a beautiful woman, to whom, as they say, the Chief presented himself as he emerged from the depth of the Sea in order to unite himself to her. But concerning the origin of mankind it is charming to listen to their imaginative talk: for they declare that they sprang from two other caverns. I omit many things, for I do not care to entangle myself with these old wives' tales. Sometime you shall know them from the books which I am composing on these discoveries. And now fare thee well.

MEDINA DEL CAMPO, June 13, 1497.

EPISTOLA CLXXX

P. M. A. M. Cardinali san cte crucis.

cbox  
De mari et  
cucurbitula in  
fulariū face  
tia.

**G**arfias lupus frater tuus, ad nos in curiā nuper venit, vt est egregius, clarus ingenio, si las-  
tinas is literas fuisse affectus, maroni forte palmā de manibus cruisset. Rithmos cōpos-  
nit idiomate patrio sapidissimos, graui succo, sententiāruq; pōdei et pregnātes, Placuit no-  
uisse hominē, non minoris illum facio ob suemet naturę dotes, q̄ q̄ tibi frater est, nec me ipse  
abicit, tum quia videt me tibi deditissimū esse, tum etiam quia quęcūq; prodeūt ex eius officis  
na, sui ingenii viribus decussa, mihi ostendit, id sibi nec offuisse sentit. Ad hęc scripsi quędam  
ad Pomponiū, ob eius virtutes herōe meū, de ridiculis insularū super stitionibz, scio tibi ea rela-  
turū, at quid maris illa creatrix cucurbitula importet, accipito pductus. Naiba regulus insu-  
laris, quōdā adamati filii, quē in maturā mors pręcipuit, cineres cucurbitula inclusit, mirabos-  
lano arbori, ne terra macularent, appēdit. Is fertur, post aliquot mēses, filii desiderio motus, cu-  
cubitulā affixā appennisse, vt filii cineres cōspiceret. Abscede purpurate princeps, ne te deglu-  
tiant equorea mōstra, exiit illico, cū magno aquarū gurgite, Balenarū & ingētū pisciū magna  
copiā, qua data sunt mari, pisciū semina, quattuor dein iuvenes puerascūt ex eodē partu fratres  
gemellos, cupiditate pisciū, & rei fama cōmotos, cucurbitulā, absente naiba regulo, deprōpsit  
se, vt eius porticulā ad emittēdos pisces apperirēt, sed ex tēpore superueniente naiba, prę stupe-  
re cucurbitulā soluisse de manibz, & cōfregisse, caue ne te obruāt. Exquiliās cōscēde si Romę  
es, ne suffoceris aduētate diluuiō, ex cucurbitulę scissuris, Maria scaturiūt illa, q̄ cōtinentes ha-  
ctenus eos tractus omnes, aquarū per ima cōtūū profluxu, insulas effecerūt, quas cernere licet  
innumeras. Ita & hortū habuisse e cucurbitula mare, & ex cōtinēti diuisam in partes varias pa-  
triā, nostri perpolite narrāt insulares. Inūc & tibi persuadee te cun cta ha ctenus sciuisse decrat ali-  
quid (vti video) Vale methinnę Campi. vi. Kalendas Augusti. M. ccccxcvii.

<sup>1</sup> In his *First Decade*, Peter Martyr describes at length this belief of the Indians concerning the origin of their race. Out of the bigger cave came the taller and greater

## LETTER 180

Peter Martyr, etc., to the Cardinal of Santa Cruz:

Garcia Lopez, thy brother, is lately come to us at Court. He is a distinguished man, brilliant in his parts. Had he given himself to Latin letters, he had perhaps taken the palm from out the hand of Maro (Virgil). He has composed in his mother tongue the most attractive verse full of deep sentiment and sound vigour. It is pleasant to know the man, and I esteem him not less for his natural endowments than for the fact that he is thy brother. Nor does he himself seem to repulse me, because he understands how devoted I am to thee, and also because whatever things are produced by his efforts composed for men of his own genius, he shows them to me and he feels assured they are appreciated. I have written to Pomponius—my Hero because of his virtues—concerning the ridiculous superstitions of the Islanders. I am sure he has imparted those stories to you. But learn at once that a bitter gourd has brought forth the sea. Naiba, a petty King of this Island, deprived of a son whom an early death had snatched away, enclosed his ashes in a bitter gourd and hung them from a balsam tree lest they should be spoiled by the earth. It is told that some months later, moved by a longing for his son, he opened the suspended gourd that he might gaze upon the remains of his son. Withdraw thyself now, illustrious Cardinal, lest watery monsters devour thee! There issued forth with a tremendous tumult of waters, a vast quantity of whales and great fish, which are the male and female ancestors of all the fishes. Then four youths, brothers and born in the same birth, moved by the fame of the thing and from a desire for the fish, in the absence of Naiba, the King, opened the bitter gourd that they might let loose the fish, but Naiba returning unexpectedly, they let the gourd fall and it broke. Now, beware lest thou art engulfed! Mount to the Esquiline Hill if thou art at Rome, lest thou art overwhelmed by the rising of the deluge! From the disaster to this gourd, flowed out all these seas over the lands which up to that time were simply one vast continent, separating the mountains by the same outpouring of the waters, and forming the innumerable islands which one sees to-day. Thus you have the origin of the sea from out of a gourd and the continent divided into numerous parts, as our Islanders relate in their completest style. Go now and persuade thyself that thou knowest all things happening up to this time. But I see there is one thing lacking. Fare thee well.

MEDINA DEL CAMPO, July 27, 1497.

men: out of the smaller came the weakest and least. The great cave they called *Cazibaxagua*, and the smaller *Amaiauna*. He describes their idols called *Zemes*, their familiar spirits, their demons. They believed in the dead walking and returning to them in bodies which were so natural, that only placing the hand upon the navel could reveal the ghostly character of the visitants. Many of the caves and grottoes, which were objects of superstitious regard by the natives, are known to-day by the people of San Domingo. Among these is that of *Dubeda*, near the Gonaives, one in the mountain of Selle near the Port au Prince; and that of *Doubon*, not far from the Cap Français. In the early days of the colonies, quantities of idols were found, and rude inscriptions and pictures were discernible on the walls.

## CHAPTER XIV

### THE PACIFIC AND END OF THE AMERICAN LETTERS

FROM this time on, few of Peter Martyr's letters relate to the New World. In Epistola CCI. the historian simply records:

Solem fecuti nostri Castellani ad occidentem magis ac magis indies progrediuntur. Nudos fola plerisque in locis cucurbitula in modum Bracule, qua mēbrum ac genitalia includuntur, contentos reperiunt incolas, alii preputium, deducto nervo, alligant funiculo, quem nisi vinctus, aut coitus gratia foluunt integra tamen & alii gofampina femoralia gestant, aurum, gemmafque ed precipue vniones, multis in locis reperiunt.<sup>1</sup>

Because of its importance as the first announcement of the discovery of the Pacific, we give a letter written to Luis Hurtado or Furtado Mendõça, with whom he seems only just lately to have established a correspondence. This Luis Mendõça was the son of Iñigo de Tendilla, the early protector and correspondent of Peter Martyr, mentioned by him in the very first letter we have from his pen. Luis was afterward Marquis of Mondejar and Viceroy of Granada.

After this letter there occurs no other reference to the affairs of the New World for more than thirteen years. The silence of this historian upon this subject, so important to his adopted country, from May 12, 1499, until December 18, 1512, can be accounted for only by the constant attention he gave his *Decades*, incorporating in his *First Decade* all that information which but for that work he would have confided to his regular correspondents.

<sup>1</sup> This unnecessarily detailed account of certain customs of the natives appears elsewhere, and there we have ventured to translate the passage.

EPISTOLA CCCCCXXXVII

P. M. A. M. Ludouico Furtado Mendoço.

CCCC  
XXXVII.

**A** Borbe nouo nuncios habemus. Vachus Nuñez Balboa manu promptorum fauore inuitis Magistratibus a Rege designatis: Imperium sibi vsurpauit in Darieneses Hispanos: eiecto gubernatore Nicuesa: & Baccalario Anzifo in carceres coniecto. Is erat furis dicundi Prætor. Balboa facinus adeo ingens aggressus est: ac perfecit: vt læsæ Mafestatis non modo ventam fuerit assequutus: sed titulis honoratis insignitus. Fama didicerant: qui eas incolebant terras esse trans Montes altos in ipsorum prospectu iacentes: Mare aliud Australe: margaritis & auro ditius: medîos tamen Reges sui furis acres esse defensores: mille propterea opus esse armatis hominibus ad illorum Regum potentiam infringendam: Mittebatur ad eas vias ferro aperiendas: Petrus Arias: de quo supra cum ea bellatorum manu. Interea dum sese apparant in Hispania: dum coguntur in lites: dum armantur: dum nauigia construuntur: Vachus Nuñez ille Balboa tantæ rei fortunâ tentare constituit: Centum nonaginta viros ex Darienensibus coegit: in Kalendas Septembris anni superioris. M.D.XIII. iter capit: ferro partim: partim blanditiis: & nostratibus donis Regulis pacatis: Montes superat: mare salutat: Petro Arias ac sociis suis: laborem illum atq; vna tantæ rei famam: & gloriam surripuit. Mira scribuntur: quando certi aliquid habebimus: scies. . . . .

De rebus  
Darienens.  
Balba vsur  
pat Imperio.  
De mari  
Australi

LETTER 537

Peter Martyr, etc., to Luis Furtado Mendoça:

We have messengers from the New World. Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, with the aid of his followers and against the will of authorities appointed by the King, has usurped the government in Darien, driven out the Governor Nicuesa and thrown into prison the Bachelor [Lawyer] Enciso, who was the official charged with rendering justice.<sup>1</sup> Balboa has attempted and accomplished a deed so great that not only has he been pardoned for his treasonable conduct, but distinguished by honourable titles. The rumour had prevailed among the colonists of these lands that beyond the high mountains lying in sight of them was another ocean, a southern ocean richer in pearls and gold; but the kings of the lands situated in between proposed to defend them sharply. Moreover, to break their power it would require an armed force of one thousand men. Pedro Arias was sent on in advance at the head of these warriors to open a way by force. In the meantime, while these things were preparing in Spain, while the army was collecting and arming and the ships were building, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa himself decided to put fortune to a great hazard. He set out from Darien with one hundred and ninety men on the first day of September in this last year 1513 and began his journey. Partly by force, partly by conciliations

<sup>1</sup> We shall have occasion to meet both these men more than once. The *Decades* tell us much of Diego de Nicuesa, who was Governor of the Castilla del Oro region and of Veragua. The lawyer, Martin Fernandez de Enciso, was a citizen of San Domingo, where he had accumulated by his profession quite a respectable fortune. He is said to have been the second person to hold the title of Adelantado, an office created for his brother Bartholomew, by Columbus himself.

and by pacifying the native kings with our presents, he scaled the mountains and saluted the ocean. Thus he stole away from Pedro Arias and his companions the fame and glory of this great enterprise. Marvellous things are written. When we have definite news, thou shalt know it. . . .

And so farewell.

VALLADOLID, July 23, 1514.

The letters of Peter Martyr cover an infinite number of interesting subjects, the living questions of the day, the things discussed by the Court and by the populace, by the Castilians and by the Moors. In their freshness of topic, their living, immediate interest, we find the chief charm of the epistles. When he speaks of the wonderful harmony existing between the sovereigns, his King and Queen, as he calls them, one spirit, one heart, one hand governing all their actions, we are carried into the very central hall of the Court and behold them counselling together and then writing their signatures in concert and accord. He loved both his masters. When the Queen died he added his adoration of her to the portion already given Ferdinand, and when the latter passed away his sentiments were transferred to Charles V. Yet we find him telling what we should consider State secrets about the unfortunate Joanna when he writes to Michael Perez; and so likewise when he writes to Luis Mendonça, the son of the Count of Tendilla, concerning the malady of the old King. Humboldt gives considerable praise to Peter Martyr for his relation of events interesting to science, and sums up his opinion of the author with the wish, in which we heartily join, that some writer who is thoroughly saturated with the historic spirit of the time of Alexander VI., Julius II., and Leo X., the Roman Pontiffs, might undertake a translation with a commentary of the epistles of Peter Martyr.

## CHAPTER XV

### HALLAM AND TWO OF HIS CHARGES AGAINST PETER MARTYR

THE reputation of Peter Martyr for accuracy has suffered by the charges brought against him by Henry Hallam in his *Literature of Europe*.<sup>1</sup> It is a serious charge to make against a writer on whose relations and writings we have had very largely to rely for our knowledge of the discovery and first occupation of the New World, to say nothing of his statements and comments on the innumerable subjects covered by his epistles. Hallam does not content himself with a general charge, but is honest enough to present specific examples of historical delinquency. These are three in number and all three are anachronisms. First, in Epistola LXVII., written to a learned Portuguese, Aryas by name, who was a Professor of Greek in the University at Salamanca, Peter Martyr says:

“In peculiarem te nostre tempestatis morbum, qui appellatione Hispana Bubaram dicitur, ab Italis, morbus Gallicus, medicorum Elephantium alii, alii aliter appellant, incidisse precipitem, libero ad me scribis pede.”

“Thou hast written me fully about the peculiar disease in our times which the Spaniards call bubarus<sup>2</sup> and the Italians call *morbus gallicus*; some doctors call it a sort of leprosy, others give it some other name.”

This letter, dated from Jaen, April 5, 1489, refers to the disease *morbus gallicus* and Hallam points out that the name of the disease was not conferred upon it until after the Columbian discovery and the siege of Naples. The disease is as old as the daughters of evil. Hallam's criticism relates particularly to the

<sup>1</sup> See the end of chapter iv. of his *Literature of Europe*.

<sup>2</sup> This we take to be a compound Greek word *Bov* and *Bapovs*, “exceeding grievous.” Some derive this from *Bovβωρ*, the pudenda.

period at which it was defined as *morbus gallicus*.<sup>1</sup> It has been the custom among writers to date the first appearance of this disease from the return of the expedition of Columbus from the New World, bringing from its shores, as they alleged, this dreadful affliction. In the beginning there was no immediate contemporaneous authority for this assertion. A certain Nicolas Poll, physician to Charles V., wrote in 1517 that the guaiac wood found in the New World would cure the *morbus gallicus*. In Augsburg, on December 17, 1518, there appeared the work of Leonardos Schmaus, entitled *Lucubratiuncula de Morbo Gallico et Cura eius Reperta cū Ligno Indico*. We find therein the following passage: *In occidentali India in Insula Spagnola nouiter reperta. . . Occidentales Indos per plurimos annos hoc morbo grauiter laborasse medicinamque, etc.*, and this is the origin of the story.

In an important characteristic nothing so much resembles a flock of sheep as a lot of historians,—they follow their leader and one another without independence and without looking. Oviedo repeated this story, and as his voice seemed to have authority, most writers have been content to take the statement from him. In his *De l'Indie Occidentali*, libro ii., cap. lxxvi., as printed at Venice in 1534, we read:

“ La prima volta che questa infermita si vidde in Spagna, fu dappoi che Don Christophoro Colombo hebbe discoperte le Indie, & tornò a queste parti, & alcuni Christiani che vennero con lui, che si trovarono al discoprir di quelle terre: & quelli anchora che fecero il secondo viaggio, che furono molti, portorono questa malattia, & da loro si attaccò ad altre persone. Et l'anno 1495 che il gran capitano Don Consalvo Ferrando di Cordoba passo in Italia con gente, in favor del Re di Napoli Don Ferdinando giovane, contra il Re Carlo di Francia, per comandamento delli Re Catholici Don Ferdinando & Donna Isabella d'immortal memoria, avoli di vostra Maesta, passò questa infermita con alcuni de quelli Spagnuoli, & fu la prima volta che in Italia si vidde, & come era nel tempo che li Franzesi passarono con il detto Re Carlo, chiamarono li Italiani questo male il mal Franzese & li Franzesi il mal da Napoli, perche ne anche loro l'haveano visto fino a quella guerra: dopo laquale si sparse per tutta la christianita, & passo in affrica per mezzo di alcune donne & huomini malati di questa infermita, perche a

<sup>1</sup> The reader may consult Francastor, *Syphilis Sive Morbus Gallicus*, Verona, 1530; and more modern authors, Renault's *La Syphilis au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Paris, 1868; and Dupuy's *Le Moyen-Age Médical*, Paris, 1888. See Haser, *Geschichte der Medicin*; also Hesnaut's *Le Mal Français, à l'époque de l'expédition de Charles VIII. en Italie*, Paris, 1886.

nessun modo si attacca tanto, quanto per il congiungimento dell' huomo con la donna, come si è visto molte volte, medisimamente nel mangiar nelle scodelle, & bere nelle tazze & coppe dove li infermi di questo mal usano, & molto piu nel dormir nelli lenzuoli & veste dove sian dormita tali infermi, & è tanto grave & travaglioso mal, che non è persona che habbi intelletto che non vegga tutto il giorno infinite persone rovinate per questo male, & che paiono peggio che li amalati di San Lazaro."

"The first time this sickness was seen in Spain, was after Don Christopher Columbus had discovered the Indies and returned to those parts; some Christians who went with him and who were present at the discovery of those lands, and also those who went on the second voyage, many in number, brought this malady and from them other persons were attacked with it. And in the year 1495, when the Great Captain, Don Gonsalvo Fernando de Cordova, went into Italy with people to help the King of Naples (Don Fernando, the Younger) against King Charles of France (by command of the Catholic Sovereigns Don Ferdinand and Doña Isabella of immortal memory, your Majesty's grandparents), this sickness was introduced by some of those Spaniards, and it was the first time it was seen in Italy: and as this occurred at the time when the French went there with the said King Charles, the Italians called this sickness 'il mal Franzese,' and the French called it 'il mal da Napoli,' because they had never seen it until the time of that war. After this it spread throughout all Christendom and crossed into Africa by means of some women and men who were affected with the malady, because in no manner is it communicated so readily as by the intercourse of the sexes, as has been noticed many times: and it is likewise communicated by eating from the same dishes and drinking from the cups and pitchers which those persons having this disease have used, and much more readily by sleeping in the sheets and clothes where such sick persons have slept. And it is such a serious and painful disease that there is not a person in possession of his senses who has not seen every day an infinite number of people ruined by this malady and who look worse than the sick of St. Lazarus."

Oviedo was a youth of about fifteen when Columbus made his first voyage. It is true that he was a page at the Court, but it is not likely that he would have known much of the matter. His statement that the Italians named it *mal Franzese* or *morbus gallicus* is enough to show that it never came from the Western World, and the fact that the French called it *mal da Napoli* shows that it was common to both France and Italy. He says it was first seen in Italy, and, indeed, the weight of testimony seems to be that in its especial gravity it was first in France, then in Italy, and then in Spain.

Ferdinand Columbus, in his *Historie* (chap. lxxiii.), writing



of what occurred when Columbus arrived at San Domingo on his third voyage, says:

“ Percioche gran parte della gente, da lui lafciaurai, era già morta, & de gli altri ve n'erano piu di CLX. ammalati di mal Francefe.”

“ Moreover, a great number of the people left by him were already dead: of the others there were more than 160 ill of the 'mal Francefe.' ”

In the French edition of the *Historie*, printed at Paris in 1681 (see Part II., p. 68), this is translated:

“ Il y en avoit un grand nombre de morts, & plufieurs eftoient malades du mal des Femmes de ce Pays.”

The reader will observe the entirely different and unwarrantable construction put upon this passage, and which might lead one to attribute the sickness to a native malady.

Baptista Fulgosus, whose work was printed in 1509, in the fourth chapter of his first book, in the last paragraph, entitled *De Prodigio in Caroli Octavi Aduentum in Italiam*, says:

“ Biennis quoq̄ anteq̄ Carolus ueniret noua ægritudo inter mortales delecta: cui nec nomen: nec remedia medici ex ueterum auctorum difciplina inueniebant: uarie ut regiones erant appellata. In Gallia Neapolitanum dixerunt morbum: at in Italia gallicum appellabant: alii autem aliter: nonnulliq̄ Iob fancti ægritudinem esse dicebant: cuius uis grauiter artuum iuncturas torquebat: quibusdam totum corpus ulcere corripiebat . . . primo ex hispania in Italiam allata: ad hispanos ex æthiopia breui totum terrarum orbem comprehendit.”

This testimony of Fulgosus is important in two respects, first, as to the time of its appearance; and, second, as to the place of its origin. He says that the disease made its appearance two years before Charles VIII. came into Italy, and this last event occurred, as he himself says in this same paragraph, in the year 1494, thus fixing the appearance of the disease called *morbus gallicus* in the year 1492, before the discovery of America and before the siege of Naples. It is impossible, therefore, that it could have had its introduction from the New World, from which Columbus, first of all transatlantic travellers, returned in 1493. He says in the second place that the disease came into Spain from Æthiopia. Baptista Fulgosus was Doge of Genoa from the years 1479 to 1481. He was then an active observer of the things he describes, and when he says the disease came

into Spain from Æthiopia, he probably expressed the popular notion of its origin. It would be a somewhat stretched imagination which would interpret Æthiopia to cover the newly discovered regions of the western hemisphere. When he himself refers to these regions he seems to distinguish between the expedition of Columbus reaching the Indies *a gadibus recto cursu in Indiam navigare*, and those expeditions which sailed to the East along the coasts of Æthiopia.

Wenderlin Hock of Brockenaw, who had received his education at the University of Bologna, wrote in 1502 concerning this disease: "Since the year 1494, up to the present year, a certain contagious disease has made considerable ravages." Then later on he repeats, "This disease, to speak more exactly, has flourished since the year of our Lord 1483." In a document dated in 1472, relating to the foundation of St. Victor's at Mayence, we read that the organist could not perform his duties because of the *mala franco* from which he suffered. Meursius' refers to a poem, which it is quite certain was composed before the siege of Naples (1492), in which a compound Greek word is made, *φθαρτίζέειν*,<sup>2</sup> to be sick after the manner of the French—which indicates the common acceptance of the designation.

The second count in the indictment brought by Hallam against Peter Martyr is in these words: "In February, 1511, he communicates the absolution of the Venetians by Julius II., which took place February 24, 1510."<sup>3</sup> And this is one of three instances of anachronisms charged against our author by Hallam. If the event occurred in 1511, and the reference to it was dated 1510, it would undoubtedly be an anachronism, but inasmuch as Peter Martyr does not say that it occurred in 1511, we fail to discover an error in time. This letter, No. 450, in question, was written to Petrus Fagiardus and is dated from Seville, March 15, 1511. Pope Julius II., the most war-like Pope who ever occupied the chair, had effected at Cambrai, in the year 1508, a league by which the Emperor of Germany, the King of France, and the King of Spain, were to unite with him against

<sup>1</sup> Johannes Meursius, *Glossarium Græco-Barbarum*. Elsevier, Lugd. Bat., 1614.

<sup>2</sup> This is indeed the Greek of the barbarian, but it served the poet's turn. *φθαρτίζ* did duty for either the country or the people of Gaul, and *alpha privative* was joined to the verb *ζοειν*, changing its meaning of *to be well* into the opposite, *to be un-well*. Some derive this from *Μῶω* to dry up.

<sup>3</sup> See the note at the end of chapter iv. of Hallam's first volume.

the Venetian State, which was so powerful, by reason of its commercial wealth and its standing armies, that it aspired to build up an empire out of all Italy. Shortly after the formation of this league, which was confirmed at Rome, March 22, 1508, Pope Julius issued a Bull against the Republic, declaring it guilty of high treason, and applying the interdict not only against Venice and its territories, but against all places which should dare to receive or to harbour a Venetian. The King of France, Louis XII., was not slow to take advantage of the provisions of the league, and in the spring of the year 1509 he entered the territories of the Republic and on May 14 had his great victory, following which he wrested from them the cities of Bergamo, Brescia, Crema, Cremona, and many other towns which he declared had once belonged to the Duchy of Milan. Such great success made the French an unwelcome ally to the Pope, and either of his own volition, or, as some think, from the cunning of the Venetian Senate, a peace was made between the Republic and the Pope, contrary to the essential spirit of the league made at Cambrai, which provided that none of the contracting parties should make a separate peace; the Venetians, on February 24, 1510, were absolved and purged of the Papal contempt, and on their Ambassadors subsequently repairing to the porch of St. Peter's Church and prostrating themselves at the feet of his Holiness, they were not only freed from national sin, but were taken under his particular protection, and soon these two new allies were at hearty conflict with the French invaders. The Pope, bent upon the capture of Ferrara, whose Duke and Marshal Chaumont, Governor of Milan, were united against him, himself accompanied his army, sharing with his soldiers in all their privations, discomforts, and dangers. He rode about his camps before Mirandola the coldest days of that winter, reprimanding some and animating others, a High Priest at prayers, a General before his lines. On one occasion he was nearly captured by the famous Chevalier Bayard. But on January 20, 1511, the town yielded and the Vicar of Christ, at the head of the Christian people, entered a reduced and conquered city as a military victor over another Christian people. It is on these events and in a general way that Peter Martyr is writing to Fagiardus, and in accounting for the Venetian and Papal allied forces he mentions the covenant of Cambrai and the

subsequent absolution and purgation of the Venetians. He tells of the fall of Mirandola and of the death of the Marshal Chaumont, who died at that time in Milan of a fever. The letter, therefore, was not written the previous year. If Hallam looked hurriedly at the first edition of the *Epistolæ*, the one under consideration, he probably saw inserted on the margin these words, *papa compurgat venetos*, and was misled by the apparent immediateness of the occurrence. Peter Martyr died in 1526, and as this book was not printed until 1530, he can hardly be held responsible for the printer's marginal reference.

The following is the full text and translation of Peter Martyr's letter:

## EPISTOLA CCCCL

P. M. A. M. Petro Fagiardo Marchioni Bellecensi.

ccccl.

**H**Abuisti haftenus literarū, quas ad meū tēdillē Comitem Exarabam exemplaria habes, bis primaria post hac, præsentem nāq; illū habemus in curia, per exemplaria proxima Pontificē Iuliu, ex pacifico Martiale effertū, ductasse acies intellexisti, horrenda frigitur perpeffus est, Mirandola tamen sese dedit, nec passus est dari militibus in prædam, per muros rupturas, qua tormentis via patebat, perq; gelatas fossas, pedibus nō per patētes aut equo portas ingressus est, præ ira in turbatorē Gallum, nutrire barbā cingulotenus dicitur, quid sit Pōtificis ardor iste pectoris pariturus, non intelligimus, grandia sunt que versat animo Christum, cuius se causam suscepisse proclamat, vtam inuenturum, qua & Hestensem familiā dispartat, & Gallum scismatis, & Hestensis fautorem, puntat, sermōe roborato affirmat, Coelites insquit propriis causis, modo qui eis patrocinetur assurgat, nunq; deseruisse Venetos in amicitiam & foedus admisit, Cæsari hoc Galloq; Regi molestissimū. Gallo, quia Venetos purgatos & expiatos anathemate refuirecturos suspicatur, Cæsari, quia ex Gabrensis cōuentus passione, sua se non possidere arguit. Pontifex satis putat factū ad eius partis rationem, quādo Paduam Veronā, Vicentiam, & multa prætere, in eius potestatem coniecerunt, ceteris que supererant ad eum attentibus capti facilibus, extenuatis Venetorum viribus, in strage Carauaciēsi. Nil esse ait Pontifex, cur illi debeant succensere. Si pacta per confederatos tueri Cæsar nequiverit, cupere se prædicat, Italiam iam tandem placare, ne perpetuis bellorum iacturis confisteretur. Rex noster animo cruciatur, pacem inter eos totis viribus quarat. Ad Africānam tamen expeditionem sese accingit. Est aliud quo claudam epistolam. Chsamonus ille Mediolani gubernator, & Gallici ductor exercitus, febrī correptus Mediolani perit. Descendisse illam animam ad coelos autumāt homines, & tartareas visitasse caernas, quia pontificem quondam Bononiē, Alchārōteas iam iam perambulātem fabulosas ripas, non pingui misnerua læserit, & quo tempore spiritum naturę redidit pontificem haberet iratum. Barbatum Petrum piscatorem hominum, paradisi clauis eadie abscondisse, Romę, inter tocosa disterta, curiales obloquuntur. Tu vale, data Sibilla, nolo ultra Hispalim hanc urbem, nolo reliquas veteribus appellare nominibus, ne te aut cæteros ad quos scripsero, rē non sonū querētes, vocabuli curiosam hēsitatōne confundam. Idibus Martii, M. D. xi.

Papa cepit Mirandolā. Papa compurgat Venetos qd in hoc Cæsari. qd Gallo. Dixit Christi amicus Salus Mediolani gubernator.

## LETTER 450

Peter Martyr of Anghera in Milan to Petrus Fagiardus, Marquis Bellecensis:

You have up to this time received the copies of the letters I sent to Count Tendilla. In the future you will have the principal news. This present we have in the Curia. The war-like Pope Julius has effected a peace. The army was skilfully led, but endured terrific cold. Mirandola surrendered and was pillaged by the soldiers who entered the town through the broken walls, as one could not pass by the frozen ditches, which were accessible for neither horse nor foot-soldier. It is said of the French that in anger they propose to grow their beard until it reaches the girdle. We cannot understand what ardour burns in the breast of his Holiness, only there are great designs in his soul; he declares that the Saviour will never desert his own cause and will find a way; he dispersed the family d'Este and he punished the schismatic Gallus, the supporter of the d'Este; he affirmed in a strong speech that the Gods never will desert their own cause or him, who is protected by them. He admitted the Venetians into friendship and into a league, the most threatening to the Emperor and the French King: *To the French King because it is supposed that the Venetians, purged and free from the curse, will again rise: to the Emperor, because he asserted that, according to the covenant of Cambrai, he (the Pope) could not by himself make a treaty with them: the Pope thinks he has acted reasonably with either party, since they threw Padua, Verona, Vicenza and many others into his possession, which will be increased by others easily taken, from the men of Venice reduced by the slaughter at Cavaræinsis. There is no reason, says the Pope, why they should be enraged. If this compact is kept by the confederates the Emperor will be unable to keep peace in Italy as he declares is his desire, since that country is afflicted with the perpetual expenses of wars. Our King is afflicted in spirit; he seeks peace with all men. Nevertheless, he is preparing an expedition to go into Africa. There is another matter and with that I close my letter. Chiamonus, he who was the Governor of Milan, and leader of the French forces, was taken with a fever at Milan and died. Men believe that his soul has gone below and to visit the infernal regions, where it already wanders about the fabled banks of the river Acheron and because Minerva rudely annoys a certain Pope at Bologna, and should he ever return into the flesh he will find an angry Pope. Among other jocose things which are said, the courtiers condemn the bearded Peter, fisher of men, for having on that day at Rome thrown away the keys of Paradise.<sup>1</sup> Fare thee well. Given at*

<sup>1</sup> This is the earliest printed account of a doubtful episode. In the *Epigrams* of Gilbertus Ducterius, printed at Lyons in 1538, is this epigram:

" In Gallum ut fama est, bellum gesturus acerbum  
Armatam educit Julius urbe manum:  
Accinctus gladio, clares in Tibridis anmem  
Projicit, & fevus, talia verba facit:

## Christopher Columbus

Seville; I do not wish to call this city nor the rest of the cities by any other name than Hispalis and their ancient names, neither to thee nor to the others to whom I shall write, seeking the thing itself rather than the mere sound, which is easily confused by the perplexing and curious use of words.

March 15, 1511.

Quam Petri nihil efficiant ad prælia claves,  
Auxilio Pauli forfitan enſis erit."

"The story is that Julius a bitter war did wage,  
And from the Roman City his forces drove in rage:  
His sword within his hand, a thing of toughest fibre,  
He threw the Papal keys deep down into the Tiber:  
Exclaiming, Lo! the keys, by Peter left, have failed me,  
Perchance the sword of Paul more happ'ly will avail me."

While the story is told by many writers, it is not generally believed, and doubtless came from the war-like character of the Pope and his determination to recover terrestrial power by means of the sword.

## CHAPTER XVI

### THE THIRD CHARGE OF HALLAM AND ITS REFUTATION

THE third charge is that in a letter, dated at Brussels, August 31, 1520 (Epist. DCLXXXIX.) Peter Martyr makes mention of the "burning of the canon law at Wittenberg by Luther, which is well known to have happened in the ensuing *November*." In the first place, Peter Martyr was never in Brussels, certainly not on August 31, 1520, because we find him at Valladolid on August 29, 1520, and again on August 30, 1520. This letter, No. DCLXXXIX., cited by Hallam, consists of six lines, three lines of introduction and three lines of subscription, and is dated from Valladolid, September 18, 1520. This letter is addressed *Ad Marchionibus Discipulis*, and incloses, or rather includes, a long letter to Peter Martyr from Alfonsius Valdesius,<sup>1</sup> or Alfonso

<sup>1</sup> Among the many students who sat at the feet of Peter Martyr were two of extraordinary interest. They were brothers, and not only brothers but twins, so like the one to the other in personal appearance that even intimacy failed to always separate their identity. And this strange resemblance enwrapped common moral traits and mental qualifications. The one was called Juan & Valdés, the other Alfonso Valdés. The great Desiderius Erasmus wrote in 1528 to Juan:

MOST ACCOMPLISHED YOUTH—Your brother Alfonso Valdés has conferred such obligations upon me, that I thought to love whomsoever in any way belongs to him. But you, as I hear, are so like him in both personal appearance and readiness of mind, that you might seem to be not twins, but one individual. I think it very proper, therefore, to love you both alike.

This marvellous identity has confounded the separate work of each and some historians have united them into one personality and ascribed the result of their labours to one, Juan Alfonso de Valdés. They were born about the end of the fifteenth century, and therefore were scarcely of their majority when Peter Martyr received this letter from Alfonso Valdés. Juan de Valdés was for a time Chamberlain, *Camerero*, to Pope Adrian VI., whose occupaney of the chair was of such short duration. Alfonso Valdés became Latin Secretary to the Emperor Charles V. The twin brothers travelled separate roads of learning, though constantly crossing and running alongside each other's path. Thus Alfonso devoted himself to jurisprudence and Latin composition, and Juan to a study of his native language and to the originals of the Holy Scriptures. *The Hundred and Ten Considerations* of Juan de Valdés formed a work of great popularity in its day and was published in England, at Oxford, in 1638, and again in London by Bernard Quaritch in 1865, with a life of the author,

Valdés, dated at Brussels, August 31, 1520. It is this letter of Alfonsius Valdesius which contains the passage quoted and criticised by Hallam.

As this letter of Valdesius is interesting in itself, we give it in its entirety:

EPISTOLA DCLXXXIX

Oclxxx  
ix.

De nona se-  
cra Luthere-  
ranorum a-  
pud Scrima-  
non exorta.

P. M. A. M. Marchionibus Discipulis.

**Q**Uæ in Regnis gerantur, Vos non lateat. Ex his quæ ab exteris habemus, legite pro-  
digium horrendum mihi ab Alfonso Valdesio magnæ specti iuvene, cuius patrè Fer-  
dinandū de Valdes Rectore Cöcheni. Nostis. non minus fideliter, quàm ornate descriptum cuius  
epistola sic habet.

Alfonsus Valdesius Petro Martyri suo. S.

**Q**UOD ex me scire cupis, qui fuerit ortus, atque progressus Lutherianorum sectæ nuper apud  
Germanos exortæ, si non ornate, diligerenter tamen scribam, ea bona fide referens, quæ a fide di-  
gnis accepti. Audisti (opinor) Iulium Secundum Pontificem Maximum: templum in Romana urbe  
Apostolorum Principi dicatum, incredibili sumptu, atque non visa hactenus magnitudine ædi-  
ficare coepisse: id eorum (ut arbitrator) ratus, in humili templo Apostolorum principem habi-  
tare: præsertim quum ex omnibus mundi partibus, religionis causa illuc homines conflue-  
rent, consummassetque in sine operis vlti maximus, magnanimusque: nisi in ipso cursu mors eum  
e terris rapuisset. Successit huic Leo Decimus, cui quum tanto sumptus pecuniæ non suppete-  
rent, missis rpe vniversum Christianum orbem, largissimis condonationibus (quas indul-  
gentias vocant) his, qui elemosynam pro eius templi structura conferent, ingentem pecu-  
niam vni sese hinc corrasurum existimabat, præsertim a Germanis, qui singulari quadam  
religione Romanam Ecclesiam venerabantur. Verum tamen quum nihil sit in rebus humanis tam  
firmum, atque stabile, quod, non temporis iniuria, vel hominum malicia corruat, huiuscemod-  
i condonationibus factum est, vt Germania, quæ nullam non Christianam nationem religio-  
nem superabat, ab omnibus in præsentia superetur. Nam Vuettembergæ (ea ciuitas est Saxonie)  
quum Dominicanus quidam concionaretur, Pontificisque condonationes, vnde et ipse non  
aspernandum lucrum venabatur, populo obtrudere conaretur, Profilius Monachus Augusti-  
nensis, cui nomen Martinus Lutherus Saxo, et huius tragedie auctor, et Dominicani fortassis  
inuidia motus, nonnullos articulos typis excusos emisit, in quibus assercebat Dominicanum

composed by Benjamin Barron Wiffen. What motive could Alfonsius Valdés have had to fabricate a letter to Peter Martyr, ascribing to the month of July or August events and happenings which history records in the month of December? If these events did not occur in the summer of 1520, or if events or indications of events similar in character did not happen, then why not charge the anachronism to an error of the printer or perhaps of Peter Martyr himself?

Some writers attribute the renunciation of his Order by Bernard Ochinus to the influence of Juan de Valdés. Bayle refers to him as a "Spanish civilian who had taken a liking to Luther's doctrine in Germany." There is nothing in history to show that either of the brothers Valdés had become impregnated with the new doctrines as early as the time at which this letter was written. Juan de Valdés appears to have been a man of the most exemplary character, drawing to him at Naples many bright and progressive students. Among these were Ochinus and Peter Martyr Vermigli. It is a curious coincidence that Juan de Valdés should have sat as a youth at the feet of one Peter Martyr, and in turn had at his own feet another Peter Martyr, to whom he imparted his learning and his virtues.



longe maiora tribuere suis condonationibus, quam vel Romanus Pontifex concessisset, vel concedere fas esset. Dominicanus perlectis articulis, in caudam in Augustinum. Adeoque inter Monachos tum comitiss, tum argumentis in crudit pugna dum alius concionem, alius articulos defendit, vt Augustin. (quæ est malorum audacia) condonationes Pontificis prope irridere cepit: diceretq; nõ ad salutem populi Christiani sed ad faceretotum avaritiam explendam ad inuentam esse, atq; inde inter Monachos de Romani Pontificis potestate disputari ceptum est. Habes primam huius tragediæ scenã, quam Monachorum odiis debemus. Dum enim Augustinẽ, inuadet Dominicano, et Dominicanus vicissim Augustinẽ. atq; hietiam Franciscanis, quid quæso poterimus præter grauisima dissidia sperare? Nunc ad secundam scenam veniamus. Audierat Federicus Dux Saxonie ad Albertum Cardinalem, et Archiepiscopũ Moguntinum, eius in Romanis imperatoribus designandis collegam quo cũ haud recte illi conueniebat, magnum commodum ex huiusmodi condonationibus venire. Sic enim inter ipsum, & Romanum Pontificem conuentum erat, dumq; occasionem captat Dux qua Moguntinum eo commodo priuaret: nactus Monachũ ad quoduis facinus non minus audacem q̃ impudentẽ, qui Pontificis condonationibus iam bellum in dixerat: omnem pecuniã ex huiusmodi condonationibus per vniuersam ditionem suã colligant, e Cõmissariis (quos vocant) mansibus eripuit, dicens se velle proprium hominem Romam destinare, quæ eam pecuniã in fabricã templi Diui Petri exponeret, videretq; in quem vsum reliquæ pecuniæ, quæ ab aliis partibus ferrentur, Romæ cõsumerentur. Pontifex vero, cuius est ecclesiasticam libertatẽ tuere, nec permittere, vt phani Principes se his immisceant, quæ ad vnum Romanum Pontificem spectant, monuit ducem semel atq; iterũ tum literis amanter scriptis tum nunciis ad hoc in Germaniam destinatis, ne tantam iniuriã Apostolicæ sedi in ferret: sed interceptam pecuniã restitueret. Quod dum ille obstinate negaret in suaq; sententiã persisteret, Pontifex ad extrema conuersus, hominem a fidelium consortio semotũ pronuntiat, Tũ Augustinensis, Ducis fauorem captans, magna audacia asseuerauit huiusmodi sententiã, vt iniquam, non ligare: nec posse Romanũ Pontificem quenquam inuisse (vt aiunt) excõmunicare, ceptiq; multa, grauiasq; in Romanum Pontificem, et Romanenses typis excusa emittere, quæ per vniuersam Germaniam facile peruolarunt. Hortabatur præterea Lutherus Duce Saxonie, ne huiusmodi terroribus ab ea sententiã, quam semel animo infixisset, sese diuellet pateretur. Intumuerant dudum Germanorum animi, videntes Romanensium mores plusq; phanos, ceperatq; de excutiendo Romani Pontificis iugo clam p cuniculos agere. Quo factum est, vt quum primũ Lutheri scripta in vulgum prodire, in irum quãto applausu ab omnibus suscepta sint. Ibi Germani gestire, et conuicia in Romanenses iactare: petereq; vt generalis Christianorum omnium conuentus indiceretur: in quo excussis his quæ Lutherus scribebat, alijs ordo in rebus ecclesiæ statueretur. Quod Vtinam factum fuisset. Verintamen dum Pontifex suis suum modicus tuetur, dum timet Christianorum conuentum dum (vt libet et loquar) plus apud eum valet priuatum cõmodum, in generali synodo forte periclitaturum, quam Christiani populi salus, dum cupit, Lutheran scripta, nondum discussa e medio tollere. Legatum a latere ad Cæsarem Maximilianum mittit, qui inter alia curaret, vt Cæsaris, atq; vniuersi Romani imperii autoritate, Luthero silentium indiceretur. Habebatur tum imperialia comitia in Augusta celeberrima Germanie Ciuitate, Cæsareoq; decreto Lutheri venire iussus, Augustus comparuit, sua scripta fortiter propugnaturus; ob idq; cum Caietano (id enim nomen erat Legato) in harenam proditurus: Caietanus asserbat Monachum nõ audiendum, qui tot blasphemias in Romanũ Pontificẽ scripisset. Status in perit vicissim cõtendebant iniquum esse hominem inaudtum damnare compellerent, vt quæ scripta se propugnaturus asseuerabat, nisi conuictus reuocaret. Quod si Caietanus ipse vir (vt nostri) in facris literis eruditissimus, Lutherum conuincere possit: paratos esse tum Cæsarem, tum imperii status, sententiã in hominem pronuntiare. Caietanus itaq; videns se nihil proficere posse nisi manus cum Luthero coniunx consereret: idq; quum semel tentatũ, male homini successisset, re infecta discessit. Lutherus vero maiorẽ cum gloria diuissus, q̃ admissus, quasi par

ta victoria gestiens (vt sunt hominum ingenia ad malum procliuia). Ducis Saxonie præfidio fretus, nouo seruore noua dogmata ab Apostolicis institutis dissidètia, et scripsit, et emisit. Tū Pontifex videns se nec blanditiis nec monitis tantum efficere posse, vt Monachus ille blasphemus meritis poenis plecteretur, ne venenum, quod in punic, longe, lateq; spargebat, latius ferperet, orthodoxosq; viros in partes suas pertraheret, quo hominem vt hæreticū et schismaticum declaratum omnes fingerent, fecissimam Bullam (vt vocant) in Lutherum. Lutheriq; fautores emisit. Quo facto, non tam cōmotus, quam in rabiem versus Lutherus, ipsum Pontificem Maximum (o impudentia) hæreticum et schismaticum pronuntiat: libellumq; cui titulu fecerat de captiuitate Babylonica Ecclesie, emittit, in quo (Deum immortalem) quib; machinis, Conciliorum, summorumq; Pontificum decreta atq; statuta oppugnat: asseueratq; Ioanne Hus in Concilio Constantiensi. intq; damnatum, seq; omnes illis articulos, damnatos vt orthodoxos, defendere velle. Nec his etiam cōtentus, quotquot Vuitenbergæ nati est iuris Pontificii libros, publico igni tradidit: dicens eos Christianam pietatē peruertisse, atq; inquinasse: ob idq; e medio tollendos esse. Horum itaq; fama per vniuersam Germaniā sparsa, adeo Germanorum animos in Apostolicam sedem cōmouit, vt nisi Pontificis prudentia, pietasq; aut Cæsaris nisi foelicitas cum generali Synodo his malis occurrat: vereor, atq; iteram vereor, ne hoc malum latius serpat, quam vt postea illi antidotum adhibere valeamus. Hæc ad te ex tempore scribere visum est: tu ea boni consule. Et Vale, Bruxellis pridie Kalendas Septembris. M.D.XX. De infido Cucullato satis: multa sunt in eius consutatione a peritis et grauis viris scripta, quæ ad manus vestras facile deuenient. Valete ex Vale octo decimo quarto Kalendas Octobris. Millefimo Quingentesimo Vigesimo.

From Peter Martyr of Anghera to his pupils, the Marquises of Velez and of Mondejar, 18th September, 1520.

The events that transpire in these Kingdoms are not hidden from you. Of those which occur abroad, and which are come to our knowledge, read the fearful occurrence which Alfonso Valdés, a youth of great promise, describes to me with no less fidelity than elegance. You already know his father, Fernando de Valdés, the Regidor de Cuenca.

Alfonso Valdés greets his friend Peter Martyr.

That which you would fain learn from me, as to the origin and progress of the Lutheran sect, which has recently sprung up among the Germans, I am now about to write to you, if without elegance, at least with accuracy, relating things conscientiously, as I have heard them from persons worthy of credit.

I think you are already aware that Pope Julius II. had begun to erect, in the city of Rome, a temple dedicated to the Prince of the Apostles, at incredible expense, and exceeding in the vastness of its proportions all similar structures, with good reason thinking it indecorous that the Prince of the Apostles should be meanly lodged, particularly since men, from religious motives, repair thither from all parts of the world. And this greatest and most magnanimous of men would have finished the mighty work had he not been taken off by death during the process of its erection.

Leo X. succeeded him, who, not having adequate funds to defray the large outlay, sent throughout Christendom the amplest absolutions, or pardons, commonly called indulgences, for those who should contribute offerings for the erection of the temple; he thought that by such means he

should clear an immense sum of money, getting it especially from the Germans, whose veneration for the Church of Rome was singularly loyal. But as there is nothing firm and stable in human affairs,—nothing that is not destroyed either by the damage brought by time or by the malice of men,—so it is a fact, that these indulgences have brought it to pass that Germany, which surpasses in religion every other Christian nation, may now actually see itself left behind by them all.

For as a certain Dominican was preaching in Wittenberg, a city in Saxony, and urging the people to purchase these pontifical indulgences, from which this friar himself netted no mean profits, an Augustinian monk, of the name of Martin Luther, and the author of this tragedy, came forward, possibly moved by envy of the Dominican, and published certain printed propositions, in which he affirmed that the Dominican attributed to his indulgences effects much greater than the Roman Pontiff either did or could concede. The Dominican, having read the propositions, was inflamed with wrath against the Augustinian, and the dispute between the monks was exasperated both by injurious expressions and by arguments—the one defending his sermon, and the other defending his propositions; so that the Augustinian, with the characteristic audacity of the wicked, began to disparage the Papal indulgences and to say that they had been devised, not for the welfare of the Christian body, but to satisfy sacerdotal avarice; and from this point the monk proceeded to discuss the powers of the Roman Pontiff.

Here you have the first scene of this tragedy, which we owe to monkish animosity; for since the Augustinian envies the Dominican, and the Dominican, in his turn, the Augustinian, and both of them the Franciscan, what else shall we expect but the gravest dissensions? And now let us come to scene the second.

Frederick the Duke of Saxony, and Albert the Cardinal Archbishop of Mentz, were, as electors, colleagues in the election of Roman emperors; the former, who was not on the best of terms with the latter, had heard that Albert made much money by these indulgences, the prelate and the Pope having agreed to share the money thus obtained between them. In the meanwhile, the Duke, who sought an opportunity to deprive the Archbishop of these gains, did not let slip that presented by an audacious monk, who, ready for any bad action, had stood forward to declare war against the pontifical indulgences. Accordingly, the Duke seized upon all the money in the hands of the so-called commissaries, which had been collected in his duchy, saying that "*he intended to appoint a man, one of his subjects, in Rome, to present that money to the fabric of St. Peter, who should, at the same time, see to the proper expenditure of the other sums which had been collected for that purpose in other parts of Germany.*" But the Pontiff, on whom it devolves to guard the liberties of the Church, and not to permit profane Princes to intermeddle in things solely within the province of the Roman Pontiff, warned the Duke once and again, both by letters couched in the most affectionate terms and by nuncios specially sent to

Germany, that he should not act so injuriously to the Apostolic seat, but should refund the confiscated moneys, which the Duke obstinately refused to do; whereupon the Pontiff, going to the other extreme, declared him excommunicated. Then the Augustinian, having gained the Duke's favour, assured him, with great hardihood, that such a sentence was invalid, because iniquitous, for the Roman Pontiff could excommunicate no one unjustly; and he began, through printed circulars, which were spread with facility and rapidity throughout all Germany, to publish many and grave things against the Roman Pontiff and the Romanists. Luther, moreover, exhorted the Duke of Saxony not to be driven, by dread of the Papal anathema, from the determination he had once formed. Furthermore, he declared that the temper of the Germans was getting irritated by long contemplation of the worse than profane habits of the Romanists, and that they had secretly begun to devise how to loosen and shave off the yoke of the Roman Pontiff, which was accomplished when Luther's writings were first published, and received with general admiration and applause. Then the Germans, showing their contempt for the Romanists, evinced at the same time their intense desire, and they demanded it, too, that there should be convened a General Council of all Christians, in which, those things being condemned against which Luther had written, better order might be established in the Church. Would to God that this had been realised! In the meanwhile, the Pontiff obstinately guards his rights and fears lest Christians should hold a meeting; for [to speak freely] his particular interests, which might possibly be endangered by a General Council, weigh more with him than the welfare of Christendom. He is also anxious to have Luther's writings suppressed without discussion, and has sent a Legate from the Lateran to Maximilian, to procure, amongst other things, that silence be imposed on Luther by the Emperor's authority and that of the whole Roman empire. They then convened a General Diet, an Imperial Parliament, at Augsburg, a celebrated city of Germany, where Luther appeared, having been summoned by an Imperial decree, and where he defended his writings with great power; whereupon Cajetan had to enter upon the arena. Cajetan—for such was the Legate's name—alleged that "a monk ought not to have a hearing who had written so many blasphemies against the Roman Pontiff." And the Estates of the Empire, in their turn, declared "*that it was an iniquitous thing to condemn a man unheard, or without having previously convinced him and compelled him to retract those very writings which he declared himself ready to defend:* That if this Cajetan (a man, as you know, profoundly versed in polemics) could convince Luther, they were ready (both the Emperor and the Estates of the Empire) to pass sentence on him." Thus Cajetan, seeing that he should make no progress unless he combated Luther face to face, which he had attempted once but came off unsuccessfully, departed, leaving the affair unsettled. Luther was dismissed with greater glory than that with which he had been received—with a victor's joy. Alas, that human relations are so prone to ill! Relying upon the Duke of Saxony's protection, he

wrote and published, with fresh vigour, new dogmas opposed to the Apostolic institutions.

The Pope, seeing that he could neither by caresses nor by warnings cause the deserved punishment to be imposed upon the blasphemous monk, in order that he might not diffuse the poison which he scattered on every side with impunity, and that all might flee the man declared a heretic and schismatic, has launched a most severe Bull, as they call it, against Luther and Luther's partisans.

Luther, much more irritated than dismayed by this proceeding (oh, shame!), proclaimed the Pontiff himself a heretic and schismatic, and is issuing a pamphlet entitled "*De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesie*," "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church," in which—Eternal God!—he combats the decrees and statutes of Councils and popes, and with what artifices! In it he affirms that John Huss was iniquitously condemned by the Council of Constance, and that he, Luther, would defend as orthodox all those propositions of his which had been condemned. And not content with this, he publicly burnt all the books on Canon law that he could find in Wittenberg, saying that "they perverted and contaminated the Christian religion, and that for this reason they ought to be destroyed."

The report of these events, spread throughout all Germany, excites to such an extent the minds of the Germans against the Apostolic seat, that if the prudence and piety of the Pontiff, or the good star of our Emperor, in conjunction with a General Council, do not come to the relief of these evils, I fear, and I do very much fear, that this evil will spread so widely as to be absolutely incurable. It has appeared to me to be my duty to describe these things, writing them at the very time of their occurrence, and I hope by so doing to gratify you. Farewell.

BRUSSELS, 31st August, 1520.

VALDÉS.

[Peter Martyr, in transmitting the above, adds by way of connecting the letter of Valdés with his own, three lines of introduction]:

Enough of the disloyal monk, in refutation of whom many grave and learned men have written much that you can readily get and read. Farewell.

VALLADOLID, 18th Sept., 1520.

On the tenth day of July in the year 1520, Luther wrote to his devoted friend, George Spalatin, these fiery words:

"*Damnante exuranteque mea, ego vicissim, nisi ignem habere nequeam, damnabo publice concremabo jus pontificium totum.*"

"They condemn and they may burn my writings, but as for me, unless I am unable to find a fire, I will condemn and publicly burn the entire Canon Law."

Thus we find the intent of Luther to burn, not the Bull of June 15, 1520, for it is not probable that the instrument itself

had yet reached him, but the canon law and the execution of this intent is expressly what Valdés relates:

“Nec his etiam contentus, quot quot Wuitembergæ nactus est juris Pontificii libros, publico igni tradidit.”

“Not content with this, he has publicly burned at Wittenberg all the books of the canon law.”

Whatever may have been the purpose of Peter Martyr as to the publication of his *Epistolæ*, there is nothing to show that Valdés expected his letter to go into print, and therefore we find no motive for a fabrication on his part. In relating the burning of the canon law he records a fact known to the public. Valdés knew of the Bull of June 15, 1520, and makes particular mention of that instrument. When, however, he speaks of the burning, it is not of that Bull, but of the canon law,—the Decretals. These included the *Decretum Gratiani* and the Decretals of the Popes Gregory IX., Boniface VIII., and Clement V.<sup>1</sup> The burning of the canon law was an incident of interest, but it has been lost sight of because of the greater interest in the

<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding these Decretals were supposed to be for the sole use of theological students, they issued from the press in numerous editions soon after the introduction of printing, and no classic was so frequently reproduced in the fifteenth century as these laws of the Church.

These laws covered almost every conceivable point in the conduct of religious and civil life, of Church and of State, of Cloister and of Hearth. We give a few titles of chapters:

- De postulatione prelatorum.
- De electione et electi potestate.
- De scrutinio in ordine faciendo.
- De foro competenti.
- De causa possessionis et proprietatis.
- De testibus cogendis vel non.
- De iurejurando.
- De appellationibus.
- De clericis conjugatis.
- De concessione prebende.
- De donationibus.
- De conversatione conjugatorum.
- De iurepatronatus.
- De acusationibus inquisitionibus et denunciationibus.
- De Simonia.
- De homicidio.
- De usuris.
- De clerico excommunicato deposito vel interdicto ministrante.
- De excessibus prelatorum.
- De purgatione canonica.
- De sententia excommunicationis.

formal burning of the Bull *and* the books on December 10, 1520. This last conflagration was an affair of bold importance. Formal notice of its occurrence had been publicly given. It was in the presence of the people of Wittenberg. It was an open defiance of the Pope and directed against the Papal utterances in the Bull of June 15, 1520. It was *the great bonfire* whose light, the Protestants declare, revealed the errors of the past, burned away present barriers, and illuminated a way for future ages. Small is the wonder, then, if the former bonfire escaped the pages of history.

The letter of Valdés first saw the light in the edition of the Epistles published at Alcalá in 1530. Peter Martyr of Angleria had then been dead four years, but Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon, and the other scholars and Protestants who had stood about the bonfire and had knowledge of it were still alive. The character of Peter Martyr's book, treating as it did of all subjects and of all persons moving across the public stage, and written in the common language of the Church, the Court and the Library, must have invited its rapid circulation throughout Europe. A false historical statement such as that would have attracted attention. As it did not, the incident seems to have been accepted as true, but nothing remarkable was attributed to it, nothing of recklessness or courage, inasmuch as it was followed later by the great and forever memorable bonfire of the Bull. We are disposed, then, to accept the statement of Valdés, an intelligent man, a scholar, living at the time and at no great distance from the scene, that there was a burning of the canon law of Luther and his followers in the summer of 1520, and previous to the more important burning of the Bull and Laws of December 10, 1520.

In one passage in this letter, Valdés says:

*"Tum Pontifex . . . scruiffimam bullam" in Lutherum Lutheriq-fautores emijit: "Then the Pope issued a most severe Bull against Luther and the upholders of Luther."*

This so-called *sævisissima bulla*, known as the *Bulla Expurge Domine*, is dated June 15, 1520. The town of Wittenberg was a University town of not less than 579 students in the year 1520, besides holding many other temporary residents who presented themselves only to hear Luther. Historians seem agreed

## Christopher Columbus

in fixing December 10,<sup>1</sup> 1520, as the date of the burning of the Papal Bull. The passage here quoted refers to the burning of the books of the Pontifical laws, *Corpus juris Canonici*, the Decretals of the Popes, saying nothing of the burning of the Bull, and may well have preceded the more formal ceremony of December 10, especially in view of the excitement of the students and the custom prevailing in those days of committing to the flames any book obnoxious to the community. If there was but one public burning of books at Wittenberg, and that the one of December 10, 1520, then there certainly is a glaring anachronism. The conflagration of that December day consumed the Bull against Luther, and as Valdés particularly mentions a Papal instrument directed against Luther and yet makes no mention of its being burned, it would seem as if the reference was to another and earlier burning of books, and not to that of December 10, 1520.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It was Philip Melancthon who, on the door of the parish church at Wittenberg, gave notice on December 10 of a meeting summoning the Academic youths and "whoever holds dear the gospel truth" to meet at 9 o'clock by the chapel of the Holy Cross, where, "according to ancient Apostolic usage," the burning of the Pope's Bull was to take place. As the students were accustomed to have their recitations by four of the clock in the morning, the hour of nine gave abundant notice of the coming conflagration.

The allusion to the *Apostolic usage* is the passage in the Acts, chapter xix., verse 19, *multi eorum, qui fuerant curiosa sectari, contulerunt libros, et combusserunt coram omnibus.*

The passage is found quoted directly under the celebrated copper-plate engraving by Giovanni Fabri, illustrating the burning of heretical books, inserted opposite the title-page of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum.*

<sup>2</sup> The date of December 10, 1520, when the great bonfire took place, is not in the *Call to Assemble.* That document itself is only known from two manuscript entries: one in the *Annals* of Peter Schuman, to-day preserved at Zwickau, the other in a simple entry on the fly-leaf of a contemporary pamphlet—a sort of *New Zeitung* or newspaper of the time—*exustiones anti-Christianorum Decretalium acta.*

It is curious what credibility is given to manuscript records. The venerable document, creased and faded and mouldy, is accepted as an honourable witness whose testimony must be true. The historian is not often an antiquarian, and none but an antiquarian, acquainted with holography, should pass upon the genuineness of a manuscript. We have elsewhere pointed out the opportunity for change, alteration, fabrication in written documents. Such changes cannot occur in printed matter. For instance, writers will attach grave importance to a manuscript found in the middle of the eighteenth century but purporting to be contemporaneous with an event, while they dispute over the credibility of a contemporaneous printed record,—a record multiplied in countless examples and sent broadcast throughout the world.

In studying the *Epistola* of Peter Martyr we must remember they were printed in the year 1530, while the actors in the scenes described were still living, and we are entitled to ask critics to produce some person or persons in that time complaining of false or inaccurate statements.



In the Bull of June 15, 1520, Luther is given just sixty days to confess and retract his pretended errors, and in his frame of mind, and with the excitement of the students, it is natural that he should take some pronounced step to indicate, before the expiration of the sixty days, that his position was unchangeable.

When, on the early morning of December 10, 1520, Luther threw into the blazing flames the Bull of Leo X., he exclaimed:

*"Because thou hast troubled the Saints of the Lord, therefore may fire everlasting consume thee."*

These words, spoken of the decree of God's Vicar on Earth, were burned into the memory of every Catholic and of every Lutheran. If then, Valdés had referred in his letter to the occurrence of December 10, 1520, he would have referred *first* to the fact that the Papal instrument *was* burned and *second*, he would have quoted these terrible words. Instead, he speaks only of a burning of the Canon Law, and expressly quotes the sentiment uttered and the words employed by Luther on that occasion:

*Dicens: eos Christianam pietatem pervertisse atque inquinasse: ob idque e medio tollendos esse.*

This expression is weak when placed alongside the fiery utterance of December 10. Had Valdés known of the latter he would have mentioned it. It is evident he is alluding to another and earlier occurrence.

Reference in this letter of Valdés is made to a proposed publication of Martin Luther's, *De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesie*, in which he likens the Church, led away into captivity by the Pope, to the Hebrews carried to Babylon. Hallam makes no point of this, but if, as some writers assume, Valdés could have had no knowledge of this book, or of its title and contents, until October 6, 1520, the date when at least one, if not the first edition, is believed to have issued from the press, it would go far to invalidate his letter and consequently Peter Martyr's reliability.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is extremely improbable that a pamphlet like the *De Captivitate* would take months to print. On August 31, 1520, Luther wrote to Spalatin: "*De Captivitate Ecclesie*" *parum excusam est: "The 'Captivity of the Church' is not quite (almost) printed."* The title was known at that time, and was so familiar to Spalatin that Luther evidently did not think it necessary to give it in full. It was known to the

We do not know the date when Luther first had news of the Bull of June 15, 1520. The document itself did not reach him until on or just before October 11, 1520,<sup>1</sup> but the news of its having been issued must have reached Wittenberg at the end of June or the beginning of July. He must certainly have known of it on July 10, 1520, when he wrote to Spalatin, *dammant exurantiq̄ue mea* and expressed his purpose to burn the Canon Law. The last words of his treatise *De Captivitate* are:

“Auditum enim audio, paratas esse denuo in me Bullas et diras Papisicas, quibus ad revocationem urgear aut hæreticus declarer. Quæ si vera sunt, hunc libellum volo partem esse revocationis meæ future, ne suam tyrannidem frustra inflatam querantur: reliquam partem propediem editurus sum talem, Christo propitio, qualem hactenus non viderit nec audierit Romana sedes, obedientiam meam abunde testaturus: In nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi, Amen.”

This refers to the mere rumour of a Bull or Bulls preparing for issue, not yet issued. Therefore we may conclude that the little work of Luther was composed and completed, if not actually issued in a printed form, very early in the summer of the year 1520, or at least that it was known to scholars both in its

students and the public as the subject of Luther's lectures. If it was thus known to Spalatin and the students, why not to Valdés, who was a scholar and in the neighbourhood, as well as in correspondence with scholars generally. After the bonfire of December 10, 1520, Luther deemed it wise to give reasons for his act and wrote a pamphlet entitled:

*Warum des Papstes und seiner Jünger Bücher von D. Martino Luther verbrannt seien: Why the Books of the Pope and of his Disciples were burned by Dr. Martin Luther.*

Now, on December 27, 1520, only seventeen days after the burning, Bernhard von Hirschfeld sent a *printed copy* of this pamphlet to the Nuremberg patrician, Anton Tucher. If this latter pamphlet could be composed and printed in seventeen days except some extraordinary impediment intervened, the *De Captivitate* could not have taken several months to get into type. Therefore, we think it not improbable that there may have been a small edition prior to that mentioned in Luther's letter, dated October 3, 1520, to Spalatin, where he states:

“Liber de Captivitate Ecclesiæ sabbato exhibit et ad te mittetur”: “The book on *The Captivity of the Church* comes out on Saturday, and shall be sent you.”

That Saturday in the year 1520 fell on October 6.

Panzer, who had a copy of the book in his collection, places one edition apparently in the first half of the year 1520 (see his *Annales Typographici*, vol. ix., p. 76). The pamphlet itself bears no date.

<sup>1</sup> On October 11, 1520, Luther wrote to Spalatin:

“Venit tandem bulla ista Romana per Eccium allata”: “At length this Roman Bull is arrived, brought by Eckius.”

Luther in this letter declares his intention of attacking the Bull under the pretence that Johann Eckius was its real author.

title and contents. Valdés speaks of the pamphlet or libellus, not as already issued, but as issuing.

"Libellumque cui titulum fecerat De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesie *emittit*: "He is issuing a pamphlet to which he had fixed the title *De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesia*."

Valdés understood the use of words, and that he intended to use the present tense of *emittere* is evident from his use of the same verb a few lines before where he says *savissimam bullam . . . emissit*. That issuing of the Pope's Bulla was completed; this issuing of Luther's pamphlet was in the process of completion.

At the time Valdés was writing, there was no topic so interesting, not only to the friends and enemies of the Church but to the lovers of intellectual activities, as the quarrel between Luther and his followers on the one hand, and the Pope and his disciples on the other. Valdés had doubtless a pure intellectual interest in the debate, and it is highly probable that he either himself read or had reliable information of Martin Luther's little book as early as August 31, 1520, when he wrote his letter to Peter Martyr.

The critics mention another letter written by Alfonso Valdés, in which he is charged with falsifying the date. By some writers Peter Martyr is virtually charged with himself fabricating the letter. This letter is found in No. DCXCIX. of the *Epistolæ* of Peter Martyr, to whom the letter of Valdés, dated from Aix-la-Chapelle, October 25, 1520, was written. It gives a detailed account of the ceremonies accompanying the coronation of the Emperor Charles V., and declares that this Imperial function took place two days before, October 23, 1520. From the time of Charlemagne, in 813, the Emperors of Germany had been crowned in Aix-la-Chapelle, or Aquis Granum, as it was called in Latin, and thither the grandson of Maximilian had gone for this public confirmation of his title. Mariana gives the date as October 22, 1520. Robertson, in his *History of Charles V.*, places the date of October 23, 1520, on the margin of the page opposite the record of the event. Later writers have adopted the date of October 28, 1520, as the correct date of his coronation, and thus if it were beyond dispute Valdés would be discredited. But there is no well-grounded reason for rejecting

this date. The records of both Spain and Germany, and, indeed, all records of that time, were ill-kept. Historical events of importance are often fixed by a letter or document written by an eye-witness, and this is true of the abdication of Charles V. of his Spanish throne in favour of his son Philip. Historians have greatly differed as to the exact date of this occurrence, and finally the testimony of an eye-witness, the Spanish historian, Sandoval, is accepted as establishing the date of October 28, 1556, and this, notwithstanding such authorities as Godlevius and Herrera fixed the date of October 25. It is true that those who accept the date of his coronation as October 28, 1520, do so largely on the assertion of another eye-witness, Hartman Maurus, but we see no reason for his credibility being considered over that of Alfonso Valdés.<sup>1</sup>

Writers fail sometimes to distinguish between the admonition given Martin Luther by Pope Leo X. and the latter's excommunication of the daring Protestant. Luther himself made a premature dramatic effect. He burned a document threatening his excommunication. It was a mild and conciliatory document as we read it, opening avenues for his return to the bosom of the Church, and requiring only a recantation without insisting upon the humiliation of a submissive visit to Rome. As these Bulls are printed in the *Bullarum Privilegiorem ac Diplomatum Romanorum Pontificum Amplissima Collectio* at Rome in the year 1744, we find the first entitled: *Damnatio Errorum Martini Lutheri, & Sequacium, cum Monitione, & Requisitione, ut ab eis recedant. Leo Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei ad Perpetuam Rei Memoriam.*

Then begins the Bull with the words *Expurge Domine*, etc. The instrument comprises twenty-one sections, Section 2 containing the forty-one articles, which are *contra ecclesiæ Catholicæ Doctrinam sive Traditionem*. Section 5 provides that the books and writings of Luther in which the said forty-one objectionable articles appear, whether published in Latin or *alio idiomate*, are

<sup>1</sup> In considering the question of a historical fabrication one must always search for a motive. If no motive is discovered, the proof of fabrication must be required beyond any reasonable doubt. In this case, so far as Valdés is concerned, the writer could not have expected his letters to be published. If he tried to deceive any one, it was alone Peter Martyr, his correspondent. But as a matter of fact, these letters were published in 1530, ten years after the events occurred, and no one questioned the authenticity of the events or the dates given them for generations afterward.

to be burned. In Section 6 the Holy Father exhorts Luther to desist from his errors, and in Section 8 he beseeches him and his followers to give themselves to a conversion. Section 10 reads in part:

“ Martinus, complices, fautores, adherentes, & receptatores prædicti, a præfatis erroribus, eorumque prædicatione, ac publicatione, & assertione, defensione quoque & librorum seu scripturarum editione super eisdem, sive eorum aliquo omnino desistant, librosque, ac scripturas omnes, & singulos, præfatos errores, seu eorum aliquos quomodolibet continentes, comburant, vel comburi faciant.”

Luther is then urged to send within sixty days a letter of revocation *vel per ipsomet si ad nos venire voluerit, quod magis placcret*. At the end:

“ Dat. Romæ apud S. Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ, millesimo, quingentesimo [*sic*] Vigesimo XVII. Kalen. Julii Pont. Nostri Anno VIII. [June 15, 1520].”

This whole document, in view of the revolutionary writings of Luther and of their disturbing effect on the Church, seems to us to be composed in a remarkably mild and gentle spirit. Luther is not even obliged to go to Rome, and is permitted to communicate by writing, although the Holy Father says, “he may bring the letter with his own hands if only he would find it in his heart to come to us, a thing which would be more pleasing to us.” This, then, is the document which was first promulgated against the writings of Luther, against his alleged errors, and not against Luther himself. At the breaking of day on December 10, 1520, Luther caused a proclamation to be made that at nine of the clock this instrument would be publicly burned, and accordingly at that hour, on a spot not far from the Elster Gate in the city of Wittenberg, the Papal Bull, *Expurge Domine*, was committed to the flames, and that momentous burning separated the Christian Church. History should be fair. Luther by that act left the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church did not first drive him from its folds. On January 11, 1521, the Pope issued his Bull of Excommunication:

“ Damnatio, & Excommunicatio Martini Lutheri Hæretici, & Ejus Sequacium.”

## Christopher Columbus

The document begins with the words, "Decet Romanum Pontificem," etc., and ends, "Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, anno incarnationis Domini Millesimo Quingentesimo Vigessimoprimo, tertio nonas Januar. Pont. Nostri anno VIII."

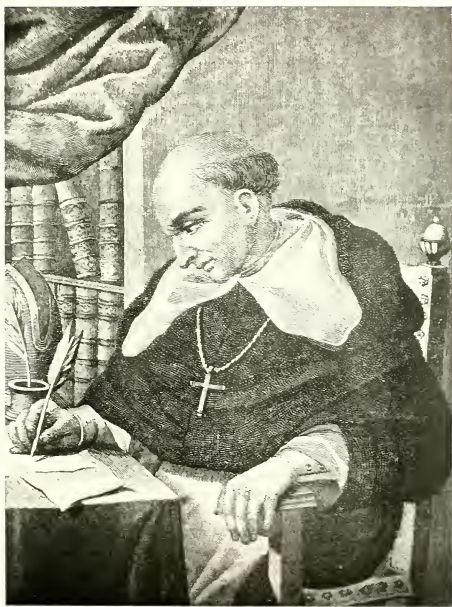
We do not, then, find Hallam sustained in his charges of anachronism, and consequently of unworthiness, against Peter Martyr, and we ask for the rehabilitation of the memory and reputation of this great historian.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hallam himself is not accurate, to go no further than the case in point. He speaks of the "burning of the Canon Law by Luther at Wittenberg, which is well known to have happened in the ensuing November." The reader well knows that the burning took place on December 10. Moreover, in reading Hallam the student would be justified in criticising his author for drawing no distinction in his Index, and only by inference in his text, between Peter Martyr Angleria and Peter Martyr Vermigli, the Italian Protestant reformer.

BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS







*Portrait of Bartolomé de las Casas.*



# BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS

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## CHAPTER XVII

### A SPANISH SAUL OF TARSUS

THE Greek poets believed that the tragedies which were enacted in the theatre of the world were not so much for the diversion of men as for the direction of their lives. Love of virtue was instilled by a presentation of its beauty, hatred of vice by a picture of its deformity. Thus inspired, the poet narrates the actions of a man who departs from the principles of virtue and describes the punishment which befalls him. Sophocles permitted calamity to fall upon an entire family. But no drama composed by man contemplated the destruction of a race of beings until in the theatre of the New World the scenes themselves, one after another, were unrolled and enacted. In written dramas, if misfortune followed close on the heels of evil, retribution stalked not far behind. In the great tragedy of the New World, the sin of the Spaniards in destroying whole tribes of natives for the lust of gain has been four hundred long years in working out its retribution. At the end of each generation the *Kopos* has had to come upon the stage and explain that justice was approaching slowly, solemnly, lead-buskined and blinded, but coming, coming, coming! At the end of four centuries the power of Castile is broken, the sceptre taken from her hand, the sword from her side, and she is sent home amid the noises of domestic confusion.

The sin of the Spaniards began when, on Friday, January 4, 1493, the back of Columbus was turned to La Navidad. Forty-three men were left in this fortress upon the north coast of Española. The case against them is *ex-parte*, the Indians alone being witnesses, but Columbus and the people who accompanied him on the second voyage and who listened to the stories told

by the King Guacanagari, accepted these stories as truth, and from what we know of the dispositions of the Spaniards we may accept them as probable. When, as we said, the back of Columbus was turned, the Spaniards are believed to have given themselves over to excess of every kind and to have committed, according to Las Casas, the most aggravating of all offences in taking from the Indians their wives and daughters. Every one of these forty-three Spaniards was delivered over to death, in itself a complete and angry tragedy. There is no evidence that any of the Spaniards had actually killed an Indian prior to the destruction of the former. While the retribution was not undeserved, it was fearful. Thus into the very beginning of the colonisation of the New World there entered, besides a cruelty natural to the Spaniards, a sentiment of revenge which was not calculated to make the happiness or the life of an Indian particularly secure. But even if the murder at La Navidad of the three and forty Spaniards had been wanton, there ought to be an end to punishment, and the rivers of blood and the streams of agony that for years and years flowed in the New World are chargeable somewhere against Spain and her people, and we know not if yet the account be balanced.

In the early scenes of this American tragedy there are two conspicuous figures. The one is Christopher Columbus, the Discoverer; the other is Bartolomé de las Casas, the Apostle. These two men fill the stage and hold our attention even when they are retired from its action. The first threw open the portals of the New World beyond which the gleam of gold caught the eye of greed. When wicked men came over and fell with cruel strength on the native Indians, the other figure raged up and down the stage with majestic stride and blazing eye, thundering out his warnings and his curses. He had not always been aware of the inhumanity of slavery. Like his prototype, the Apostle Paul, his eyes had been sealed and then opened. And when the scales were removed he saw with a pure vision and hated with a splendid hatred. He had fear of nothing. He knew no bodily fatigue. He had no ambitions for himself. To destroy slavery and convert the heathen were the two absorbing objects of this man. To them he dedicated his life and devoted his strength. Long life was granted him, and his eyes saw many broken shackles lying at his feet.

Bartolomé de las Casas was born in the city of Seville in 1474. His father was Pedro de las Casas,<sup>1</sup> and with Francisco de Peñalosa, the latter's brother, accompanied the Admiral on his second voyage. The father, whatever his position, was enabled to send his son to the University of Salamanca, where, about the year 1492, he received a licentiate's degree. We believe modern biographers wrong in asserting that Bartolomé de las Casas went to the New World in 1498 with Christopher Columbus on his third voyage.<sup>2</sup> He probably went to Española in 1502 with Nicolas de Ovando when the latter assumed his governorship. It is said that he sang the first "new mass" in the Indies, from which it is inferred he was the first priest to be ordained there. We first hear of him in history as one of an expedition sent into Cuba under Pánfilo de Narvaez, the latter having been selected by Diego Velasquez to assure and pacify the natives of that island. Diego Velasquez<sup>3</sup> was the

<sup>1</sup> In Book I., page 498, of the *Historia*, we read:

"Este Francisco de Peñalosa era tio mio, hermano de mi padre, que se llamaba Pedro de las Casas, que vino con el Almirante y con el hermano á esta isla Española, este viaje."

"This Francisco de Peñalosa was my uncle, the brother of my father, who was called Pedro de las Casas; who came with the Admiral and with his brother to this island of Española on this voyage."

Llorente calls the father of Las Casas "Antoine," while his biographer, Quintana, calls him "Francisco."

Arthur Helps, in his interesting and appreciative biographical sketch, follows Llorente, but as this author introduces both Las Casas and his father into the third expedition of Columbus, which went to the Gulf of Paria, when Las Casas himself distinctly says he never was in the Gulf of Paria (see his account of the third voyage), we must be cautious in reading the English biographer.

It is not explained why the brother of Las Casas's father should have the family name of Peñalosa.

<sup>2</sup> Humboldt, *Examen Critique*, vol. iii., p. 286, is right in denying the usual assertion that Las Casas was a member of the third Columbian voyage, but he does not give the conclusive reasons as found in his own testimony. See our remarks under "Third Voyage."

<sup>3</sup> Diego Velasquez was born about 1465 at Cuellar in Segovia. He accompanied Columbus on his second voyage. Oviedo tells us that he settled in Española and was of great service to Ovando in his war against the Princess Anacaona. Diego Columbus, the Second Admiral, gave him the task in 1509 of subduing Cuba for the Spaniards, and for this work he was appointed Governor of the Island. At first he gave the name of Fernandina to Cuba. He died in 1524. M. Gaffarel, in his interesting work on Peter Martyr's *Decades*, says that the body of Velasquez is buried in the Church of *Nuestra Señora de los Dolores* in Santiago. It was under him that there were founded Havana, Puerto del Principe, Trinidad, San Salvador, and Santiago, either called for himself, or more probably for St. James, the patron saint of the Spaniards. One other town was settled in those early days, to which was given the name of Matanzas or Massacre, because of the destruction of the natives by the Spanish on its site.

representative of the new Governor of the Indies, the Admiral's son, Don Diego. The expedition spread terror and destruction, and if peace came it was in the shape of cowed subjection. Narvaez and Las Casas were sent to a principal town of the Indians called Caonao, where, without a moment's notice, without any assignable cause, with no conceivable motive, the Spaniards fell upon the Indians and continued the slaughter until the dead bodies were "strewed about like sheaves of corn." Narvaez, while not chargeable with the crime, seems to have found an occasion for making the priest justly enraged and searching him out, he exclaimed, "What think you these Spaniards have been doing?" And Las Casas made the answer we all would have made, "I commend both you and them to the devil." He had been removed from the scene at the beginning of the slaughter, and even when arrived at the spot he was unable to do any good. He pledged safety to a young Indian if the latter would come down from the roof of a house where he had fled, and when the priest's back was turned a soldier ran the Indian through the body. The natives fled to the "Garden of the Queen," a cluster of islets on the south coast of Cuba. When finally these peaceful embassies brought into subjugation some eighteen or more of the principal chiefs of the island, Pánfilo de Narvaez was about to consign them to the flames and only desisted at the prayers set in the choicest threats of the angry priest. Humility is truly becoming in a Levite, but in the fifteenth century, in the wilds of the newly discovered lands, the power of giving a loose rein to untamed vituperation was the most effective agency this side of a miracle. And this power of expressing his indignation and disgust was possessed in ample flow by Las Casas. The atrocities he had witnessed, and the still greater ones of which he was informed, aroused in him sentiments which grew and developed until his one aim in life was to ameliorate the condition of the Indians. He had himself possessed Indians as slaves, although he had treated them as attendants and not as mere drudges. That there were priests in the New World before Las Casas who hated slavery is evident from the fact related by Las Casas himself that a certain friar had refused him absolution because he held these poor natives in bondage. It is a touching comment on the employment by Providence of human agencies that this religioso who refused to grant absolution

because of his opposition to slavery should be forgotten, leaving behind no record of his personality, nor even a name, while the choice of an Apostolic mission should fall upon the applicant for a remission of sins. But now fire was in his soul. He had been for some time in the enjoyment of a form of patronage peculiar to the West Indies, where a farm, a village, a province was conferred upon some favourite, with Indians as vassals and slaves. This system was called *repartimiento*, and Las Casas and a friend, Pedro de la Rentera, were given a village in Española, about a league from Xagua on the river Arimáo. Not only did Las Casas employ his Indians in and about the village, but he sent them to the mines, to the worst service they could be called on to render, and he and his partner profited by their labours. Suddenly Las Casas was called upon to preach. The occasion was the Feast of the Pentecost, and the year was 1514. He was then no longer in the susceptibility of youth, for forty years were finishing over his head. But having chosen a text from Ecclesiasticus, the 18th to 22d verses of the 34th chapter, he fell upon meditation and preached a sermon which converted himself and which made him see the enormity of the system of these unnatural *repartimientos*. Shortly after, his friend and partner, who was away at Jamaica, yielded his conversion and returned to join with Las Casas in some method of reparation. It was resolved that the priest should go to Spain to present to the higher authorities the claims of the Indians, and the farm or village was sold to defray the expense of the journey. In September, 1515, Las Casas sailed from San Domingo, accompanied by Friar Antonio Montesino, a good priest and a brave man, selected by the Prelate of the Dominican order in America, Pedro de Córdova, to solicit alms in Spain for their religious missions.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### THE NEW PAUL

JUST as the year was closing, Las Casas obtained at Placentia an interview with King Ferdinand, then old and worn, sensible of his end and mindful of his responsibilities, and another interview was fixed when the King should arrive at Seville, whither he was going to seek a softer air.<sup>1</sup> In the meantime Las Casas poured the tale of Indian woes into the ears of Tomas de Matienzo, the confessor to the King. By the advice of the latter he also presented himself before the head of the Indian Department, the Bishop of Burgos, Juan Rodriguez Fonseca, who accompanied the King on his journey. This man was himself a large slave-holder, having credited to his account in the New World no less than eight hundred of these unfortunate creatures. Naturally no impression was made on him, and the earnestness of the priest was met with ridicule by the great official. But there were greater officials and higher ecclesiastics in Spain than Fonseca, and Las Casas obtained the ear of Cardinal Ximénès. Then the wheels began to move rapidly, and Councils were summoned and Juntas were held in quick succession. It was determined to send a commission to the New World with power to administer certain new laws which had been enacted to secure liberty for the Indians. There was no sympathy between the Dominican and Franciscan orders in regard to Indian slavery, and the Cardinal resolved to select this commission from the Jeronimite order, since its members were in no way identified with either side of the controversy. Three persons were chosen

<sup>1</sup> The King had left Burgos on the advice of the Archbishop of Seville, Diego de Deza, who had induced the aged King to visit his southern diocese because of its warmer climate. He died at Madrigalejos in the territory of Truxillo, on Wednesday, January 23, 1516.



from this Order of St. Jerome, Luis de Figueroa, Prior of La Mejorada; Alonzo de Santo Domingo, Prior of the Convent of Ortega; and Bernardino Manzanedo. Then the agents of the Spaniards who lived or who owned property in Española or elsewhere in the New World began to seek and influence the three reverend commissioners. To this commission Las Casas was attached by an office justly entitled, "Protector of the Indians." A capable lawyer, Zuazo by name, was also connected with the commission to manage its legal forms. The commission reached San Domingo at the close of the year 1516.<sup>1</sup> As might have been expected, the commissioners, unfamiliar with the situation, desired time to digest the complaints and understand the conditions. Las Casas, to whom the evils were plain and the remedies simple, demanded immediate action. The commission, with its legal arm, Zuazo, was empowered to remove judges who failed to enforce the laws. Las Casas impetuously determined to impeach the judges, and thus the responsibility was placed upon the Court of Resort. The court would not act, and Las Casas resolved to return to Spain and draw justice from the head of the fountain. Accordingly, he sailed from San Domingo in May, 1517. In July he arrived at the Franciscan Monastery of Aguilera, near Aranda-de-Duero, where he found Cardinal Ximénès near his end, which came shortly after at Roa, near by Aranda, death overcoming him as he was on his way to meet Charles V., lately come into Spain, landing at Villaviciosa, a seaport of Asturias.<sup>2</sup> Las Casas obtained an interview with the young King, and a plan of relief was devised. The general idea was to encourage emigration on the part of the Spaniards, and in particular of the agricultural classes. Every member of a family was to be transported free, practically from his home, wheresoever in Spain it might be, to Española. Food was to be provided him for a year. If after a year the emigrant was still unable to support himself, the cost of his maintenance was to be advanced him, but to be chargeable to his account. Land,

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas did not sail in the same ship, the Jeronimites fearing to arouse the distrust of the colonists, as would have been the case had they been seen in the company of so unpopular a character as the great Indian Protector.

<sup>2</sup> Arthur Helps, in his *Life of Las Casas*, notices that the latter seemed destined to appear before the eyes of great men just as death was sealing up for ever the windows of the earthly tenement. It was so when King Ferdinand lay dying; it was so when Spain's great Cardinal was near his end.

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agricultural implements, and medicines were to be furnished him free of cost. His title to the land, which the King gave him from his own royal domains, was to be hereditary. Besides these, other inducements were offered, and to one is attached a blot on the memory of our apostle. The colonists had told him that they were not wedded to the employment of Indians as slaves and that if they could have a few negro slaves from Africa it would suit their necessities as well or better, since they were hardier and had more efficiency. It was then that Las Casas caused to be inserted in the colonial agreement a clause giving each Spaniard going to Española a license to import and to hold one dozen negro slaves. If we had the power and the skill to fashion a soul, we doubtless would make it pure and round and complete. Man as he is by nature is inconsistent, angular, knotty, and incomplete. This departure from the ideal in the composition of Las Casas grieves us, but we know he belongs to the human race and errs as we all err sooner or later, in this place or in that. He probably counselled with himself over the fallacious doctrine of the lesser evil. The Indians were feeble, and could not work in the mines and fields as strong men should. Therefore they were beaten with many stripes to make them work. The negro was a stronger, hardier type. If he was stolen from the south of Africa and deported to Española, he would go into the mine and the Indian would come out. The negro would have less of the lash, the Indian more of mercy. The negro was then in Africa roaming the forests. The Indian was in Española, suffering with his every breath. If there must be servitude, why not let the darker son from another land take his spell at the wheel and wear for a time the heavy yoke? Las Casas had not been appointed "Protector of Humanity." He was not the "Protector of the Slave." He would not magnify his office. He was simply "Protector of the Indians." And the sorrows, woes, and wrongs of his wards made him for a moment—only for a moment—forgetful of the broader claims of all men and of all unfortunates.

## CHAPTER XIX

### MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN

PERHAPS we may come more into the feelings of Las Casas if we make ourselves somewhat uncomfortable by recalling what he had known of the wrongs of the Indians, a large part of which he had seen with his own eyes and all of which he reported with his own pen.<sup>1</sup> If some of these events occurred subsequently

<sup>1</sup> If the reader prefers to see in English this account of the destruction of the Indies, composed by Bartolomé de las Casas, he is referred to the imprint entitled, *An Account of the Voyages and Discoveries made by the Spaniards in America, containing the most exact Relation hitherto published of their unparalleled cruelties on the Indians, in the Destruction of above Forty Millions of People.* London, 1699.

This was first printed under the title, *Las Obras Breuissima Relacion de la Destruccion de las Indias occid. por los Castellanos*—Sevilla, seb. de Trugillo, 1552. In quarto, goth. It contains seven parts:

1. Relacion de las Indias.
2. Treinta proposiciones.
3. Disputa entre B. de las Casas, etc. [This is the celebrated controversy Las Casas had with Dr. Sepulveda.]
4. Tratado sobre la materia de los Indios.
5. Remedios para reformation de los Indios.
6. Avisos para los confesiores. 16 folios.
7. Principia quædam ex quibus procedendum est in disputatione ad manifestandam et defendendam justitiam Indiorum. 10 folios.

These seven pieces, having separate colophons, are not often found together. In all they make 240 leaves. In the edition printed at Barcelona in 1646, in quarto, under the title of *Las Obras de B. de Las Casas*, only the first five tracts are printed. Guillaume de Bure, in his *Bibliographie Instructive*, gives only five tracts in this work. On the other hand, William Beloe, in his *Anecdotes* (vol. i., p. 10), gives an eighth tract, entitled *Pedayo de una Carta y Relacion*, sine anno, which he says he found in the Cracherode collection. Beloe also says there is a false edition, with the same date and printed in the same form, except that the genuine edition is in Gothic characters.

There have been many editions in Spanish, French, and English. The first edition in English was issued in quarto at London in 1583, a copy of which was in the Inglis sale. It appeared in other forms and under slightly differing titles in 1598, 1614, 1656, 1689, and the edition to which we above directed attention. In 1689, an edition appeared at London under the quieting title: *Casas' horrid Massacres, Butcheries and Cruelties that Hell and Malice could invent, committed by the Spaniards in the West Indies.* London, 1689, 4to.

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to the year 1517, they were only reproductions of scenes enacted prior to that date.

Bartolomé de las Casas declares that the island of Española and the neighbouring lands, islands, and continental parts were so thickly populated by the Indians that it seemed as if Providence had in that region of the world massed the greater part of mankind. The people were simple, humble, patient, submissive, obedient, and faithful, enemies to dispute and quarrels, knowing not how to be malicious and inexperienced in meditating revenge. They were physically weak and effeminate, incapable of much fatigue, possessing delicate constitutions, falling before the smallest sickness. They had a greater disposition toward civility than the European peoples, and the very first ideas of religion kindled in their hearts a desire for the sacraments and the divine service of the Church. Upon such a people the Spaniards fell as tigers, wolves, and lions fall on lambs and kids. Forty years they ranged those lands, massacring the wretched Indians until in the island of Española, which in 1492 had a population estimated at three millions of people, scarcely three hundred Indians remained to be counted. The history of Española is the history of Cuba, San Juan,<sup>1</sup> and Jamaica. Thirty islands in the neighbourhood of San Juan were entirely depopulated. On the sides of the continent, kingdom after kingdom was desolated, tribe after tribe exterminated. Twelve millions of Indians on those continental lands perished under the barbarous handling of the Spaniards. Their property was no more secure than their lives. For greed of gold, ornaments were torn from neck and ear, and as the masked burglar threatens his victim until he reveals the hiding-place of his store, the Indians were subjected to the most cruel tortures to compel the disclosure of mines which never existed and the location of gold in streams and fields in which the Almighty had never planted it. Obedience secured no better treatment than sullenness, faithful service had no better reward than that which followed treachery. The meanest Spaniard might violate the family of the most exalted chief, and home had no sanctity in the bestial eyes of the soldier. The courtiers rode proudly through the streets of Isabella Vecchia and in those of the New Isabella, their horses terrifying the poor Indians while their

<sup>1</sup> Our Puerto Rico.

riders shook their plumed heads and waved their glistening swords. As they rode along their lances were passed into women and children, and no greater pastime was practised by them than wagering as to a cavalier's ability to completely cleave a man with one dexterous blow of his sword. A score would fall before one would drop in the divided parts essential to winning the wager. No card or dice afforded equal sport. Another knight from Spain must sever his victim's head from the shoulder at the first sweep of his sword. Fortunes were lost on the ability of a swordsman to run an Indian through the body at a designated spot. Children were snatched from their mothers' arms and dashed against the rocks as they passed. Other children they threw into the water that the mothers might witness their drowning struggles. Babes were snatched from their mothers' breasts, and a brave Spaniard's strength was tested by his ability to tear an infant into two pieces by pulling apart its tiny legs. And the pieces of the babe were then given to the hounds that in their hunting they might be the more eager to catch their prey. The pedigree of a Spanish blood-hound had nothing prouder in its record than the credit of half a thousand dead or mangled Indians. Some natives they hung on gibbets, and it was their reverential custom to gather at a time sufficient victims to hang thirteen in a row, and thus piously to commemorate Christ and the Twelve Apostles. Moloch must have been in the skies.

Las Casas says, "I have been an eye-witness of all these cruelties, and an infinite number of others which I pass over in silence."

Long years afterwards, when no rider ever passed in the grass-grown streets of Isabella, when the houses were deserted and their roofs mouldy, when the town was a ruin and the road thereto forgotten, the wretched natives and the poorer Spaniards imagined it a haunted ground, and the boldest scarcely dared to enter it even at high noon. Once some Spanish peasants passing through its streets beheld approaching a troop of gaily caparisoned knights, with tossing plumes, long velvet cloaks, and brightly shining swords. As they drew near one of the men thus addressed them, "Sirs, we fain would know who you are, for it is long years since cavaliers such as ye have been on this northern coast." No reply came from those bloodless

lips, but each rider gracefully, as if in salute, raised his hand to his plumed helmet and lifted off—his head, and thus sped through the silent city this cavalcade of headless horsemen.<sup>1</sup> Ghosts and spectres had every right to roam about that land, but they should have been the spirits of Indians burned to death at the stake and natives spared to their deaths.

Las Casas describes the five great kingdoms into which the island of Española was divided, and repeats the sad fate which overwhelmed them and their kings. The king of the first province was called Guarionex, and his land, the Vega, was a fruitful plain, eighty leagues in extent from south to north, but not more than eight or ten leagues in width. High mountains surrounded it on all sides like walls. It was watered by many rivers, at least twelve of which were for bigness to be compared to the Ebro, the Duero, and the Guadalquivir. On the west were the golden mountains bounding the province of Cibao. Under this king were other submissive chiefs or lords, some of whom were so strong in numbers that each could bring an array of 16,000 men. But the king and his under-lords were submissive to the Spanish sovereigns and voluntarily offered himself and his people to the service of the Spaniards. These last requited him with shame and infamy, suffering one of their captains to violate his wife, ravaging his country from one end to the other, and when he retreated to a neighbouring province, pursuing him and declaring war against all who might give him refuge. They finally secured him with chains and put him in a vessel to be taken prisoner to Spain, but this ship and many others together with their human freight and incredible sums of gold and silver were lost in the stormy sea.<sup>2</sup> The second province was called Marien. It was on the north part of the island and included the harbour in which Columbus first landed, and on whose shores he built La Navidad. It extended from Cape St. Nicholas to the river Yaqui, called to-day Monte Christi, and to Cape St. Frances, where the king had his resi-

<sup>1</sup> The curious reader may imagine that this legend suggested to Irving the scene in Sleepy Hollow when Ichabod Crane on old Gunpowder was followed by the Headless Horseman. The legend of Sleepy Hollow, however, appeared several years prior to Irving's visit to Spain, where he first read in manuscript the fascinating *History of Las Casas*, and which he transferred into the medium of the English language.

<sup>2</sup> This is the ocean tragedy which occurred in the summer of 1502 off the southern coast of Española. It was on this occasion that was lost the prodigious lump of gold, as big as a loaf, says Las Casas.

dence. Guacanagari was its king, from whom the Spaniards received hospitality and civility. This chief the Spaniards followed with peculiar bitterness and forced him to abandon his kingdom and to retreat to remote mountains, where he died of fatigue and sorrow. Those of his people who were not fortunate enough to be killed suffered countless pains in slavery. Maguana was the third native province of Española. It was the richest of all the lands, and its king, Caonabo, surpassed all other kings in power, wealth, and courage. This king had the bravery to oppose the Spaniards, and after many fights was entrapped by Ojeda. On March 10, 1496, he was carried on board a vessel bound for Spain, but died on the voyage.<sup>1</sup> His country was devastated and so great was the slaughter among his people that the region became a desert. The fourth of these kingdoms was Xaragua, on the south coast and west of the province which had belonged to Caonabo. The people of this province were the most civilised on the island. The king's name was Behechio, and his sister was called Anacaona. This princess became ruler when her brother died. These Indians had always been kind and generous to the Spaniards since their first coming.

One day [writes Las Casas] the Governor<sup>2</sup> of the island, accompanied with 60 horse and 300 foot, sends a summons to about 300 of the great Lords of the country to attend his person. These few horsemen alone were able to have ravaged and laid waste not only all this island, but even the whole continent, so defenceless were these poor people. The Indian nobles, not at all suspecting any treacherous design, were by the Governor's order brought into a house covered with straw, which he commanded to be set on fire, where they perished miserably. Those of them who attempted to escape were pursued by the Spanish troopers and killed without mercy. They also killed a vast multitude of the common people, cutting them and running them through with their swords and lances. This same Governor caused Queen Anacaona, who had the sovereign authority after the death of her brother [as has been said] to be hanged, that

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas says this Indian chief perished with one of the vessels in which he was embarked, but it seems as if the good Bishop had confused this with the event which really occurred in the summer of 1502. It is probable that he died during the voyage. The Admiral himself was on board one of the two ships returning to Spain, closing his second voyage by returning with some thirty natives, virtually prisoners, but whom the Admiral asserted he was taking to Spain that he might teach them the power and greatness of the Spanish sovereigns.

<sup>2</sup> This man was Nicholas de Ovando, with whom probably Las Casas came over to Española in 1502.

he might disgrace the memory of that Princess as much as he could by so vile and ignominious a Death.

The name of the fifth kingdom was Higüey, and comprised the eastern end of the island. It held within its bosom the sources of both the Yaqu, and the Ozama, the one flowing to the north, the other to the south. Its queen was an aged woman, Higuanama by name, and her the Spaniards also hanged, while an infinite number of her people were tormented and put to death. Some were burned alive, some had their legs cut off that they could not walk and others their arms that they could not work or gather food for themselves, and thus they slowly offered up themselves a sacrifice to the Spanish conquerors. Such as were reserved for beasts of burden or to work in the mines were fed for the most part on herbs and seldom had food which nourished them, so that the milk dried in the breasts of the women and the strength of the men faded away for ever. A few years after Las Casas arrived in the New World, the Spaniards repeated on the islands of San Juan and Jamaica their conquests of the larger island. These two islands had together a population<sup>1</sup> estimated by Las Casas of 600,000, of which, in 1540, there were scarcely 200 natives to be found.

<sup>1</sup> The figures of Las Casas have often been doubted. We may discount and continue to discount the numerical details of this historian without decreasing in the slightest the enormity of these Spanish crimes against humanity.



## CHAPTER XX

### THE IDOL OF THE CHRISTIANS

IN 1500, the Spaniards turned their attention toward the beautiful island of Cuba. Having news of their coming, one of their principal caciques assembled his subjects and thus addressed them:

"You know the report that is spread abroad, that the Spaniards are ready to invade this island, and you are not ignorant of the ill-usage our friends and countrymen have met at their hands and the cruelties they have committed at Hayti [for so Española is called in their language]; they are now coming hither with a design to exercise the same outrages and performances upon us. Are you ignorant of the ill intentions of the people of whom I am speaking?"

"We know not," say they all, with one voice, "upon what account they come hither, but we know they are a very wicked and cruel people."

"I will tell you then," replied the cacique, "that these Europeans worship a very covetous sort of god, so that it is difficult to satisfy him: and to perform the worship they render to this idol, they will exact immense treasures of us and will use their utmost endeavour to reduce us to a miserable state of slavery, or else to put us to death."

Upon which he took a box filled with gold, and, exposing it to their view, he said:

"Here is the god of the Spaniards whom we must honour with our sports and dances, to see if we can appease him and render him propitious to us: that so he may command the Spaniards not to offer us any injury."

Thereupon they all fell to leaping and dancing around the

box until they had spent their energies. Again the cacique spoke:

"Now, if we keep this god till he is taken away from us, he will certainly cause our lives to be taken from us; and therefore I am of the opinion it will be the best way to cast him into the river."

This advice was approved, and with one accord the supposed god of the Spaniards was thrown into the river. But the Spaniards came and among their first victims was this cacique, whom they resolved to burn alive, because he had ventured to defend the lives of his subjects. As he was in the midst of the flames a Franciscan friar of great piety spoke to him of his religion and endeavoured to explain to him the articles of the Christian faith, with some half a hundred of its doctrines, promising him eternal life if he would believe and threatening him with eternal torment if he continued obstinate in his infidelity. The cacique, considering the vital question as well as he could, inquired of the holy friar if the gate of Heaven was open to all Spaniards, to which the pious instructor replied that such of them as were good might well hope for entrance. No further deliberation was required by the Indian, and he told the friar he had no mind to go to Heaven for fear of meeting there such cruel company, but that their absence from hell would make the latter place for him a desirable abode.

One day while Las Casas was on the island, he witnessed the approach from a neighbouring province of a great number of Indians loaded with provisions as peace offerings.

They presented us these [says Las Casas] with great marks of joy, caressing us after the most obliging manner they could. But that evil spirit which possessed the Spaniards put them into such a sudden fury that they fell upon them and massacred above 3000 both men and women, upon the spot, without having received the least offence or provocation from them. I was an eye-witness of this barbarity: and whatever endeavours were used to appease these inhuman creatures [the Spaniards] it was impossible to reduce them to reason; so resolutely were they bent on satiating their brutal rage by this barbarous action.

Many of the Indians strangled themselves in despair. Parents destroyed their children to save them from the hated Spaniards, and when they themselves were ordered away to slavery, Las Casas asserts: "I saw with my own eyes above six

thousand children die in the space of three or four months, their parents being forced to abandon them, they themselves being condemned to the mines." A mother having her three children with her, besought with heart-rending cries that her husband should not be taken from her, as she could not find food for her children. When the Spaniards repulsed her, she took a stone and dashed out the brains of all her children. In places where the custom of cannibalism existed the Spaniards traded Indian infants for gold.

In 1514 the Spaniards carried their government over to the continent. Kingdoms and provinces, towns and villages, chiefs and peoples—all were visited and fright stalked before every banner and desolation followed at the rear of every troop. Before each massacre a form was observed, the preamble of which was something after this fashion:

Cacique and Indians of this Continent, we are come to declare to you that there is but one God, one Church, one King of Spain who is Lord and Master of this country you inhabit: we therefore require you to come immediately and take the oath of allegiance to him.

And then, it might be, brave Spaniards would fall upon them, setting fire to their houses, burning the women and children, massacring some men, giving others to the dogs and saving a few they desired to keep for slaves, branding these with red-hot irons, marking fantastic signs of servitude on limb and body. Slaves were led along to the mines in droves, all joined by chains about their necks, and when one fainted by the wayside his head was swept from his shoulders by a skilled swordsman that the iron might slip off his trunk the more easily. Las Casas says that once of a troop of four thousand captives only six reached their destined places in the mines, the others all perishing by the hands of their keepers. If we turn north to Mexico, the same tale of rapine, murder, and cruelty is told. If we go to the south we hear no other story than of goods and lands stolen, of men, women, and children murdered and massacred, of tribes destroyed and kingdoms depopulated. In one place the Spaniards gathered six thousand Indians in avenues closed at either end, telling the people they wanted them to carry burdens, which office the Indians were willing to fill to the best of their strength. Then every one of the six thousand was

put to the most cruel form of death, each Spanish executioner vying with his professional brother in the invention of instruments of torture and methods of producing agony. Some few were found still living the following morning, and their murderers were not so glutted but that they could renew and complete their ingenious slaughtering. Wherever two or more Spanish commanders met they rehearsed their deeds, and he who related the destruction of the greatest number of Indians was accorded the highest honours.

The method of enslaving, founded as it was upon a code of unwritten laws among the Spaniards, is interesting. If an Indian was found by a Spaniard having some corn which he had stolen, the latter had authority to enslave him. As a result of this the Spaniards scattered ears of corn about the country with great prodigality. As accessory to the imagined fact of theft, the relatives of the Indian might also be seized as slaves. Any Indian having relationship with a female slave became himself a slave, and these women slaves were instructed to entice men to a new kind of ruin. If a slave took food from his master's larder to give his relatives, they by this act became slaves to the said master. If food or goods were loaned an Indian and he did not return them, or their equivalent, the man, his family, and his relatives became the lender's slaves. The system afforded a cheaper and an easier means of acquiring slaves than any kidnaping excursion.

We have left Las Casas in Spain, pressing for audiences and pushing the claims of the Indians for justice and mercy. He had won the confidence and friendship of the Grand Chancellor, Juan Selvagus, but this good man died before the accomplishment of his desires. The clique of officials directly or remotely connected with the government of the Indies fought Las Casas at every step. These men were becoming rich off the traffic with the Indies and their financial interests called for the defeat of Las Casas and his plans. About this time there came from Pedro de Córdoba, the prelate of the Dominicans in the New World, a scheme of colonisation which seemed to open the way for the propagation of religion among the continental Indians. Briefly, this was the inclosing of a tract of country one hundred leagues along the coast, into which no Spaniards except a priest might enter. This was opposed by the colonist party, by Bishop

Fonseca, and others, because it provided in no way for revenues to the King. It was then abandoned, but out of it, after some time, Las Casas evolved a compromise scheme. The King had appointed as Grand Chancellor, on the death of Juan Selvagijs, Arborio di Gattinara, who listened favourably to the project of the enthusiastic Las Casas. This plan called for the creation of a company to consist of fifty members, each contributing two hundred ducats, giving a combined capital of ten thousand ducats. These fifty associates were to wear a peculiar dress, white cloth with red crosses, like a certain order of knights, the idea being to present to the Indians a new order of European colonists whose very appearance should indicate their dissimilarity from any with whom the Indians had hitherto dealt. They were to be given a tract of country, or a province, stretching three hundred leagues<sup>1</sup> along the coast, beginning one hundred leagues west of Paria and running inland from the coast over two thousand leagues. The company was not a religious order, although there floated through the mind of Las Casas a project, if it succeeded, of having the Pope clothe it with the powers and privileges of a clerical fraternity. The plan, as first proposed by Pedro de Córdova, did not provide for a royal revenue. As modified or altered by the scheme of Las Casas, the King was to have at the end of three years fifteen thousand ducats secured from the Spanish settlers *and from the Indians*, the revenue or tribute increasing each year until at the end of ten years the royal purse should have the goodly sum of seventy thousand ducats. Three fortified settlements were to be established within five years. The colonists were to have the twelfth part of the revenues, and this distribution was to continue for four generations of inheritance. They were to be Knights of the Golden Spur—the title passing by inheritance—and to have a grant of arms. They were permitted to take with them negro slaves to the number of 150, or three each, and if it seemed good to Las Casas this number might be so increased as to give each man seven slaves. They had other privileges and im-

<sup>1</sup> Las Casas asked for a tract one thousand leagues in extent. This was reduced by the Council of the Indies to six hundred, and as the Pearl Coast was too valuable a locality and had already attracted many adventurers, this tract was further reduced until, according to Herrera [Dec. 2, lib. 9, cap. 8], the lines were two hundred and sixty leagues in extent, between Paria and S. Martha. Las Casas makes this distance three hundred leagues.

munities, so that there were strong inducements to unite with this fraternity. This scheme, no matter by whom projected and advanced, had to pass the Council of the Indies, and here it met with persistent obstruction and delay. Juntas and councils were called and established for hearing those who favoured and those who opposed the plan, and particularly there was a debate on this general proposition, "Ought the Indians to be free?" An audience was also held by the King, and at this the second Admiral of the Indies, Don Diego Columbus, was present and spoke much in line with what Las Casas would have had him say. Las Casas himself spoke with great fervour, and to show that he was actuated by pure motives he dramatically exclaimed, "I do renounce whatever temporal honour or reward your Majesty may wish to confer upon me." But the persistency of repulse yielded finally to the persistency of attack, and almost the last official act performed in Spain by Charles V. as King before going to Germany to become Emperor was to sign, on May 19, 1520, the deed incorporating and chartering this company.

Las Casas now sailed for the New World to meet one of the great discouragements of his life. While he had been in Spain there had been established by the Dominicans and Franciscans, in 1518, on the Pearl Coast, two monasteries, one known as Santa Fé de Chiribichi and the other Cumana. Across from this coast was the island of Cubagua, in which some Spaniards were carrying on pearl-fishing. The Indians, being expert swimmers and divers, were employed for this purpose. When a diver would reappear above the water and be relieved of his burden, he was allowed a certain number of moments for recovering his breath, and if he exceeded the brief spell blows and beatings forced him again into the water. The work was hard, the food poor, and new slaves were constantly required to replace those who were condemned to be drowned as no longer useful, or who drowned themselves in the search for the pearl of peace. About this time a Spaniard, by the name of Alonzo de Ojeda,<sup>1</sup> made a kidnapping expedition to the mainland and stole some slaves, leaving death and devastation behind him. The Indians in turn fell on the Spanish colonists in Cumana and both monasteries were attacked. The innocent friars, who were engaged in the

<sup>1</sup> He is not to be confounded with the brilliant Ojeda who was killed in 1515.

solemn service of the mass, were killed at the altar. To avenge this act of revenge the Spanish authorities on Española sent an expedition under Gonsalvo de Ocampo, and him Las Casas met at Puerto Rico. Thus Las Casas saw a vision of the hopelessness of his project and the danger of establishing farms and erecting homes in a country newly aroused to fury by war and bloodshed. The expedition went upon the errand of retribution, and Las Casas sailed to Española, leaving some of his followers among the settlers in the former island. At San Domingo, our coloniser, with a certain practical turn and content to avail himself of ways and means suitable to the times and the conditions, arranged with the Audiencia, or governing Council, for a new commercial company which was to settle in Cumana, and which was to inherit the privileges granted Las Casas and his company of Knights. There were to be twenty-four shares, of which six were to stand in the name of the King, Las Casas and the interests of the old company were to hold six more, Don Diego Columbus was to have three, while the balance of nine shares represented the portion the members of the Council were to divide among themselves. The company was to engage in pearl-fishing, in trading for gold, and in the ordinary affairs of a colony in a land of mineral and agricultural richness. Slavery was permitted, but here Las Casas showed himself artful and cunning. It was provided that such Indians as Las Casas might designate as lawless and beyond the pale of redemption should be enslaved. We can conceive of some Indians, the uglier tribes given to eating men and incorrigible, being handed over to the whip of the overseers, but we cannot imagine Las Casas handing over to involuntary servitude one Indian or ten Indians of those tribes who were peaceful and well-behaved. Slavery took no heed of the nature of the Indian. All tribes, all provinces, were forced to yield their strongest and best to fetch and carry for their European masters.

## CHAPTER XXI

### COWL AND CELL

IN May, 1521, the Dominican prelate, Pedro de Córdova, died and his place was taken by Antonio Montesino, a friend of Las Casas. The expedition sailed from San Domingo in July, 1521, and made for the island of Puerto Rico, where Las Casas expected to pick up the colonisers left there the preceding year. These had disappeared, joining the numerous group of freebooters and adventurers preying on the Indians. The rich Pearl Coast was under the control of Ocampo and a new town had been established by him a little back from the Cumana River and which he called Cordova Nueva, the New Cordova.<sup>1</sup> Here Las Casas and his expedition landed and here the brave coloniser met a new disappointment. His men declined to go further in the enterprise and returned in the same ships. Las Casas with a few servants and labourers remained and did his best to found a colony without colonists and to establish a city without citizens. He knew enough of settlements to know that the first building to be erected should be a fort, and a fort, at least in the hands of Las Casas and his priests who would make it a city of refuge to the Indian, was the last thing the Spanish adventurers on the island of Cubagua would permit to be builded. Las Casas had a Franciscan friar, Juan de Garceto, in his settlement, whose influence over him was strong and upon his insistent advice the former resolved to return to San Domingo and appeal to the Audiencia to help the little settlement against the evil influences of the Spanish pearl-fishers on Cubagua. He left the charge of temporal affairs in the hands of

<sup>1</sup> Helps calls this town Nueva Toledo, and repeats the story that Las Casas said it would have been a failure if it had even been called New Seville.



Francisco de Soto, who was a poor and imprudent commander and whose first act was to send away his small boats on a trading expedition. These small boats were essential to any coast settlement, for they would go by oars or sails and afforded an easy means of escape if the Indians made an attack. The inevitable happened and soon after Las Casas had left, the Indians fell upon the monastery and the unfinished fortress. Francisco de Soto, being in the Indian pueblo on the seashore when the assault was commenced, hastened to the monastery, distant a half league or more, and on his way was struck with a poisoned arrow, of which wound he afterwards died. Some of the Spaniards were killed; some managed to escape, among whom was Friar Juan de Garceto. Las Casas himself, driven out of his course and landing on another part of the island from San Domingo, heard of this terrible defeat of his project and learned from a party of strangers that "Bartolomé de Las Casas and his family and his settlement were all destroyed at Cumana." Part of the story Las Casas was in a position to deny, but he hastened on to San Domingo only to find that much of the rest was true and that disaster had indeed fallen on his colony. And so ended another chapter in the life of the New Apostle.

When first Las Casas came to the New World he had his residence in the city of the New Isabella, or the first San Domingo, on the east side of the river Ozama. Here the Dominicans had a monastery as well as the Franciscans. When, however, the city was removed to the west bank, more pretentious edifices were erected for both orders. The ruins of the Franciscan monastery may still be seen on a hill behind the famous Casa de Colon.<sup>1</sup> No spot is more picturesque. The deserted cloister, the long corridors of empty and roofless cells, the arches covered with vines, the massive walls, all speak of a structure such as the order might have raised to the heavens in Spain without attracting especial attention, but which in the New World must have been a splendid architectural triumph. The great soldier Ojeda sleeps in the sealed entrance and another still greater, Bartholomew Columbus, was once buried at the foot of the high altar.<sup>2</sup> The rich order of Dominicans likewise

<sup>1</sup> The Casa de Colon is the palace built by Don Diego Columbus, the son of the Admiral.

<sup>2</sup> Bartholomew Columbus, the Adelantado, is believed to have died at Concepcion about the end of November in the year 1514. He was buried in the Franciscan

had its monastery on the west bank, and we can believe it was in no sense inferior to that of the Franciscans. It may be that the walls which form part of the church of San Domingo once supported the famous monastery and included the earliest building devoted to education ever raised in the New World. Be this as it may, it was to the monastery of the Dominicans that Las Casas turned his steps when, overcome with chagrin and disappointment, he came back from his unfortunate settlement at Cumana. The Dominicans naturally appealed to a Spaniard, for Dominic or Domingo de Guzman, the founder of the order, was a Castilian by birth. In 1522 the black gown was assumed and the head shaven and Las Casas was formally received into the order to the joy of the members and, adds Helps, also to the joy of the inhabitants of San Domingo. Probably in all the New World there was no more unpopular or hated person than this disturber of accepted ways, this reformer of established customs. Slaves were beasts of burden like the horse. They were implements like the pick. But beasts of burden and picks were property and whoever deprived the citizen of these deprived him of so much capital. Here was this advocate for the emancipation of slaves at last fastened up in a walled religious city out of which he might never emerge. It was therefore good news to the slave-holder and his entrance to the strict order was much applauded. Eight long years passed in study and in work, for we think it certain that a large part of his *Historia* was written while in the monastery. He constantly refers to "this island," "it happened here," and makes use of other expressions showing he was composing his work in the place of which he was speaking, the island of Española and the city of San Domingo. That he did not finish it there is also clear since he was at work on it within a short time of his death. His long term of withdrawal from the world gave him an opportunity for reflection. He was not a young man, for we must remember he was eight and twenty when he first came to monastery at San Domingo, notwithstanding the assertion of the protocol of Santa Maria de las Cuevas, that his remains were removed from Seville to the monastery of Las Cuevas. The protocol declares that after the bodies of the Admiral and his son, Diego, were transported to San Domingo in 1536, the remains of Bartholomew, his brother, still were deposited in the monastery. Diego Columbus ordered that these remains should be transferred to the convent of Santa Clara, which was to have been constructed, but which appears never to have been built. (See Moreau de St. Méry, in his *Description de la Partie Espagnole de Saint-Domingue*, vol. i., p. 246.)

Española. For twenty years he had been the most active spirit in the colony, frequently going back to Spain, travelling from island to mainland, living among the Indians and visiting the religious orders in every province. There was nothing in religion, nothing in the teaching of the Dominicans, nothing in the studies he pursued in the monastery, to alter or modify the principles of humanity and brotherly love which had flowed into and out of his great heart for so many years. As we shall soon see, the soul of the man was gathering strength for a renewed effort. Nevertheless, we confess to a sense of disappointment as we behold the Apostle, like the Greek hero, sulking in his tent. Persistence is the physical manifestation of consistency. We never like our gladiator to lower his arm. The good fight has no resting between rounds. Once out of the fire the iron cools and we would leave it there until it goes on the anvil for its permanent form. In the open, a man may think of the salvation of others. In the cell he thinks only of his own. The stone wall shuts out the cries of the slave. From the cloister the monk cannot look into the dull, despairing eyes of the burden-bearer. Unconsciously we find ourselves shortening the measure of our Las Casas and we find him in this one element of persistent purpose something less of a hero than our Columbus, who ever pressed forward to the purpose of his life. There is much uncertainty as to just when he emerged from the monastery. It is said by some that he went to Spain in 1530. His errand appears to have been the obtaining of an order from the Court of Spain forbidding the Spaniards who were going to Peru under Pizarro from enslaving the Indians. It is also asserted, and it is consistent with his energetic methods, that Las Casas himself bore this order to the captains in Peru.<sup>1</sup> There seems to have been a purpose in the mind of Las Casas to found one or more monasteries of his order in Peru, but if so the purpose was abandoned and he returned to the isthmus and

<sup>1</sup> The dates do not agree in perfect harmony as given by different biographers. Some say he went first to Mexico from Española, where he was instrumental in settling a dispute as to authority and priority of rank between the Dominicans of Mexico and those of the island. From Mexico at the beginning of the year 1531, he is said to have gone to Peru, going by land through New Spain and Guatemala and from Nicaragua taking ship at the port of Realejo, by which he was transported to Peru. This hardly leaves him time to go to Spain and perform his mission in Mexico, all of which must have been accomplished in the year 1530, according to the dates given by some historians.

made his way to El Realejo, the port of Nicaragua on the Pacific side. Here Las Casas rested in the neighbouring Dominican monastery at Leon, a city situated twelve miles from the sea, over by the western end of Lake Nicaragua and founded about 1523 by Franciscus Ferdinand. Monasteries dotted the country from Mexico to Nicaragua, and these our Dominican priest visited in turn. But the attention of Las Casas was drawn to a region in which neither soldier nor priest could gain a foothold. And now occurs one of the most pleasing chapters in the life of this great man.

## CHAPTER XXII

### THE LAND OF THE TRUE PEACE

IF we sail into the Bay of Honduras and pass down to the south-western corner, in what is called Amatique Bay, we will reach the province of Vera Paz, in the northern part of Guatemala. When the Spaniards came to America they found two great empires, the Aztec in the north and the Quiché in the south. One of the tribes, the Tezulutlans, belonging to the Quiché race, inhabited the land about the Gulf of Honduras at the time of the Spanish Conquest and became famous for its resistance to the invaders. The province was no longer called Tecolotlan or Utatlan, but La Tierra de Guerra, the Land of War. Three several times had the Spaniards striven to conquer this stubborn people and to occupy their land. Each time the Indian warriors had succeeded in repulsing their foes. The country itself was ideal for resisting attacks. Huge rocks surrounding plains made natural fortresses. Thick forests with hidden ravines provided ideal ambushes. Streams were plenty, which rushed by in torrents and only the natives knew how and where to cross. With dispositions naturally ferocious, the success of frequent combat had made the Indians terrible. Sacrificing human life among their own people to please their gods, they put little value on the life of a Spanish foe. Into this country and among this people in the year 1536 Bartolomé de las Casas with his Dominican brethren from the monastery of Santiago de Guatemala resolved to go, not with musket or with lance, but to make a conquest, as he said, "without other arms than the double-edged sword of the Divine Word." No war was ever planned with the care, foresight, and cunning of this spiritual campaign.<sup>1</sup> Preparations were made long in

<sup>1</sup> Antonio de Remesal, *Historia de la Provincia de S. Vicente de Chyapa*, Madrid, 1619; Manuel Joseph Quintana, *Vidas de Espanoles Celebres*, Paris, 1845.

advance. In the monastery of Santiago de Guatemala, Las Casas and a few of the Dominican brethren sat themselves down to a study of the Quiché tongue, under the guidance of Francisco de Marroquin, long a resident of that province and then its Bishop. The historian writes: "It was a delight to see the Bishop, as a master of declensions and conjugations in the Indian tongue, teaching the good fathers of St. Dominic." Pedro de Alvarado was the duly appointed Governor of this province of Guatemala, a fierce soldier, fighting for the sake of fighting, conquering for the sake of conquering, indifferent to danger and courting excitement, one of the wildest of all the Conquistadores, and yet, as we shall see, capable of doing at least one decent deed in a long list of unworthy actions. It so happened that this man was away at the time Las Casas was inspired with his idea of converting the Indians on a new plan. An agreement was made with the acting Governor, Alonzo Monaldo, by which if Las Casas and his Dominican brethren were to prevail upon the Indians to recognise the Spanish sovereign as their Lord and to pay him a moderate tribute<sup>1</sup> as

<sup>1</sup> That the reader may be able to appreciate the concession of a "moderate tribute," we reproduce from a treatise on Peru, written by Las Casas, the tribute exacted from five hundred Indian families in Arequipa:

1. They are to furnish 180 Peruvian sheep. An additional hardship was, that these sheep could not be procured in that district, but had to be sought for in a neighbouring province.

2. 300 pieces of cotton goods, each sufficient for the dress of an Indian.

3. 1000 bushels of maize.

4. 850 bushels of wheat.

5. 1000 fowls.

6. 1000 sacks with cords to them.

7. 60 baskets of *coca*.

8. 100 cotton napkins.

9. 30 swine.

10. 50 *arobas* of *camaron*, a kind of fish. An *aroba* was twenty-five pounds in weight, sixteen ounces to the pound.

11. 500 *arobas* of another kind of fish.

12. 5 *arobas* of wool.

13. 40 skins of sea wolves, dressed, and 40 others undressed.

14. 2 *arobas* of cord.

15. 3 tents.

16. 8 table-cloths.

17. 2000 baskets of pepper.

18. 2 *arobas* of balls of cotton.

19. 9 house cloths.

20. 3 *arobas* of fat, to make candles.

21. 15 Indians for the domestic service of the Spanish *encomendero*.

22. 8 Indians for the cultivation of his garden.

23. 8 others, to have charge of his flocks and cattle.

a token rather than a revenue, and to live at peace with their Spanish neighbours, then the province was to be a royal domain and was not to be parcelled out as farms, plantations, and residences as elsewhere in the country. For five years none of the Europeans, save the Governor himself, should be suffered to enter the province. This agreement was made May 2, 1537. The arrangement being made, the Dominicans applied themselves with renewed zeal to their work. Besides Las Casas, the three priests whose names deserve to be perpetually remembered in history were Luis Cancér, Pedro de Angulo, and Rodrigo de Ladrada. Having acquired a knowledge of the Tezulutlan or Quiché tongue with more or less fluency in its use, they set about employing it in an entirely novel manner. The great story of man's creation, his entrance into the Garden of Delight and his final banishment therefrom, the dispersion of the human race throughout the earth, the incarnation of God, the life, teaching, death, and resurrection of Christ, His promised second coming to judge all men, Indians as well as Castilians,—all this was put into the Quiché language, which lent itself to the sweeping movement of verse. "Not content with this," says Remesal, "they set their verses to a musical harmony for the instruments used by the Indians, and as these were low and somewhat coarse, they keyed the voice parts to a higher tone in the scale, so that the music was livelier and more pleasing to the ears." The next scene in the grand American drama introduces to us four Indians who long had been permitted at certain times to enter the forbidden territory of Utatlan for the purpose of trading with its people. To these four Indians the verses and music were taught until, after several months of study, they became perfectly familiar with the sounds and their meaning and letter perfect in the text. Then they were sent into the Land of War where they traded by day and sang by night their wonderful songs of power and peace, of might and mercy, of light and liberty and love. The Cacique and the tribe listened and notwithstanding the efforts of their own priests and medicine-men, they yielded their interests and attention to such a point that the four messengers were desired to return to the monastery where such things were taught and to bring back, provided the report of them was true in the judgment of a young brother of the Chief who accompanied them, the men who could teach and

explain the wonderful songs they had heard. Then Father Luis Cancér, the most proficient in the Quiché tongue, together with the same four Indian traders, returned to the Land of War with the brother of the Cacique. They were received by the Chief, and his brother reported to him that these men, these priests clothed in black robes with shaven heads, cared nothing for silver or gold, lived in simplicity and chastity and practised a religious faith which made them peaceful, kind, patient, charitable, content, and joyful. The Cacique and his subjects yielded themselves to the religion that was taught them and bowed their heads to the rites of baptism and confirmation.

At the end of October, 1537, Father Luis returned to the monastery at Santiago de Guatemala, and we can imagine how the great heart of Las Casas swelled within him as he heard of the success of his plans. Shortly after and before the year had ended, Las Casas himself visited the Land of War and the Cacique, who had been baptised Don Juan, received him as the convert receives his converter, and gave a tangible proof of the faith that had been awakened in him, by building a church and when it was maliciously burned, courageously rebuilding it.<sup>1</sup> Blessings now began to pour on Las Casas and news was brought him that the new Pope, Paul III., basing his decree on the missionary text *Euntes Docete Omnes Gentes*, issued a letter in which he declared the Indians to be "veritable men, not only capable of receiving the Christian faith, but, as we have learned, most ready to embrace that faith." At the same time the head of the Church protested strongly against enslaving the Indians. The Pope went further and enjoined upon the Archbishop of Toledo, the Primate of Spain, the promulgation and enforcement of his views and boldly pronounced a sentence of excommunication against those who should make slaves of the Indians or unlawfully take from them their goods.

There is still another scene which forms a sort of climax to the play. Into the town of Santiago de Guatemala there enters one day a little group of Spaniards and Indians. At the head walks a strong and bright-eyed ecclesiastic, Bartolomé de las

<sup>1</sup> Here Remesal indulges in a very unpalatable bit of pleasantry, and says that there were heathen who begged that the priests might be put to death, asserting that they would taste well served with Chili sauce—"tendrian buen gusto con Salsa de Chile."



Casas, and by his side strides the converted chief of the Land of War, Don Juan. After them follow two other Dominican friars and a small retinue of peaceful and subjugated Indians, wearing no chains but conquered by the power of the truth and in voluntary servitude to a new faith. The Bishop of Guatemala hurries out to meet the little procession and upon each devoted head calls down a well-deserved blessing. But here approaches a figure clothed in armour and wearing on his head a hat with gorgeous plumes. It is the Governor of Guatemala, the great Spanish conqueror, Pedro de Alvarado, whose followers stand astonished and deprived of speech, as they behold him remove his own plumed hat and place it on the head of the Cacique, a tribute to the dignity and bearing of the Indian Prince and to the modest triumph of the priestly embassy. The proud neck of the Tezulutlan chieftain bowed not to the might of the invader, but to the religion revealed by simple men in robes of black to whom the native was a brother and with whom the salvation of a soul was of more concern than the mines of Peru. And this Land of War was forgotten and a new name was given it by the Emperor Charles V., a name which still designates an important province in an American Republic, La Tierra de la Vera Paz, or the Land of True Peace.

## CHAPTER XXIII

### A MONITOR

AND now once more we find Las Casas in Spain receiving from the Emperor letters to be forwarded to the principal chiefs<sup>1</sup> of the province of Vera Paz, thanking them for the aid they had given to his subjects, the Dominican Fathers. An order was issued confirming the agreement that no layman should visit that territory for five years except as licensed by the Dominicans. At the beginning of the year 1540 the Emperor was called into Flanders, where he executed his terribly severe sentence on the inhabitants of Ghent.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These chiefs numbered among them Don Juan, the head Cacique and Governor of the town of Atitlan; Don Jorge, Chief of the town of Tecpanatitlan; Don Miguel, Chief of the town of Zizicaztenango; and Don Gaspar, Chief of the town of Tequizistlan.

<sup>2</sup> There had been stipulations of long standing between the towns of Ghent and the ancestors of Charles, by which no tax could be levied on the city without its consent. Charles's sister received his orders in 1536 to invade France, she being Queen-Dowager of Hungary and Governess of the Netherlands. She levied a tax of 1,200,000 florins, one third of which had to be paid by the county of Flanders. Ghent, being the most important city in the province, rebelled. It does not seem to have been a justifiable rebellion, since the subsidy of twelve hundred thousand florins was voted in an Assembly of the United Provinces in which Flanders and the city of Ghent had their representatives. The stipulation above mentioned never could be interpreted to mean that absolute consent on the part of a province was essential before a tax should be levied on it for the purpose of general government. Taxation dependent on the consent of individual elements would fill no treasury. The principle of representation in a deliberative body clothed with the power of taxing was recognised. The principle of the right of the majority did not please the people of Ghent at that particular time. The hand of the Emperor fell heavily. Twenty-six of the principal citizens of Ghent were put to death, a far larger number were banished, forfeiture of its rights was declared against the city, and its revenues were confiscated. The crime seems less terrible than the punishment. The retribution was cruel and we can see in a high place an exhibition of severity and an indulgence in brutality not essentially different from that exercised by the Emperor's unrestrained subjects in the New World.

Las Casas was detained in Spain until the Emperor's return. It was now that he sat himself down to write his work, *The Destruction of the Indies*. He finished his labours toward the close of the year 1542, as we may see from the following document:

I, Friar Bartolomé de las Casas, Monk of the Order of St. Dominico, having signified my desire to be recalled from the Indies, had leave to come over to the Court of Spain, to give an account of the deplorable condition of the Indians. To this I have been moved by the zeal with which God has inspired me for souls redeemed by His blood. My earnest desire is that they may know their Creator and embrace His word, that they may be saved. And I cannot choose but extremely pity Spain, my native country, because I am greatly afraid God will utterly destroy it for the enormous crimes committed by the Spaniards [who go into the Indies] both against God, against the King, and against their neighbours. I do not doubt but divers illustrious persons of this Court, who are truly zealous for the salvation of souls, are very sensibly touched with the calamities and miseries those multitudes of poor creatures suffer in the New World who are abandoned to the fury of the Spanish soldiers. I resolved long ago to draw up an exact relation of these matters, but have been still hindered by the continual urgency of those affairs in which I have been engaged till now. However, I have at length accomplished this design at Valencia, the 8th of December, Anno 1542. This treatise gives a short account of the violence, tyranny, persecutions, robberies, massacres, and devastations committed by the Spaniards in all the parts of America where they have dispersed themselves. These calamities and disorders have advanced to a degree that surpasses all belief, and it is the more surprising in that the Spaniards are much less furious and cruel everywhere else. Indeed, the people of Mexico and of the places adjacent are now treated much better than others: insomuch that nobody there dares offer violence to any Indian openly: 'T is true they exact immense sums of them, but the forms of justice are at least so observed, that the people are protected from the insults and affronts of such as have more power than themselves. I have great hope our Illustrious Lord, Charles the Fifth, Emperor and King of Spain, who begins to take cognisance of the tyranny and ill behaviour of the Spaniards toward the Indians, will undertake the protection of these miserable people, who are persecuted against his will, as against the will of God. All the miseries that have been inflicted on these newly discovered nations have been hitherto concealed from our Prince with no less subtilty and address than malice. Yet now 't is not to be doubted but this wise Emperor, into whose hands God has cast the government of those vast regions, and who bears so sincere an affection for justice, will give effectual orders to put a stop to these persecutions. May God preserve this illustrious Emperor in all the glory and prosperity that attends him, for the salvation of his soul and the preservation of the Church. Amen.

About this same time and after the Emperor's return to his Spanish dominions, Las Casas presented the Emperor with thirty propositions upon which he based his conception of the true Spanish title to the Indies. In this paper he held that the Pope of Rome, canonically elected to be the Vicar of Jesus Christ and the successor of Saint Peter, had received authority and power over all men, whether believers or infidels, in matters pertaining to salvation; that Saint Peter and his successors had contracted an indispensable obligation founded on divine precept to procure the publication of the Gospel and the propagation of the Christian faith in the whole world; that the Pope may and ought to send capable ministers for this purpose to the Indies and that those thus selected ought to go; that among all instruments for the publication of the Catholic faith and the conversion of infidels, Christian princes are capable of contributing most to this work; that Ferdinand and Isabella were chosen, with their successors, as agents for publishing the Catholic faith; that these sovereigns are the lawful rulers of many kings and princes in the New World, and that the natural kings of the subjugated nations ought to submit to the jurisdiction of the King of Spain; but before they, the native kings, had received the Catholic faith and baptism, and before the Kings of Spain had acquired any right over them, they depended on no tribunal nor jurisdiction of any judge in the world; that the Kings of Spain have the same power and jurisdiction over these infidels before their conversion as the Pope has in quality of Christ's Vicar, because the charge and care of spreading the light of the Gospel amongst these idolaters is committed to them; the manner of establishing the Christian faith in the Indies ought to be conformable to that which our Saviour used to introduce His religion into the world, that is, it ought to be a mild, peaceable, and charitable method: to go about to subdue the Indians by force of arms is a course utterly against the law of God, who is full of kindness, grace, and love; that it is to be expected infidels will always oppose such an attempt to invade their country in order to take possession of it by the title of conquest; that from the time when Christopher Columbus discovered the Indies, the kings of Spain have always expressly forbidden their subjects to make war upon the Indians, so that the Spaniards can show no authority or permission that was

ever given them by the King of Spain to commit any act of hostility in the New World: that the devil could never have invented anything more pernicious for the extirpation of the people of the New World and the desolation of so many great and populous kingdoms in a little time than the distribution the Spaniards have made of these nations among themselves, taking possession of the inhabitants as their own property and then treating them as ravenous wolves do a flock of sheep; this distribution which the Spaniards make of these people among themselves, as if they were so many head of cattle, was never commanded nor allowed by the kings of Spain; Queen Isabella of immortal memory gave express orders to Christopher Columbus, who was the first Governor and Chief Admiral of the Indies, and to Francisco Bobadilla, who succeeded him, and also to General de Lares, who came after both the former, to preserve peace and liberty among the Indians and to do them justice in all things; Admiral Columbus gave only three hundred Indians to such of the Spaniards as had done great service to the Crown, and for his own part contented himself with having only one Indian to serve him; the Court being then at Granada, the Queen issued an order that these three hundred Indians should be released and sent home and she permitted only Columbus to keep the one Indian whom he had taken for his service; that from all this it may well be concluded that if the sovereign jurisdiction of the Indies belongs only to the kings of Spain, the conquests which private men appropriate to themselves are unjust and tyrannical and the shares they have made among themselves are founded upon no lawful right.

Las Casas did not hesitate to speak and write plainly to the Emperor Charles V. At one time he would appeal to the monarch's cupidity:

Your Majesty has no fixed and constant revenue in the Indies: your efforts are like leaves which when once they fall from the trees appear no more till after a year. That the Spaniards are possessed of the absolute government of the Indies is the true cause of this disorder: for the number of the Indians every day decreasing, your Majesty's revenues must necessarily receive a proportionate diminution.

Again he would sound in the ears of the Emperor an alarm for his own crown, or at least that set of jewels which were once worn by Ferdinand and Isabella:

Your Kingdom of Spain is in great danger to be invaded by foreign nations, especially by the Moors and Turks, who perhaps may one day be in a condition to destroy it: for God is a just Judge and cannot look upon the villainies and oppressions, the robberies and murders by the Spaniards in the Indies without indignation. All the nations of this New World who were created [as well as others] after the image and likeness of God, and ransomed by the precious blood of Jesus Christ, have been unjustly and cruelly persecuted and tormented by them: they have made horrible slaughters among them to requite the many kindnesses they heaped on them with all imaginable freedom and civility. And that which still aggravates their crimes the more and must needs further provoke the Divine displeasure is that God has made choice of Spain to carry His blessed Gospel into the Indies, and to bring many populous nations to the knowledge of Himself: for which if they had fallen in with His designs, He would, besides these eternal rewards reserved for them, have given into their hands many good and fruitful countries abounding with mines of gold and silver, diamonds, and other precious stones and pearls: in a word, with all sorts of temporal blessings, beyond what any one can imagine, unless such as have seen it with their own eyes. And it is to be remarked that God usually observes this rule in the execution of His judgments, to proportionate His penalties to the crimes committed against Him.

## CHAPTER XXIV

### THE BISHOP OF CHIAPAS

IN the year 1543, being at Barcelona attending on the Emperor, there was offered Las Casas the bishopric of Cusco in the province of New Toledo. The good man had in mind the speech in which he had renounced ecclesiastical and civil preferment of all kinds. How would he appear if he now took this honour? Moved by this sentiment of consistency, he declined to accept the office. Soon after a new bishopric was created of the province of Chiapas, south of Mexico and north-east of Soconusco, with a great range of hills between them. It was north of the Land of Vera Paz, which country would be in his diocese. There were reasons why a man like Las Casas should be on the ground of the New World to report the condition of the Indies to the government Council in Spain. Therefore, this new office was urged upon him, and as the principal of his order desired him to accept it, he made no further opposition and on March 30, 1544, in the chapel of the monastery of San Pablo<sup>1</sup> in Seville, he was consecrated the first Bishop of Chiapas. The new Bishop attended by his friend Rodrigo de Ladrada and some forty-four Dominican monks under Thomas Casillas, their vicar, set sail from San Lucar for the New World. As was generally the case in the voyages of that day to the Spanish Indies, they touched at the Canaries on the outward way and finally arrived at Española. Remesal in his *Hist de Chiapa y Guatemala* gives a most interesting account of the unfriendly and even hostile reception accorded the new Bishop both in the

<sup>1</sup> It is in the *Grande Salle* of this monastery that the sessions of the Provincial Congress are to-day held. Here, also, for a time was deposited the magnificent library collected by Ferdinand Columbus.

city of San Domingo and in his own diocese, the capital city of which was Ciudad Real, situated midway between the two great seas of the North and South. A Dominican monastery was here and it had the Cathedral Church as well. The Indians of this neighbourhood were intellectual and civilised and in gentleness surpassed all in the New World. Herrera says they loved music and appreciated the art of painting and were inclined to learn the arts and practise the industries of the Europeans. The new Bishop soon came into violent conflict with the Spanish colonists. These Spaniards set great value on the spiritual forms and religious customs of their Church. When one of them who held slaves approached a priest for absolution, he was told the Bishop had forbidden such remission of sins until the applicant stood free of the greatest of domestic sins, the possession of slaves. Even bodily assaults were attempted on the person of the Bishop. He and his priests were reviled and insulted whenever he appeared on the streets. He resolved to appeal to the authorities over in Honduras, the royal Audiencia, newly established there and having civil jurisdiction over this part of the country. So thither he journeyed to find himself regarded as a pestiferous priest stirring up trouble wherever he went and openly termed by the presiding officer, "a scoundrel, a bad man, a bad monk, and a bad Bishop." But the Bishop could reply with threats of excommunication and of appeals to the Emperor. He finally prevailed on the Audiencia to send an Auditor to Ciudad Real. The Bishop then set out to return to his city, when the whole population turned out to prevent his entrance. The monks of his own order begged him not to try to enter the city or his Church until public feeling was allayed. But the Bishop was in his element. He knew no physical fear and if the worst that could befall him should come he would be a martyr and martyrs live forever in the annals of the Church. The people had set some Indians to watch and to apprise them of the Bishop's approach, but as they were friendly to him, they threw themselves at his feet and besought forgiveness. With his own hands the Bishop tied them as if they had been overcome by superior strength and thus were unable to fulfil their duties. Travelling at night, he reached the city and made his way to his church. Here was enacted a scene only possible in a lawless community. The inhabitants entered the Church,



he having summoned them, but no man noticed the Bishop or saluted him or showed him the least civility when he came to the altar from the sacristy. The town notary rose abruptly and read a paper and another official with his cap on his head spoke in denunciation of the Bishop and his conduct in striving to deprive the people of their property and their rights. We can see the Bishop, his eyes blazing but calm, and we can hear his thunderous tones as he addressed the bold official:

“Look you, Sir, when I have to ask you anything from your estates I will go to your houses to speak to you; but when the things of which I have to speak relate to the service of God and the good of your souls, I shall summon you and when you are thus summoned you want to hasten here lest evil come upon you.”

The disorder continued and the Bishop was permitted to withdraw to the monastery of the Order of Mercy. While resting in his cell at night, an armed mob broke in upon him, assailing him with violent language and wounding one of his servants, a negro by the name of Juanillo, accusing him of tying the Indians. Some of the young and stalwart priests drove out the invaders and quiet reigned. A revulsion of feeling came over the town and by midnight the civil authorities and the populace were on their knees before him, kissing his hands and promising reverence and obedience.

This man was fitted for ruling the most turbulent and subduing the most unruly. He was greatest when aroused. He excited contention. It is extremely probable that if only saints dwelt within his diocese he would have managed to arouse in them at times a spirit of wild opposition to his rules and orders. He flourished in activity.

The Auditor who had come to Chiapas or Ciudad Real appears to have had some design to reform matters and to carry out the so-called New Laws, but he desired the absence of the Bishop, as he said, if he should be obliged to deprive a man of his slaves the sting of the loss would be less bitter if the penalty was not exacted in the presence of the Bishop. It so happened that just at this time there was a convocation or synod of Bishops and Prelates in the city of Mexico and it was thought an opportune moment for the Bishop to leave his diocese. Accordingly he set out for Mexico, where his coming had been

heralded and produced as much disorder as if an enemy's army was at the city's gates. He, however, was permitted to enter and retired to the Dominican monastery. He had his fighting garments upon him, for when the Audiencia informed him they were ready to receive him he replied he had no wish to see them, since he regarded them as those who were excommunicated and without the pale of the Church. This first beginning was followed by his virtually leading an ecclesiastical revolt. The synod declined to pronounce outright against the principle of Indian slavery and with a number of prominent men Las Casas held a convention of his own, in which he could put and adopt his own resolutions, the most forceful of which were that Spaniards who had made slaves were tyrants and that slaves so made were illegally held. To preach practically a doctrine of insurrection is not popular. Resolutions without guns do not set men free, but they excite trouble. The Bishop believed—and we can imagine with what alacrity his belief was supported by his Dominican friends and the civil powers—that he could do more good in Spain, close to the seat of power and authority, than in the New World, especially since he had so many of his own order ready to carry out his projects. He named a Vicar-general for his bishopric and in the year 1547 returned to Spain, where soon after he resigned his office.

## CHAPTER XXV

### DISPUTATIONS

THE reader may know of a rare little tract printed about the year 1552 which contains a dispute between Las Casas and the Doctor Juan Ginéz Sepulveda.<sup>1</sup> This man was a scholar of great pretensions. He had lately composed a tract entitled *Democritus Secundus sine de Justis Belli Causis*. In this little work the author maintained the right of the Pope and the sovereign of Spain to conquer by war the inhabitants of the New World. It is in the form of a dialogue between a German student, Leopold, and Democritus, the former holding that war was made on the poor Indians contrary to justice, humanity, and Christianity, and whose arguments were supposed to be demolished by the profound reasoning of Sepulveda in the character of Democritus, a name which he had previously used and which he now altered to Democritus Secundus. The Council of the Indies would not suffer him to print this tract and so the writer appealed to the great Council of Castile. The work in the meantime had been printed at Rome in Latin and then trans-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Juan Ginéz Sepulveda was a learned historian, born in 1490, and who lived until 1573. His complete works were not printed until the eighteenth century. He wrote the life of Charles V., by whom he had been appointed, first chaplain, and then advanced to the post of historiographer. The title of the Spanish Livy was conferred upon him from the elegance of his Latin, in which language he wrote his works. The Emperor was very fond of him and had a high opinion of his worth as a writer, giving orders that as Sepulveda was getting old, particular attention should be paid to the preservation of his manuscripts in case of the author's death. The historian was arch-priest of Ledesma. The Emperor gave him any information for which he asked and which could aid him in his biographical work, but always declined to read or hear his writings concerning himself. "I will neither hear nor read," said the Emperor, "what people have written of me."

This man is not to be confounded with Laurencio Sepulveda, of whose writings there was gathered a collection of no less than 148 romances and who was cotemporaneous with the historian.

lated and reprinted in Spanish. It gave such encouragement to the slave-holder in the colonies that the ire of Las Casas was excited and he entered, together with some other ecclesiastics, upon a forcible opposition. In 1550 the Emperor convoked at Valladolid a council of theologians to hear the question debated with the most famous Latin scholar in Spain on one side and an ordinary monk whose life had nearly all been spent in the wild regions of the New World, who lacked all the graces of the polished courtier, and whose strength of reasoning and knowledge of debate might be assumed to be of the very commonest kind and weakened by the abating of his powers with his advanced age, for he was now seventy-six years of age. But here the cause makes the man and renews the spirit. Every sentiment Las Casas uttered he believed was the truth and nothing but the truth. Expediency, practical Government, shifting for a better position, postponing action until a more suitable time—these were things which he despised and which hamper their advocate as a net hampers the fighter in the arena. To do right though the heavens fall is simply unanswerable under almost every circumstance in life. Las Casas, moreover, was dealing with his favourite theme. He knew it by heart. He had heard the moans and dying cries of hundreds of the Indians. He had sworn to enter any field, to meet any knight, to accept any condition of mutual combat for the sake of the great cause to which his soul was anchored. So some discreet friend might have whispered the great Sepulveda to beware of this antagonist. Las Casas appeared before the Council and occupied five full days in reading his *Historia Apologetica*, composed for the occasion. Here were before the Council the printed work of Sepulveda and the five days answer by Las Casas. These were submitted to the Confessor of Charles V., Domingo de Soto, who had been designated to make a summary of the arguments on both sides of the controversy. The learned Sepulveda had given the following four reasons why it was lawful to make war upon the natives in the New World<sup>1</sup>:

1. For the gravity of the sins which the Indians had committed, especially their idolatries and their sins against nature.
2. On account of the rudeness of their natures, which brought upon

<sup>1</sup> Arthur Helps, in his *Life of Las Casas*, made this synopsis of these arguments.

them the necessity of serving persons of a more refined nature, such as that which the Spaniards possessed.

3. In order to spread the faith, which would be more readily accomplished by the prior subjugation of the natives.

4. To protect the weak amongst the natives themselves, duly considering the cruelties which the Indians exercised upon one another, slaying numbers in sacrifice to false gods and practising cannibalism.

The Word of God as interpreted by the mediæval theologians formed the foundation on which Sepulveda built his argument. Spain was Israel, the nations of the New World were idolaters and therefore enemies. The Book of Deuteronomy<sup>1</sup> was brought into Court as the Divine authority for taking cities, smiting males with the edge of the sword, making captives of the women and of the little ones, appropriating the cattle and all that might be in the city and all the gain thereof, eating the spoil of the enemies which the Lord should give to the Israelites. If doing these things made men obedient to God, then the Spaniards fairly shone with righteousness. When Las Casas obtained the floor he proceeded to show that this cedula of war was issued by the Almighty not against the nations of the world but against the peoples holding the promised land and which was reserved for the occupation of the chosen people. As to the rude natures of the Indians, who knew them so well as the Bishop? Had Sepulveda ever seen an Indian except as a youth when some natives were led through the streets covered with golden chains, not as bound men, but rather as the possessors of untold and unvalued wealth. One by one he answered the scholar and then he let loose his guns from batteries he had masked. He denied that the way of Sepulveda was the only way. He denied that it was God's way. He told of his life in the New World, of his establishing monasteries, of his building churches, of the baptism of thousands, of the conversion of whole peoples, and all by the power of the truth, without the drawing of a sword or the firing of a gun or the waving of a banner. And then he showed how the Land of War had become the Land of True Peace, in which the natives worshipped God and practised the Christian religion. Sepulveda's side was reinforced by the arguments of a Franciscan monk, Bernardino Arevalo, and finally the Council pronounced in favour of the

<sup>1</sup> Deut. xx., 10-14.

treatise and its arguments entitled *De Justis Belli Causis*. It was the sort of a verdict that benefits the opposite side. The young Prince, afterward Philip II., acting for his father, forbade by a Royal order made at Valladolid in 1550, the circulation in Mexico or the New World of the work of Sepulveda and its pernicious doctrines.

En esta hystoria dezo y o fruy bñe de las casas de bñe  
oficio de chiapa en compañía a este vlllego de sant  
gregorio rogandū y pidiendū por charidad de publicac  
ion y conyularivo de y por tpo fueren que dñm  
gim seglare la den pa q en tiempo de vlllego y  
miso mesmo defuera de la lea por tiempo  
de quarenta años dñm este de sesenta q entra  
ra a veinte de ~~...~~ ~~...~~ sobre lo qual  
les entrego la conyuntura / y passado ayllas  
quarenta años si vieren q conviene pa el bien  
de los indios y de España: la pueden mandar  
imprimir pa gloria de dios y manifestacion de la  
verdad principalmete / y no parean venderse  
ni todos los vlllegales la lean sino los mas  
prudētes porq no se publique antes de tiempo  
porq no ay pa que ni a de aprovechar. fecha por  
miembre de 1599. deo grās.

El obispo f. bñe  
de las Casas

Holograph of Las Casas Giving Directions for the Publication of his Work.





## CHAPTER XXVI

### THE HISTORIAN OF THE INDIES

THE home of Las Casas was in the Dominican College of St. Gregory at Valladolid and it was while here that he finished his great work, the *Historia de las Indias*. As we have said, this work was begun as early as 1527 while he was on the island of Española. It bears evidence, particularly in its description of the third and fourth Columbian voyages, of having been composed in that island. On the other hand, the last sentence but one in the book discloses that he was still employed in its composition in the year 1561, when he was eighty-seven years of age.<sup>1</sup> There are the following strange directions as to the publication of his work and stranger still is the fact that it was not till the year 1877, three hundred and eleven years after his death, that the book first appeared in printed form.

"Esta historia dejo yo Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, Obispo que fué de Chiapa, en confianza á este Colegio de Sant Gregorio, rogando y pidiendo por caridad al padre Rector y Consiliarios dél, que por tiempo fueren, que á ningun seglar la den para que, ni dentro del dicho Colegio, ni mucho ménos de fuera dél, la lea por tiempo de cuarenta años, desde este de sesenta que entrará, comenzados á contar; sobre lo cual les encargo la consciencia. Y pasados aquellos cuarenta años, si vieren que conviene para el bien de los indios y de España, la pueden mandar imprimir para gloria de Dios y manifestacion de la verdad principalmente. Y no parece convenir que

<sup>1</sup> ". . . y plega á Dios que hoy, que es el año que pasa de '61, el Consejo esté libre della: y con esta imprecacion, á gloria y honor de Dios damos fin á este tercer libro. . . "

" . . . and may it please God that now, which is the passing year of '61, the Council may be free from it: and with this imprecacion, to the glory and honour of God, we finish this third book."

todos los colegiales la lean, sino los más prudentes, porque no se publique antes de tiempo, porque no hay para qué ni ha de aprovechar.

“ Fecha por Noviembre 1559.

“ Deo gratias

“ EL OBISPO FRAY BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS.”

“ I, Friar Bartolomé de las Casas, formerly Bishop of Chiapas, leave this *Historia* in confidence to this College of Sant Gregorio, by charity praying and entreating of those persons who shall be the Rector and Counsellors of the College for the time, not to give it to any secular person; in order that for the time of forty years, counting from this year '60 which is approaching, it may not be read,—neither within the said College, nor much less without it; which matter I charge upon their consciences. And those forty years having passed, if they see that it is for the good of the Indians and Spain they can order it to be printed, principally for the glory of God and the manifestation of the truth. And it does not appear fitting for all the Collegians to read it, only the most prudent ones, that it may not be published before the time, as it is not for that purpose nor must it be so used.

“ Done in November, 1559.

“ Deo gratias,

“ THE BISHOP FRIAR BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS.”

Three years later, in 1564, he wrote a memorial on Peru and two years still later, in 1566, he went to Madrid to plead the cause of the Indians of Guatemala. The Audiencia, which had been so long established there and which was always a check on the rapaciousness and wickedness of the Spaniards, was removed and if a native sought justice he had to travel all the way to Mexico to plead his cause, and this he could not do. The brave-hearted, gallant old Las Casas won his case, and Philip ordered the restitution of the Guatemalian Audiencia. Alas! it was the last time the lance was ever to balance in his hand, the final appearance in the jousting list of the greatest knight of his time. He took a severe cold at Madrid, although it was July, and he yielded up his spirit there after its having occupied its earthly tenement for two and ninety years.

Thus passed the grandest figure, next to Columbus, appearing in the Drama of the New World. Against the purity of his life, no voice among all his enemies ever whispered a suggestion. If the Apostle Peter was a much better man, the story is told elsewhere than in his acts. If the Apostle Paul was braver, more zealous, more consecrated to the cause of

humanity, which alone can ask for Apostleship, Las Casas was a consistent imitator. The Church has never passed a saint through the degree of canonisation more worthy of this signal and everlasting honour than Bartolomé de las Casas, the Apostle of the Indies.



PART II  
INTRODUCTION



## CHAPTER XXVII

### INTRODUCTION

No one has attempted to classify heroes. It is difficult to compare the work of the sword with the display of intellectual and moral qualities. The heroism of the sword may be put in a class by itself and whatever is not of the sword goes into another class,—above it or below it. Sometimes the degree of heroism may be determined by the general aspect of the thing accomplished, sometimes by the priority of an event, sometimes by its sequence. As the field, for instance, precedes the tent and the tent anticipates the city, so the discoverer of the field may be more important than Abraham and his family or Lycurgus and his laws. As the building of a city is accompanied by assaults from without and contentions within, so the man who establishes peace is a hero of a different sort and of a higher sort than he who drives the besiegers away from the walls or who overcomes an insurrection in the market place.

Heroism has in it something beyond its mere military attitude. War is nearly an exact science. Given the number, equipment, position, and temperament of two armies, and the fight can be determined before the firing of a gun. It requires courage to face an armed enemy, but when one is armed one's self the courage is not necessarily of the highest type. Death is the universal enemy of mankind and yet his known presence has failed to daunt some men, while now and then one goes forth purposely to meet him. Men have mounted the scaffold without trembling and sung as they passed in the tumbrils. To sail out into an unknown sea, far beyond the sailings of any other known ship, out into a sea which the imagination for ages has filled with horrors and portentous fears,—this

requires an order of courage which the military soul can scarcely experience.

The hero must have a purpose. This is an intellectual process. The mind first conceives and then prepares the action. The purpose need not be ultimate,—as regards the man's life. It suffices if it be complete within itself. The purpose must be high and be accompanied with steadfastness. The purpose must result in fulfilment. The fulfilment must be reasonably complete. And all these elements must be present in the composition of any one hero.

It has frequently been said that the discovery of America was an event which was about due at the end of the fifteenth century and that it would have come sooner or later from one of three causes and by one of three roads: 'by way of the north, from pushing the fishing grounds of Europe farther and farther west: by what may be called the middle way, from the legitimate advancement of western discovery; by way of the south, from some vessel falling under the influence of a westerly going current or of a westerly travelling wind. If the discovery came by the second way it would be by design; if by the first way or by the last way it would be by accident.'<sup>1</sup> This last road was actually travelled by the commander of a Portuguese expedition, Pedro Alvarez Cabral, when setting forth from Lisbon in March of the very last year of the fifteenth century, expecting to pass around the southern point of Africa to establish a sort of colony on the southern point of Asia, his ship was delivered by strange currents and strong winds upon the American coast of Brazil. Cabral's discovery, then, was not that of a hero. The high purpose of discovery was not present with him on the way.

The Englishman with his Bible, shut up in Khartoum, fed on a high purpose, but his soul was not suffered to see the Nile valley freed from Moslem control. To this hero the fulfilment of his purpose was wanting.

In the days before our Civil War when only a bold man dared to oppose slavery, a certain man assumed heroic proportions

<sup>1</sup> Humboldt, in his *Examen Critique de l'histoire de la géographie du Nouveau Continent*, vol. i., p. 32, remarks: "The history of geography unrolls to us this long series of attempts to advance westward; attempts prompted by profit, by a spirit of adventure, by chance of storm."



when on a platform before a thousand sympathetic listeners. As he moved abroad women and children drew away from him on the walk and rude men jostled him into the muddy street. Full of courage, he denounced the women and fought with the men, but growing weary of the contest he abandoned for a time his lofty purpose. Some years afterward he had a new impulse and circumstances gave him a conspicuous hand in the emancipation of the slave. Here were courage, high purpose, final success, yet the hero fell short of full heroism, for he was without steadfastness and his purpose was not fixed.

Into the composition of a hero, the philosopher pours a further element and requires that the perception of virtue shall be a sufficient reward. His victor must spurn the wreath; his poet may not wear the bay. We confess that we do not find this element in the heroic characters of actual life. It is a quality which belongs rather to the closet and the cloister. Such a formula will make a saint. A hero must not be selfish nor be moved by motives centring in himself. Such interest would colour his purpose and thus in his character there would be wanting the essential moral ingredient of a high and lofty purpose.

When we analyse the character of Christopher Columbus, we find each of these elements richly represented in his composition and we know that their united presence gave to the world a hero. He had, first of all, that spirit which enables one to encounter dangers without fear. This quality of mind was common to the first expedition to the New World. To have been enrolled in that gallant company was a certificate of courage. The sea-folk knew but one story of the great ocean, the *Mare Tenebrosum* of the ancients, the *Mare Occidentale* of their own time.<sup>1</sup> When they pointed to the westward it was to a mysterious region, where frightful monsters played in the deep, awaiting the coming of some adventurous ship or helpless caravan. Many had gone that way; none had returned. Gorgons and demons, succabi and succabæ, maleficent spirits and unclean devils, unspeakable things,—these inhabited this region and ruled therein. The very currents of the ocean obeyed them and swept the ships away from the known world. There were islands of

<sup>1</sup> In the first engraved map in Ptolemy's geography, printed at Rome in 1478, it is called *Mare Atlanticum*. The sea to the north and west is called *Oceanus Occidentalis*.

magnetic power drawing vessels to sure destruction on their rocks.<sup>1</sup> There were other islands peopled by cannibals. Now and then a brighter thread ran into the picture and some sailors returning from Gomera would tell of men who there had seen a vision of the island of Saint Brandon as in a cloud floating on the surface of the sea. But the walls and towers and minarets of that fabled isle were unsubstantial and the vision vanished as it came. Even this picture was regarded as the temptation of evil working forces, inviting the daring to their ruin. These were dangers not merely whispered in a winter's night, but actually represented in terrifying delineations upon the maps and charts.<sup>2</sup> There were learned men who declared that a theory which maintained the Antipodes was absurd, since men could not keep on their feet on the other side of the globe. There were fathers of the Church who preached that God never would suffer men to dwell in a portion of the earth where their eyes could not behold the coming of the Saviour. If to-day the imaginations of the sailors and travellers produce varying types of the sea-serpent, what must have been the monsters, visible and invisible, painted by the fancies of the simple sailors and fishermen of the fifteenth century! The enlightened mind of Columbus beheld no evil spirit, no mythical monsters of the sea, but his soul may well have been troubled at the thought of unknown dangers and at the responsibilities which his own persistency had brought upon him. After God and wooden walls, the safety of nearly fivescore lives depended on his skill, his prudence, his courage. This peculiar, this particular test of courage can never again be applied to the heart of man. So, too, can there never again be just such a discovery made. The corners of the globe have been searched. No other Cape of Good Hope is for the first time to be rounded. No unknown continent remains to be unveiled. There is left but one possible terrestrial discovery to be made by man and that is reserved for him who first shall place his foot on the extremity of the earth's axis. That discovery will be great and famous, but beyond satisfying certain scientific inquiries, it will be of no utility. If the polar

<sup>1</sup> Albertus Magnus, in the book *De Natura Locorum* contained in his *Philosophus Philosophorum Princeps*, says, speaking of the lower hemisphere or Antipodes: "Perhaps also some magnetic power in that region draws human stones even as the magnet draws iron." See also the legends in Ruysch's *Map of the World*, Rome, 1508.

<sup>2</sup> See legends on *Map of the World* in Ruysch's *Ptolemy*, issued at Rome in 1508.

region be soft as Andalusia, yet the way thereto must ever be through an Arctic night.

\* \* \* \* \*

The purpose of Columbus was a high purpose. The conception of this purpose was an intellectual triumph. Columbus begins his manuscript *Journal* with a formal declaration that having called the attention of the King and Queen to the Great Khan and other princes and the countries of the Indies and to the fact that their peoples were of many faiths and had on former occasions applied to the Pope for teachers in the Catholic religion, and whereas their Majesties as Catholic and Christian princes thought it good to send him, Christopher Columbus, to the said countries of the Indies to see the said princes and the peoples and to learn their dispositions and their condition, they ordered him "to go to the East not by land as is the usual manner of journeying, but to take, on the contrary, the route of the west by which way, so far as we know at the present time, no one has ever passed." And then Columbus goes on to formally state in his *Journal* that he was to be "Perpetual Governor of all the islands and mainlands I may discover and acquire, or which in the future may be discovered and acquired."

The purpose of Columbus then was not merely to find a short way to the East. It was not merely to visit the Orient and study its peoples. It was not merely to open a missionary field for the propagation of the Catholic faith. His purpose was to discover new lands in the Western Ocean and this purpose, complete in itself, was sufficiently fulfilled. He entertained the further design of civilising the inhabitants and converting them to Christianity. Columbus ever proclaimed himself a servant of the Church, and as such he was bound to provide heathen peoples with an opportunity to embrace his own religion. The lands to be discovered might be rich and as a loyal subject of Spain he was bound to secure his sovereigns the blessings of commerce. But these were incidental to the discovery of new lands.

This was the purpose announced by Columbus himself and frequently repeated in his letters and writings. What were these lands sought by Columbus, the discovery of which he

predicted with so much assurance? A Venetian traveller in the thirteenth century, Marco Polo<sup>1</sup> by name, had brought back reports of the marvellous extent of the far East and the wealth of its people, thus confirming with the credible voice of a

<sup>1</sup> Marco Polo says, in the prologue to his book of travels, that, being in prison in Genoa in the year 1298, he narrated his travels to Messer Rusticano of Pisa, who was his fellow prisoner and by whom the whole narration was reduced to writing. Gio Battista Ramusio, his first biographer, says Marco Polo wrote the account of his travels in the Latin tongue, employing a Genoese gentleman to help him. Therefore it was probably Genoese tradition which repeated the marvellous stories of Polo to the youthful and impressionable Columbus, for it is probable that the travels were not printed in a tongue known to him until after the latter's correspondence with Toscanelli. They were not printed in Italian until after his first two voyages to the New World. They had been printed in the German tongue and issued from the Nuremberg press of Frederick Creussner, the second printer to establish himself in that city, in the year 1477. Books of travel were rare in those days, and it is quite possible that even in its German dress the book may have been read by Columbus. Sailors know all the tongues. There is in the Bibliotheca Columbina in Seville a copy of Marco Polo's book, *De Consuetudinibus Orientalium regionum ex vulgari in latinum traductus per Fratrem Franciscum de Pepuris de Bononia*. This book is a small quarto of seventy-four unnumbered folios, but without date, place, or name of printer. There are copies in the British Museum, which Mr. Robert Proctor assigns to the press of Gerardus Leeu at Gouda, in Holland. It is in the type known to have been employed by that printer in the year 1484. It is believed to have been with Columbus on his first voyage, and has certain unimportant marks in the Admiral's hand.

Ramusio says that the stories told by Marco Polo seemed so incredible, his unit of measure being millions in speaking of all things, of cities, of fortunes, of temples, and palaces, that the Venetians even in the public documents of the Republic named him Messer Marco Millioni, and his house on the canal of Santa Maria was spoken of as Corte del Millioni. It is said that for generations, in the masquerades which were the forerunners of the Carnival of the Venetians, there was always one figure to represent their travelled fellow countryman, not in honour of his distinguished career, but in derision of the distorted stories they believed he had told to them.

There were others who not only believed his narrations, but who were ready to attribute to him the great inventions of the mariner's compass, gunpowder, and printing. There was a discourse by the Hon. R. Curzon (afterward Lord de la Zouche) entitled "A short Account of Libraries in Italy," *Bibliog. and Hist. Miscellanies, Philobiblon Society*, vol. i., in which the author claimed that printing by movable types had been invented and used as early as 1426 by Panfilo Castaldi of Feltre, who had been employed by the Venetian Republic to engross deeds, records, and edicts. Pietro di Natale, Bishop of Aquileia, had previously invented stamps or types of Murano glass. Castaldi, so the story went, had seen some Chinese books brought from China by Marco Polo and improved upon them by inventing movable wooden types, from which he printed in Venice some broadsides and single leaves. To complete the legend, Johannes Faust (once, in the different versions of the legend, Gutenberg is substituted for Faust) became acquainted with Castaldi and appropriated the glory of the invention. It is scarcely worth while to state that there is no ground at all for this story. The fame of John Gutenberg as the inventor of movable metal types is too well rooted to be torn up in this day, and Jean de Spira was incontestably the first to exercise his art in the city of Venice, as may be seen in his edition of Cicero's *Epistola ad Familiares*, printed in 1469.

Although this Marco Polo neither invented the compass nor introduced printing into Europe, he had his share in the great discovery of the islands of America.

European the stories of merchants of Arabia who traded in those distant lands. He told, as they had told, of cities populous and rich and grand. A city must indeed have been magnificent in its walls and towers, its palaces and public works to have excited the admiration of a traveller whose home was under the shadow of the Lions of St. Mark.<sup>1</sup> But Marco Polo told of more important things. He declared that Asia was washed by an ocean, even as the waters of other seas washed the coasts of Europe and of Africa; that beyond the eastern shores of Asia were islands rich in precious stones, in gold, in spices. He told of the great ships made of the fir tree; ships with four and five masts and with water-tight compartments so deftly joined that though one should be broken by striking some rock, the water would not leak into its companion compartment; ships with fifty and sixty cabins for the accommodation of the merchants sailing in them to trade in the distant countries; ships so large that from two hundred to three hundred hardy mariners were required to sail them and to manage the sweeps,—and these ships in countless numbers traded constantly with the islands out, far out, in the Indian Ocean. These ships went to Japan (Cipango), which was 1500 miles, said Polo, eastward of the continent, and to islands still farther east. The people of Cipango were “white, civilised, and well favoured.” If Asia extended to an ocean, whither did the ocean extend? To Europe? If so, it was the same ocean, the *Mare Atlanticum* or *Oceanus Occidentalis* of Spain and Portugal, of Europe and Africa. If it was the same ocean, then clearly one could navigate its waters and by following the suggestion of the ancient writers and sailing upon the course marked down eighteen years previously upon the chart of Paolo Toscanelli, the Florentine astronomer, there might come to be fulfilled the prophecy in the *Medea* of the poet Seneca<sup>2</sup>:

“Nil, qua fuerat sede, reliquit  
Pervius Orbis: Indus gelidum  
Potat Araxem: Albin Persæ

<sup>1</sup> Paolo Toscanelli, in his famous letter to Fernam Martins, dated June 24, 1474, a copy of which he afterwards sent to Columbus, says, “One alone of their rivers has upon its banks two hundred cities with bridges of marble.”

<sup>2</sup> There was only one dated edition of the tragedies of Seneca printed previous to the first voyage of Columbus, and that was issued from the Lyons press of Antonius Lambillonis and Marinus Saracenus, and dated in 1491, with marginal commentaries

## Christopher Columbus

Rhenumque bibunt: veniunt annis  
 Sæcula seris quibus oceanus  
 Vincula rerum laxet: & ingens  
 Pateat tellus: Tiphysq̄ novos  
 Detegat orbis: nec sit terris  
 Ultima Thyle." 1

by Gellius Bernardinus Marmita of Parma. There was in the library of Ferdinand Columbus in Seville a copy of the Venetian edition of 1510, in which this son of the Admiral had written on the margin opposite this passage, "Haec propheta expletã e per patrẽ meum, Christoforũ Columbũ Almiratẽ Anno 1492."

In Ferdinand's copy of *Tragedie Senecæ cum Duobus Commentariis* there are many other holograph notes, from which we learn that he bought the volume in Valladolid, sometime early in March, 1518, paying six reals for it, including two reals for binding. We also learn that Ferdinand began to read the book, annotating it, in the same month, March 6, 1518, and finished it on Sunday, July 8, 1520, while he was in Brussels.

<sup>1</sup> Act II., line 371, *Medea*. Last nine lines of chorus.

This famous passage profoundly fixed itself in the mind of Columbus. In his manuscript work, *De las Profecias*, which he began to write in 1501, he quotes it twice and adds to it a Spanish translation. The Admiral saw himself the one selected by the ages for the fulfilment of the prophecy.

The poet begins the chorus of *Medea* by glorifying the courage of the sailors and adventurous travellers at a time when neither the stability of the stars was known nor the winds were distinguished by names and directions. He then says that the sea is open to all since the Argonauts made their famous expedition; and that there is no need now of a vessel fashioned by the hand of Minerva. Ships of all kinds traverse the high seas. Seneca then contrasts the first navigations with the conditions existing in his time when the East and West came close together:

There is left to be found no thoroughfare. The Indian to-day drinks of the icy Araxes, and the people of Persia quaff the waters of the Albis and the Rhine. Then there shall come a time when the ocean shall break its bounds and a vast world shall appear, and Tiphys shall discover new lands and Thyle shall no longer be the most distant point of the earth.

The above passage is generally incorrectly quoted and a wrong metrical arrangement bestowed upon the lines. Tethys is often substituted for Tiphys, weakening, if not destroying, the sense. Tiphys was the pilot of the ship of the Argonauts, and there was poetical propriety in a new Tiphys, our own Columbus, opening new lands. Lord Bacon, in his *Essays Civil and Moral*, in the thirty-fifth essay, entitled *On Prophecies*, quotes the passage and then remarks, "A prophecy of the Discovery of America."

Gellius Bernardinus, the commentator, observes on the margin opposite this passage, *Quod Navigabimus ultra Tylem: Et alias insulas inveniemus.*

Herrera, in his *Historia de las Indias Occidentales* (Dec I. Book I.), in referring to this passage accuses Seneca of being a bad prophet. "because the Roman Philosopher fancied that America would be discovered on the side of the north and not toward the west." Without criticising the Spanish historian for not distinguishing between the philosopher and the tragic poet bearing the same name, he may be justly criticised for thus interpreting the passage *Nec sit terris ultima Thyle*. The poet does not say that the new land will appear in the direction of Thyle, but that when it does appear, when the New World is discovered, it will be situated beyond, farther away from the then inhabited world than the island of Thyle, then known to be the farthest out in the Western Ocean. The commentator, the learned Gellius Bernardinus, in the edition of 1491, remarks on this passage, "Tyle: an island situated between the north and west seas, was the last land known to the Romans."

The geographer Strabo, in his first book, quotes the belief of Eratosthenes that it might be possible to go by sea from Spain to the Indies on a parallel described by a

We know from his writings that Columbus was familiar with all that the ancients had to tell of the earth, of its probable sphericity and of its having in the Antipodes both land and inhabitants. He was acquainted with the sound arguments of the philosophers and the imaginary creations of the poets. Himself a maker of maps, he must have seen many charts which contained islands, such as Atlantis, Saint Brandon, the Isle of Seven Cities, and others situated in the *Mare Atlanticum*. Then in other maps he beheld the shores of Asia with islands out beyond and with which the subjects of the Great Khan maintained profitable traffic, as related by Marco Polo and his relatives and by the English traveller Sir John Mandeville.<sup>1</sup>

line drawn through the Atlantic Ocean in the temperate zone, a line which would pass through *Thina* (*Orva*), a city of Eastern India at the further extremity of the habitable world—and the Mediterranean, and that in this same temperate zone inhabited by us, somewhere in the same parallel, there might be found habitable lands, two and perhaps more than two. We reproduce the passages, following the Latin translation of Strabo:

"Itaque nisi Atlantici maris obstaret magnitudo, posse nos navigare per eundem parallelum ex Hispaniam in Indiam: id quod reliquum est ultra dictam distantiam, quod totius circuli trientem excedit: siquidem circulus per Thinas ductus minor est ducentis miliaribus, ubi nos stadia dimensi sumus ex India in Hispaniam. Ne haec igitur recte dicit. Haec enim ratio de zona temperata nostra secundum mathematicos potest constare, cujus pars est terra habitata: de hac autem (vocamus autem eam quam inhabitamus et notam habemus possunt autem in eadem temperata zona vel duae habitatae terre esse vel plures semper, etiamsi proxime circulum per Thinas transeuntem circulus per Atlanticum mare describatur)."

"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 neighbourhood of the parallel which passes through Sina and the Atlantic Ocean.)"

This passage, containing as it does the speculation of one if not of two great geographers of antiquity, is more marvellous in its prophetic utterance than that of Seneca.

Kramer and some others here read Athens for Thina<sup>a</sup> or Sina.

<sup>1</sup> The travels of Sir John Mandeville were printed in French, Italian, German, and Latin, in thirteen editions, between 1480 and 1492. The first edition is either that printed in French and at Lyons, February 8, 1480, or that printed in Italian with Latin preface, at Milan, July 31, 1480. If the year is intended to begin with March, then the Milan example has priority of date.

Sir John Mandeville was born in the city of St. Albans. Devoted to study, he became a special expert in medicine. Fond of travel, he visited the principal countries of the three continents, going into the remote parts of Asia and visiting the Indies. He left England in 1332, and spent four and thirty years in foreign travel. He died in 1372, at Liege in France. The stories he told of Cathay, of the Great Khan, and of the provinces, confirmed the narrations of Marco Polo.

Thus between the coasts of Asia and the coasts of Europe lay in his mind a picture of a vast ocean containing what we may call two sets of islands, the first those told of in legend and in fable, but which after all might be real, and the second set those which were reported by travellers and merchants as lying in the ocean in the region of the Indies. He could sail to Cathay, to the country of the Great Khan, but he would probably pass by these two sets of islands on his way. The second set, those lying in the region of the Indies and which were reported rich in stones and gold and spices, he must find at all hazards. The great purpose, then, which he had in mind, the purpose to which he clung with such tenacity and which he was permitted to see fulfilled, was the discovery of islands and mainlands lying between Spain and India. A land such as was Cathay, inhabited by people populous enough and rich enough to build great cities, would be too powerful to be brought under the dominion of the King and Queen of Spain. The Spanish monarchs never could have entertained the thought that they were embarking on another prolonged and uncertain war with a powerful Eastern prince whose subjects were war-like and innumerable, whose wealth was vast and inexhaustible. The Great Khan had a bodyguard of 12,000 horse. As long before as in the thirteenth century the Mongols sent a fleet with an army of 100,000 fighting men against the distant island of Cipango. When King Ferdinand reviewed his troops in the month of April in the year 1491 in the last struggle against the Moslem power in Granada, he counted all told not more, according to the best historians, than fifty thousand soldiers horse and foot.

The Moors were conquered at Granada, but the victory had emptied the treasuries of the Spanish kingdoms. The power of the Church, never so great as when it stood with cross and sword over the fallen Moslem, had at that moment insisted upon the expulsion from the realms of every person professing the Jewish faith, and thus the country was deprived of a people not only possessing commercial riches but constant producers of national property, a people sober, dexterous, and thrifty. The land of Spain was drained of a quickening force without which the fertile ground in vain smiles back at warming sun and gentle rain,—an industrious, frugal, intelligent population. In



this situation their Spanish Majesties might find the means to partly equip three small vessels, but not to launch them on a sea of expensive conquest. It is true that Columbus speaks of lands to be acquired and it is true that the King and Queen likewise adopt this expression, but it is the kind of acquiring or conquering which will take and retain new territory without perhaps the firing of a lombard shot; not that kind of conquering which comes from war, from countless battles, from the devastation of fields, and the destruction of armies. Spain well knew this last kind of conquering and at that particular time desired no more of it. In speaking of some of the commodities found in the islands the Admiral says he believes that the cotton will sell very well; that it need not be carried into Spain for a market but sold in the cities of the Great Khan, and that the products of Spain and those of the Orient will there be exchanged. Commerce, not conquest, is occupying his mind.

Columbus expected to reach the Indies or Cathay, even to interview the Great Khan,<sup>1</sup> the ruler of that country, but everything points to his expectation of finding islands and lands on the way.<sup>2</sup> In Bernaldez's<sup>3</sup> history we read:

Columbus came to the Court of the Catholic sovereigns—Ferdinand and Isabella—and revealed to them his plans, to which at first they gave no faith. But having declared to them that he was certain to succeed, and

<sup>1</sup> Toscanelli, in his letter to Columbus, says: "You are sure to find [in Cathay] populous cities and rich provinces and you will cause much joy to the king [the Great Khan], and to the other princes who govern those far countries, in opening to them a road of communication with Christians."

In the *Journal* kept by Columbus on his first voyage, he begins with a short discourse addressed to the King and Queen. In this is the following passage: "And in accordance with the information I gave Your Highnesses of the lands of India and of a prince who is called the Great Khan . . . Your Highnesses thought . . . to send me, Christopher Columbus, to the said countries of India to see the said Prince . . . and on that occasion they accorded me great favours, ennobling me to the end that henceforth I should call myself by the title of Don and that I should be Grand Admiral of ocean sea and Viceroy and perpetual Governor of all the isles and mainland which I should discover and conquer."

<sup>2</sup> In the *Book of Privileges* made by Columbus is copied the Patent given him by the King and Queen under date of April 30, 1492, and in which they say: "Inasmuch as you, Christopher Columbus, are going by our command to discover and conquer, with some of our vessels and our subjects, *certain islands* and mainland in the ocean, and as it is hoped, with the assistance of God, that some of the *ajoresaid islands* and mainland in the said ocean will be discovered and conquered through your labour and industry," etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Reyes Catolicos*, vol. i., chap. cxviii.

having exhibited to the sovereigns a map of the world,<sup>1</sup> he awakened in their breasts a desire to discover these new islands. They gathered there some people of their Court<sup>2</sup> skilled in geography, who having understood the explanations of Columbus became convinced that he was right.

In one of the letters written by Peter Martyr to Count Tendilla and the Archbishop of Granada, dated Barcelona, September 15, 1493, there occurs this passage:

*Meministis Colonum Ligurem institisse in castris apud reges, de percurrendo per occiduos Antipodes, novo terrarum hemisphærio, meminisse oportet. Qua de re vobiscum aliquando actum est. Nec sine vestro, ut arbitror, consilio rem hic aggressus est.*

"You remember that Columbus, the Ligurian, when at the camp with the sovereigns, insisted upon the [possibility of] reaching a new hemisphere of the earth by the western Antipodes. It is important you should remember this. It was occasionally discussed with you; nor did he undertake that enterprise without your advice, I think."

Whatever conceptions Peter Martyr had formed of the purposes of Columbus, they were evidently not modified but strengthened by his personal conversation with the Admiral. He thus recalls to the minds of his correspondents the persistent views held by Columbus before he set out on this voyage and which had the acquiescence of these two men, the latter<sup>3</sup> of whom was his good friend and supporter.

It is true that Columbus proposed to find a short route to the Indies by the Western Ocean; it is true that he expected to reach Cathay and visit the home of the Great Khan; but it is also true that he expected first of all to find inhabited islands and to take possession of them in the name of their Majesties, the King and Queen of Spain.

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Columbus possessed the heroic quality of steadfastness. He now and then despaired of accomplishing his purpose through

<sup>1</sup> This was, perhaps, the map made by Toscanelli or one modelled after it. On the Toscanelli map, as reconstructed by late writers, twelve squares each of 250 miles in length would take Columbus from the most westerly of the Canary Islands to what the Florentine physician believed to be the islands in the region of the coast of Asia.

<sup>2</sup> This was the conference held in 1491, while the Court was before Granada in Santa Fé, and is not to be confounded with the alleged council at Salamanca.

<sup>3</sup> The Archbishop of Granada was Hernando de Talavera, who had been Prior of the monastery of Prado, near Valladolid.

the help of Spain, but he never relinquished for a moment his hope of final triumph. In the fancy of writers he is represented as travelling from one European Court to another, offering his plans first to one and then to another, pleading, beseeching, supplicating, becoming more and more despondent at every rejection. Columbus himself never visited but two courts upon his errand, that of Portugal and that of the Spanish Sovereigns.<sup>1</sup> But with those two Courts he laboured years against prejudice, jealousies, and obstacles of many kinds. He persevered and pursued steadily his design. It was a project for the carrying out of which he must have the aid of a powerful prince. No man ever showed a more undaunted heart or clung more tenaciously to a purpose.<sup>2</sup>

The purpose of Columbus was reasonably fulfilled.

In the *Journal* of Columbus as reported by Las Casas under date of February 14, 1493, it is recorded that the Admiral, to preserve a record of his discoveries in the event of the destruction of himself and his companions, as seemed imminent from the

<sup>1</sup>Columbus represents himself as refusing to serve other Courts. Navarrete (vol. ii., p. 254) quotes a document in the handwriting of the Admiral which was written toward the end of the year 1500 (the original of which is in the archives of the Duke of Veragua). In this he says: "Seventeen years have passed since I came to serve these princes in the enterprise of the Indies; eight years passed in discussion and in the end my projects were ridiculed. I persevered, nevertheless, with zeal and replied to France England, and Portugal that I reserved to the King and Queen, my Sovereigns, these countries, and these domains."

Again, he says in the *Historie* (Life of Columbus, by his son Ferdinand, page 35 of the Italian edition of 1571, the passage being omitted in the French edition of 1681): "To serve your Majesties I have listened neither to France, nor England, nor Portugal, whose princes have written me letters as your Highnesses may still see in the hands of the Doctor Villalano."

Columbus sent his brother Bartholomew to the Court of Henry VII. of England. Bartholomew was probably afterwards for a time in France, in the household of the Princess Anne of Bourbon, the wife of Pierre de Beaujeu.

There is no foundation for the story that Columbus had offered his services to the country of his nativity. It might have been in accordance with the dramatic unities that the adventurous Genoese should have desired his enterprise to be undertaken by that great maritime Republic, but the story rests alone on the supposition of Ramusio, supported by neither document nor record. Nor, indeed, is the legend ever mentioned again until the beginning of the seventeenth century.

<sup>2</sup>An Italian alienist has lately (see *Forum*, July, 1899) discovered that Columbus was a paranoic, because, for one reason, of this very constancy of purpose, supported as it was by a faith in a Supreme Being and a belief in his own selection as an agent for working out great designs. This same scientist, who clearly reveals his want of acquaintance with historical facts in the case of Columbus, has made a ludicrous blunder in discovering a national American characteristic based on 10,000 incidents reported in the newspapers by facetious paragraphers. He might have made an observation more or less interesting on a national characteristic of American humour.

violence of the storm then upon them, took a parchment and wrote upon it a brief account of the discoveries of which he was the author, begging that whosoever might find it would immediately carry it to the King and Queen. This parchment, hermetically sealed and attached to a log of wood, he committed to the sea.<sup>1</sup> It was never heard of again. But there have come down to us in printed form the contents of two letters written during the voyage, the one dated February 15, 1493, and addressed to Luis de Santangel, an official of the King [Escribano de Racion] and another dated three days afterward, February 18, 1493, and addressed to Gabriel Sanchez, the royal Treasurer. In the first letter the Admiral writes:

As I know that you will have pleasure in the great victory which our Lord hath given me in my voyage, I write this to you that you may know how in twenty days<sup>2</sup> I passed over to the Indies with the fleet which the most illustrious King and Queen, our Sovereigns, had given me, where I found *many islands* filled with inhabitants without number.<sup>3</sup>

In the letter to Gabriel<sup>4</sup> Sanchez the Admiral says:

As I know that it would be agreeable to you to learn that I have been successful in my enterprise, I have resolved to acquaint you by this and in minute detail with the things which have happened and the discoveries which have been made in our voyage. Three and thirty days after I departed from Cadiz, I entered the Indian Sea, where I discovered *many islands*<sup>5</sup> inhabited by innumerable people.

Columbus himself believed his purpose had succeeded. His final purpose was not complete and much remained to be done,

<sup>1</sup> In the *Historie* of Ferdinand Columbus, the *Journal* records that a second account was written on parchment in like manner, but placed upon the deck, thus floating in the event of the ship's foundering. The *Historie* also states that 1000 ducats were to be paid to whomever should find and deliver the package.

<sup>2</sup> This is, of course, an error. The word in the text of the first Spanish edition being *veinte*, which is corrected in the subsequent editions to the numerals xxxiii.

<sup>3</sup> The first printed copy of this letter has these words at the bottom of the leaf: "Columbus sent this letter to the Escribano de Racion [Luis de Santangel] concerning the *islands* found in the Indies. Received with another for their Highnesses." This was probably the endorsement of some clerk or Court official, and being on the document was printed with the text.

<sup>4</sup> In the Latin translation of this letter, made by Leander de Cosco about April 25, 1493, and printed in many editions, the recipient of the letter is called Raphael Sanchez.

<sup>5</sup> The titles of all the Latin editions of this letter ran: *De Insulis Indiae Supra Gangem Nuper Inventis*.

but he had accomplished his more immediate purpose, the discovery of certain islands which he was persuaded were lying in the waters east of the Asiatic coast. When he sailed back to Spain there was no suggestion on his part and no idea on the part of the King and Queen of Spain that he had found Cathay or continental land. Apparently a thought crossed his mind that the island of Joanna or Cuba might be Cathay, but he dismissed it at once. We shall see that later<sup>1</sup> he adopted this idea,—to again abandon it. The islands he had found were, in his mind, those lying far out *beyond the Ganges* reported but not visited by Marco Polo and Sir John Mandeville. He says in his letters to Santangel and Sanchez: "Although men have talked or written of those lands, it was all by conjecture, without confirmation from actual observation, and those hearing the accounts judged them to be fabulous." None of these islands was within the realm of known lands like Cathay and Cipango.

No invention springs from the brain into the hand of man perfected and complete. It comes by development. And so it is with discovery. It is a principle of law that one may enter upon an estate by occupying a portion. The discovery of a part of a territory entitles the original discoverer to the whole. In discovering, possessing, occupying a group of islands in the Western Ocean, Christopher Columbus for the King and Queen of Spain, in whose name the great enterprise was undertaken, discovered the New World, the western hemisphere, and thus fulfilled the purpose born in the days of his early manhood, absorbed into his very being in the years of his maturer life, tenaciously held throughout vicissitudes and discouragements and finally satisfied in success and triumph.

\* \* \* \* \*

Christopher Columbus was wedded to another purpose, an ultimate purpose, one which dominated his life and which in dying he bequeathed as a legacy to his heirs,—the institution of a new Crusade and the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. All else that he proposed or accomplished was subordinate and subsidiary to this absorbing project. This was his mission. He believed that to effect this he had been brought into the

<sup>1</sup> On the second voyage one of the officials under Columbus compelled his men to declare against the insularity of Cuba.

world.—a predestined agent of God to restore to the Christian world the birth-place of the Saviour. He believed himself a messenger of the Most High charged with the deliverance of Jerusalem. The discovery of new lands was a single step in this ultimate purpose. The accumulation of wealth for the sovereigns and himself was another advance toward the accomplishment of the great plan. The key to the character of Christopher Columbus lies within our hands and we can comprehend him only when we see him as he saw himself, when we realise that he held himself a Divine agent selected to execute a grand design, the accomplishment of which he believed would close perhaps the last chapter of the world's history and introduce the thousand years of peace. He was still a mere lad when he heard preached in Genoa, as it was throughout all the lands of Europe, the pious Crusade ordered by Calixtus III. In every city, in every church, there was offered a plenary indulgence to those who should take the sword, and remission of sins to those who contributed towards the raising of an army. Almost the last act of this Pope was to grant a three years' indulgence to all who, at the tolling of the bell at high noon, should say three Paternosters and three Ave Marias for the success of the Christian arms against the Moslem powers.

When Æneas Sylvius assumed the Papacy in 1458, this Genoese lad of twelve heard discussed on all sides the project of the new Pope, Pius II. While yet he was carding wool in his father's shop he listened as men told of the Council called to meet at Mantua and he must have watched the travels of the Pope as he slowly wended his way through Italy, leaving Rome on February 18, 1459, and reaching Mantua only on May 27, every step of his journey marked with a vehement exhortation to support the new Crusade. As he left his father's house and began to learn of the sea, the youthful Genoese found sailors and soldiers ready to take their part in the expedition. In the year 1464 he might have seen the fleet gathered at Ancona and even beheld another Christopher, the Doge Maurus, coming with his own ships from Venice. He might have met somewhere on the road between the Ligurian and Adriatic seas two travellers bent upon the same errand of witnessing and speeding the departing Crusaders, the one Paolo Toscanelli, the other Fernam Martins, a Portuguese priest, destined ten years

later to be the two correspondents who should discuss a western route to the Indies and who should confirm by that very correspondence the purpose of the Genoese adventurer then living in Portugal.<sup>1</sup>

Before Columbus sailed from Palos on his first voyage he had exacted what he believed to be a promise from the sovereigns that whatever profits might come from his enterprise should be employed in the conquest of Jerusalem. In his *Journal* under date of Wednesday, December 26, 1492, Columbus writes concerning the wealth which he expects to find gathered by the men he leaves behind during his absence:

"y dice que espera en Dios que á la vuelta que él entendia hacer de Castilla, habia de hallar un tonel de oro que habrian resgatado los que habia de dejar, y que habrian hallado la mina del oro, y la especería, y aquello en tanta cantidad que los Reyes antes de tres años emprendiesen y aderezasen para ir á conquistar la casa santa, *que así (dice él) protesté á vuestras Altezas que toda la ganancia desta mi empresa se gastase en la conquista de Jerusalem, y vuestras Altezas se rieron y dijeron que les placía, y que sin esto tenían aquella gana.* Estas son palabras del Almirante."

"And he says that he hopes in God when he returns from Castile, as he intends, he will find a tun of gold which those people he is to leave will have traded for, 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 laughed and said that it was pleasing to them and that even without this, they had the inclination to do it.*' These are the words of the Admiral."

When on February 22, 1498, Columbus instituted the Majorat as authorised by the Sovereigns he introduced the following paragraph which, as confirmed by him just before his death, became a part of his last will and testament.

"Item: porque á persona de estado y de renta conviene por servir á Dios, y por bien de su honra, que se aperciba de hacer por sí y se poder valer con su hacienda, allí en San Jorge está cualquier dinero muy seguro, y Génova es ciudad noble y poderosa por la mar; y porque al tiempo que yo me moví para ir a descubrir las Indias fuí con intencion de suplicar al Rey y á la

<sup>1</sup>In the letter of Toscanelli to the Lisbon Canon, the words *Crusade* and *Holy Sepulchre* do not occur. But who knows what messages and what influences go into paper or parchment besides the written word?

Reina nuestros Señores, que de la renta que de sus Altezas de las Indias hobiese que se determinase de la gastar en la conquista de Jerusalem, y así se lo supliqué; y si lo hacen sea en buen punto, y si no que todavía esté el dicho D. Diego, ó la persona que heredare deste proposito de ayuntar el mas dinero que pudiere, para ir con el rey nuestro Señor, si fuere á Jerusalem á le conquistar, ó ir solo con el mas poder que tuviere: placará nuestro Señor que si esta intencion tiene é tuviere, que la dará él tal aderezo que lo podrá hacer, y lo haga; y si no tuviere para conquistar todo, le darán á lo menos para parte dello; y así que ayunte y haga su caudal de su tesoro en los lugares de S. Jorge en Génova, y allí multiplique fasta que él tenga tanta cantidad que le parezca y sepa que podrá hacer alguna buena obra en esto de Jerusalem, y yo creo que despues que el rey y la Reina nuestros Señores, y sus Sucesores, vieren que en esto se determinan, que se moverán á lo hacer sus Altezas, ó le darán el ayuda y aderezo como á criado é vasallo que lo hará en su nombre."

"Item: Because it becomes every man of rank and income to serve God, and for the benefit of his honour that it may be perceived that it is by himself and by means of his fortune, and as any money whatever yonder in St. George is very secure and Genoa is a noble and powerful city by the sea; and because at the time I started to go and discover the Indies, it was with the intention of supplicating the King and Queen, our Lords, that the revenue which their Highnesses might have from the Indies, they should determine to spend in the conquest of Jerusalem; and in this manner I supplicated it, and if they do it, it will be a good design; and if not, that it may yet be the said Don Diego, or the person who inherits in this purpose, to collect the said money in order to go with the King, our Lord, if it should be to Jerusalem to reconquer it; or to go alone with the greatest force that he has, that it will please our Lord if he has and shall have this intention, to give him such aid that he will be able to do it, and may do it; and if he shall not have money to conquer all, that he will give him at least enough for a part of it; therefore let him collect and make his fund from his treasure in the places of St. George in Genoa, and let it there multiply until he has a sufficient quantity so that it may appear to him and he may know, that he will be able to do some good work in this matter of Jerusalem; because I believe that after the King and Queen, our Lords, and their successors, shall see that he is determined in this, their Highnesses will be moved to do it themselves, and will give him aid and comfort, as to a servant and vassal, and will do it in their name."

The Admiral was acquainted with the history of the nine Crusades. He knew the efforts put forth by Pope after Pope to destroy the power of the Moslem and recover the Holy Sepulchre, and he knew that there still stood in the way the petty quarrels of the Christian nations. There was but one agent to be employed, one instrument to be used in this great



work which would be effective, one power attracting all elements, subduing all differences, uniting all nations, inviting Church and State, King and Prince, Knight and Squire, the devotee and the adventurer,—and that agent, that instrument, that power was gold. Gold would form armies, equip ships, furnish munitions of war, and smooth the road from the rocky coast of Syria to the high walls of Jerusalem.

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Leaving aside his connection with Beatriz Enriquez which the times and customs tolerated, there are only two charges brought against Columbus worthy of notice, the one his approval of human slavery, and the other his rapacity for honours and for wealth. Both charges are practically true, yet both are explained when we remember his ultimate purpose. We are to consider Columbus as living at the end of the fifteenth century. The very conception of a Crusade for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre seems to-day chimerical and absurd. In the time of Columbus it was the project of every reverent prince, the hope of every pious person. To-day the idea of involuntary human servitude is repulsive and in any civilised community impossible. It was not so in that day. While the Portuguese had long been bringing home from Africa negro slaves and while many of these had been brought into Spain, they were not generally employed and were not inhumanly treated. Involuntary human servitude cannot for a moment be defended in any age or among any people. But there certainly is a difference between enforced bondage with humane treatment and slavery with cruelty. Columbus at first did approve of slavery, but he never approved of the abuses which almost immediately followed in its train. He appealed to the Sovereigns against these abuses and condemned those who were guilty of cruelty. But it must be remembered that when these cruelties began Columbus was no longer in power and was helpless to prevent the abuse or to aid the natives. He found himself in a country rich in gold and silver and precious stones. These were to be obtained as soon as possible and in quantities as vast as possible, to be employed in the great design he had so much at heart. The Spaniards who accompanied him upon his second voyage as colonists and adventurers would not and could not mine the gold and dig the

silver. In neighbouring islands were Indians who killed the peaceful natives of other islands and fed on their flesh. While the Indians of the islands of Española and Cuba were mild and gentle, our own Puerto Rico and some of the Lesser Antilles were inhabited by a wild and war-like race who frequently made incursions upon their western neighbours, capturing the people, killing the men, enslaving the women, and reserving the youths for the feast of the cannibal. The natives of Española begged the Spaniards to protect them against these, their native foes. What sort of a hold on the people of the New World would the Spaniards have had if they had broken the sword and clung to the spade! The subduing and colonisation of a new country is not a task for the faint-hearted or for those of over-tender conscience. Ovando made a better Governor than if some fifteenth-century Wilberforce had held the reins. Indeed, there can be no Wilberforce until there has been an Ovando. It was this race of cruel Indians Columbus proposed to enslave and use in mining and digging. One race had to dominate the other. Either the Spaniards had to absolutely exterminate the anthropophagi or take them captive and enslave them. Afterward, when these understood the power of the Europeans, a milder treatment might be employed and the yoke removed. The domination of one race does not excuse cruelty to the race that is dominated. But these were the conditions which confronted the Spaniards. They were living in the fifteenth century,—not in the twentieth.<sup>1</sup> Columbus saw all this and thought he saw something beyond. He saw in his imagination gold, silver, and

<sup>1</sup> What will the historian of the twenty-fifth century say of a great nation driving out of their own land the humble, simple, God-fearing men of the Transvaal! What will its historian say of an equally great nation beating into insensibility a childish people in the far East, whose ambition is to found a Republic and govern themselves before, perhaps, they are entirely competent for such a government! Can there be any other answer than the excuse offered by the exigencies of the age? It is the road of civilisation. The one unfortunate nation was found encamped directly on the King's Highway, living the simple lives of herdsmen over mines of wealth; and the greed of man wanted that wealth with which to build cities, found hospitals, establish libraries, and promote the welfare of countless thousands. It is the spirit of the age seeking gold with which to recapture the Holy Land of man's liberty and of human happiness. The other unfortunate nation was found throwing off a hateful yoke, and philanthropic western people insisted on bending the necks of the unhappy islanders until their heads were fitted with the liberty caps cut for them from the western patterns.

In the twenty-fifth century, some critic will arise and ask that the people of the twentieth be judged by the conditions of that century.

precious stones heaping up, gathered for armies and ships: he saw the Moslem falling back from the onslaught of the banner of the Cross; he saw the rites of the Church recited in Jerusalem and in Bethany and then he saw in the same glass the final triumph of Christianity and the coming of the Saviour to rule in peace and glory among all men, Indians as well as Spaniards, and the present burdens of the natives, however grievous to be borne, seemed a very little thing to the joys they were to experience when he accomplished his vast and mighty purpose.

He did bargain for his pay. He did haggle for his rights. But not for himself, not for his family, not for his heirs did he want these honours and revenues. If he died with his great purpose unfulfilled, its accomplishment fell to his successors, to whomever was Admiral of the ocean-sea, to whomever was Viceroy of the Indies. Could one of his descendants bereft of high office, unadorned with ribbons and insignia, into whose empty coffers there flowed neither thirds nor eighths nor tenths, could such an heir hope to enlist soldiers, equip armies, harmonise captains, and reach the Holy Sepulchre? Honours were as necessary as wealth and both were dedicated to this one—to him—vital project, the purpose of his youth, the hope of his manhood, the legacy of his old age. To understand Columbus we must perpetually keep in mind this ultimate, all-controlling purpose which filled his heart and soul. His faults, his shortcomings, his complaints, and his clamourings seem like very little matters. If he thought himself different from other men, he certainly looks to us different. If he believed himself chosen by Providence for what in his age was the foremost project of Christendom, he at times makes us believe he was an inspired agent. He was a strange, composite character. No man could be more practical. No better sailor ever drove a ship. When we remember the size of his vessels, their wretched condition, the unknown waters on which he entered, the dangerous coasts he approached with their hidden rocks and concealed reefs, the discords of his crews, the quarrels of his colonists, the rivalries of the people at home, we marvel that he accomplished what he did. His judgment in dealing with the natives and with his own men, if not infallible, was generally successful. Then we see him like a prophet retiring to his cave, rolling his eyes and clasping his hands, while visions in long procession go stalking

through the chambers of his soul. He believed he talked with God in Paria even as Solomon believed he talked with God in Gibeon. And as Solomon was to gather riches to build a new Temple, Columbus was to acquire wealth to recover for the Church the site upon which it once stood. When he emerged from his visions he was again the practical sailor, the determined Governor. And such we must see him,—now the dreamer, now the discoverer.

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Historians represent Columbus as dying in profound ignorance of what he had discovered. We are told he closed his eyes in the belief that his discoveries were on the eastern coast of Asia or in the immediate neighbourhood of these coasts. We are not in accord with these writers in this view. In his third voyage the Admiral beheld the Orinoco flowing into an immense gulf and sweetening its waters against the salted Atlantic and he knew such an outpouring never came from within an island. When he returned to Spain, Vasco da Gama had accomplished his voyage to India more than a year before and its results must have been known to him. He must have been told of Calcutta, of the Ganges and its many mouths. One and perhaps two of that famous Portuguese expedition accompanied him when he started upon his last voyage.<sup>1</sup> The Admiral must have known that he had not found the land which Vasco da Gama had reached. He must have known that between the country discovered by him and that land of spices visited by the Portuguese was the land described by Marco Polo and told of by Toscanelli. There was not a single feature connected with his lands bearing any resemblance to the countries visited by the Venetian traveller. There were no war-like fleets or merchant ships upon the seas, no cities with marble bridges, no magnificent temples upon the coasts. He distinctly says that on this coast the people were the same as those found at Española and that their cus-

<sup>1</sup> Pedro de Ledesma, who had been interpreter for Vasco and Paul da Gama, sailed on board the *Víscaíno* with Columbus on his fourth voyage. There was a Fernão Martins with Vasco da Gama, and as there is found on the last voyage of Columbus a Martin de Arriera, or Arrayollos, in Portugal, it is possible they are the same. When the Admiral died at Valladolid, one of his faithful servitors at his bedside was Fernão Martins. However, the Fernão Martins who sailed with Vasco da Gama was not only his interpreter, but his *Veedor*, an office a little lower than that of *Majordomo* and something above that of butler. The Martin de Arriera who sailed with Columbus went in the capacity of a cooper.

toms were the same. When Columbus was at Veragua upon his fourth and last voyage he was a sick man, but not yet broken as when a little later he was marooned on the Island of Jamaica, writing his remarkable letter to the sovereigns. As the reader will see when he studies the fourth voyage, it is not certain that the Admiral ever landed at Veragua. He suffered great bodily discomfort at that time and remained for the most part in his cabin swung in a hammock. However this may be, the Indians told him that from where he was at a nine days' journey westward across the land one would come to another sea, and the Admiral estimated that from that coast another ten days' journey by water would bring one to the Ganges. His mind is not at this moment troubled with hallucinations. It is clear and his speech is that of a geographer. He says, both in his famous letter of July 7, 1503, to the sovereigns and in his *Journal* as reported by Bartolomé de las Casas, that Veragua is situated as to the coast of this land washed by this other sea, as Venice in the Adriatic Sea is to Pisa in the Ligurian Sea, or as the seaport of Tortosa in the Mediterranean Sea is to Fuenterrabia in the Atlantic. Christopher Columbus thus had the earliest knowledge of the Pacific Ocean bathing the western coast of the continental land and he knew that he must cross this ocean to reach the eastern coast of Asia. We must disregard what he says of Ophir and Tarsus, of King Solomon's Mines, and the Great Khan. When we hear him speak of being in the regions known of old to Solomon, we can only think of him as beside himself with physical and mental sufferings or perhaps seeking to arouse the cupidity of his sovereigns at the expense of his geographical reputation. Whoever carefully reads the letter of July 7, 1503, will understand the mental condition in which the Admiral found himself on the island of Jamaica. When he is describing, as reported by Las Casas, the relative positions of Veragua and the province called Ciguare and the land bounded by the two oceans, he is clothed in his right mind and is employing the descriptive terms of a sailor, traveller, and cosmographer.

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Christopher Columbus was great in himself; he was great by reason of his mere association with a grand design; he was

great in his accomplishment of that design. His position in history is secure. He cannot be exalted by canonisation. He cannot be pulled from his pedestal by the mean and petty.

The time of Columbus was at its period when he made his discovery. After his great part the actor should not again come upon the boards. Each superfluous appearance distorts or dwarfs his figure. Columbus was suffered to lag upon the stage until we find it difficult to reconstruct the scene with its true settings. Part of the background is of mystery and mysticism. As the drama opens, the hero announces his purpose and until the denouement he never lets us lose sight of himself and his project. He moves before us sedate and dignified. We see no great imperfections. He is equal to the exactions of his part. We behold him listening always to a voice sometimes quite audible and we know he is minding the words of the prompter. After many vicissitudes he triumphs and the world applauds. If here we drop the curtain we have a more symmetrical hero, but we have not the true Columbus. We must still observe him crossing and recrossing the stage, posing when the audience will not look, haranguing when they hear him not, waiting for directions which do not come. He carries the flag of a new Crusade and he begs for pence. The properties and trappings he wore in his great scene he wants ever to wear and to transmit to his descendants. 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. It is our duty to watch him as he played his great part and for that part to ever do him honour.

In the Summario<sup>1</sup> or abridgement of his *General History of the West Indies*, Gonzales Ferdinandus Oviedo says:

“If there had byn an image of Golde made in the prayse and fame of Colonus, he had as well deserved it as any of those men to whom for their noble enterpryse the antiquytie gave Devyne honoure, if he had byn in their tyme.”

<sup>1</sup>As quaintly translated by Richard Eden, and published at London in the year 1555.

PART III  
THE MAN





## CHAPTER XXVIII

### THE FIRST GENOESE BIOGRAPHERS

THE historian can perform no better service than to present the sources of his information. The search for original authorities is delicate and exacting. Frequently one must go farther back than the printed record. When we seek the earliest biographies of Columbus, we find them not within the pages of a printed book, but locked away in manuscript works deposited in public archives. We make a distinction between historical accounts of the Columbian discoveries and those which give personal information concerning Columbus himself. The *Libretto* is the first printed record to speak of the personality of Columbus. It tells us he was a Genoese, and in a few words describes his person. This little book was printed at Venice in 1504, and will be found reproduced in our present work in exact fac-simile. Naturally we would expect to find in Genoa, the accepted birthplace of the Discoverer, some record of that city's early appreciation of the glory brought her by her son's achievements. The first published account of the family origin of Columbus is found in the *Polyglot Psalter* of 1516. This work, printed at Genoa in 1516, we describe at length, but we are able to produce the authorities from whom the compiler of the *Polyglot Psalter* took his account, and even to ascribe to one of these authorities the distinction of first speaking of the family of Columbus. Although the works of these two Genoese biographers were written contemporaneously with the events described, they remained in manuscript until Lud. Ant. Muratori incorporated them in his great work, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, printed at Milan in 1723-51. Antonio Gallo, the first of these, was one of the most eminent citizens of Genoa. He was

Chancellor of the Bank of St. George,<sup>1</sup> as his father, Ambrosio, had been before him, and as his own son, Bernardo, was after him. From June 14, 1477, until he died he was the official chronicler of the Republic. The following is his record concerning Christopher Columbus:

"Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum*, vol. xxiii., p. 301. Antonii Galli.  
"De navigatione Columbi per inaccessum antea Oceanum Commentariolus

"Christophorus & Bartholomæus Columbi, fratres, natione Ligures, ac Genuæ plebejis orti parentibus, & qui ex lanificii (nam textor pater, carminatores filii aliquando fuerunt) mercedibus victitant, hoc tempore per totum Europam, audacissimo ausu, & in rebus humanis memorabili novitate, in magnam claritudinem evasere. Hi siquidem intra pueriles annos parvis literulis imbuti, & puberes deinde facti, de more gentis in navigationes exiverant. Sed Bartholomæus, minor, natus in Lusitania demum Ulissipone constitit, ubi intentus quæstui tabellis pingendis operam dedit, quæ ad usum nauticum justis illineationibus, & proportionibus servatis, maria, portus, littora, sinus, Insulæ effigiantur. Proficiscebantur ab Ulissipone quotannis, ac redibant emissa navigia, quæ cœptam ante hos annos quadraginta navigationem per Oceanum ad Occidentales Æthiopes continuatas terras, gentesque omnibus retro seculis incognitas, aperuere. Bartholomæus autem sermionibus eorum assuetus, qui ab alio quodammodo terrarum orbe redibant, studio pingendi ductus, argumenta, & animi cogitatum cum fratre rerum nauticarum peritiorè communicat, ostendens omnino necessarium, si quis Æthiopum Meridionalibus littoribus relictis in pelagus ad manum dexteram Occidentem versus cursum derigeret, ut is procul dubio continentem terram aliquando obviam esset habiturus. Qua persuasione Christophorus inductus, in aulam Regum Castellæ se se insinuans, viros doctos alloquitur, ac docet, in animo sibi esse, nisi adjumenta defecerint, multo præclarior, quam Lusitani fecissent, novas terras, populosque novos, unde minimè putetur, invenire. Hæc autem ad aures Regias per hos viros, quibus ea vana non viderentur, delata, studio gloriæ, atque cum Lusitanis æmulationis incensos, Reges perpulere, ut Columbo bina navigia exornari ad eam navigationem, quam meditatus erat, jusserint. Quibus ille navigiis postquam ab Insulis Fortunatis Meridiem versus navigaverat, ac jam proximus ei Paralello videretur, qui sub Cancro est, declinans ad manum dexteram, atque altum, inaccessum, vastumque petens, omnium navigantium audacissimum complures dies ad Occidentem tenuit. Nec tamen usquam aut Insulæ, aut aliæ terræ apparebant, quamvis quadragies centena millia passuum à Gadibus Occidentem versus remotum se se jam esse arbitraretur. Jamque in desperationem verti audacia cœperat; nam etiam ex comitibus perique retro cursuum, ne, si perseverarent, alimenta deficerent, suadebant. Sed

<sup>1</sup> It was in his hand as an official of the bank that one finds recorded in the books of that institution the reception of the two famous holograph letters written by Christopher Columbus.

ipse animi constans, & vultu intrepidus, tum demum dixit, certum sibi esse, quod cognitis ac perspectis signis animadverteret, in posterum diem terras apparituras; dictoque mox fides non deficit: quæ illi maximam auctoritatem, ac dictorum factorumque omnium posthac fiduciam apud suos addidit. Insulæ erant, ut postmodum ipse per epistolas scripsit, ad septingentas à continenti (quam tamen Insulam nondum circumactis navigiis arbitraretur) non multum diremptæ. Ex his feri quidam homines aliquot inculunt, quos Canibales appellant, humana carne vescentes, ac Insularum aliarum Populos latrocinii infestantes. Nam cavatis magnarum arborum truncis navigantes ad proximos trajiciunt, atque homines quasi feræ incibus venantur. Ex his cavatis arboribus unum in mari nactus Columbus plenum hujusmodi feris hominibus, non sine prælio, ac magna vi, cum se se accerrimè defenderent, cepit, captivosque ex his nonnullos in Hispaniam usque postea pervexit.

Primam, ad quam appulit, Insulam, Hispaniolam nuncupavit, in qua multi mortales paupertate ac nuditate conspicui cernebantur. Hos primo nutibus ad securitatem congressus evocatos, postque donis & omni genere humanitatis alliciebat. Facile apparebant stupentes novi coloris, novique habitus alienigenas homines, non tamquam terrigenas, sed tamquam è cælo demissos admirati. Nulla ibi animalia quadrupedia, præter canes quosdam pusillos haberi cognitum est. Alimenta hominum sunt radices quædam, & glandes longe aliâ figurâ quàm nostræ, pares tamen sapore, nisi essent etiam jucundiores. Aurum modicum collo pendente laminâ annexum, & pectori hærente; ac ad usque pudenda quasi velamen paucis deductum, virorum mulierumque commune. Sed Christophorus quad maximè quæsiverat, consequutum se existimans, retro ad Hispaniam remeare quamprimum constituit, ut instructor deinde ad has easdem Insulas terrasque rediret. Relictis igitur quadraginta ex suis in locum, quem ceperat, & communiverat, quasi possessionem pro Regibus Castellæ adeptus, & se se mox rediturum pollicitus, linquens littora illa cursum retro ad Orientem, unde venerat, direxit, in Hispaniamque revertitur; nuntiosque præmisit, quibus omnia à se gesta Reges pernoscerent: quibus ea plusquam dici posset gratissimè fuere. Nam Christophorum delatis honoribus extollentes, & Præfectum Regium totius rei maritimæ declarantes, obviam illi miserunt clarissimos ex omni Regno proceres, à quibus ad se honorificentissime deduceretur. Adduxerat ipse ex Barbaris secum aliquot, per quos gestæ rei fides magis confirmaretur. Ceterum ut Reges volebant, fama per omnes terras interea diffunditur, auro plurimo inventum orbem (quem Indiam vocitabant) & aromatibus, & plerisque rebus pretiosissimis ad usum vitæ mortalium abundare. Alia igitur navigia pluscula, & minora parantur, & rebus his instructiora, quibus Barbarorum animi allici magis posse putabantur. In primis autem homines ex omni artificio, & animalia complura ex omni genere, etiam sues, quorum incrementum mirabile postea fuit. Sed triticum à semente prima statim ad altitudinem grandiusculam enatum, antequam spicesset, evanescens, deperierat. At Regum jussu arma virique navibus numero duodecim imponuntur, ut vel etiam renitentes

Barbari ad quodlibet officium cogentur. Bartholomæum, ac tertium fratrem Jacobum in ea expeditione Christophorus secum duxit, classemque hujusmodi ad Hispaniolam per navigationem dierum non amplius viginti salvam perduxit; suosque quos reliquerat, ad unum omnes à Barbaris reperit strangulatos, quod in eorum mulieres injurii fuisse dicerentur.

“Sed Christophorus acceptâ quidem Barbarorum ingratitude atque sævitiâ, cum his tamen per nova beneficia reconciliatus, dolorem dissimulans, quo ad reliqua destinata animo expeditior progredereetur, de auro primò inquirat, & de speciebus in nostro orbe pretiosioribus. Aurum modicum, & semen quoddam Piperi persimile & figurâ & sapore, non multum colligit. Oppidum adductis materiis ædificat, eique Elisabeth nomen indidit. Ipse duabus ex omni numero navium assumtis Insulam ipsam circumcivit; utque ulteriora pernosceret, litus Johannæ, quam Insulam quoque penetraverat, ita primo adventu nuncupatam, dies unum & septuaginta pernavigat, Occidentum versus perpetuò cursum tenens. Nullam umquam navigationem, neque longiorem, neque diuturniorem continuatione fuisse constat; quippe circiter sexagies centena millia passuum vir nauticus, & cursus navigiorum æstimator peritissimus confecisse se ex dierum noctiumque cursu computato, ipsemet in epistolis, quas vidimus manu propria ipsius subscriptas, prodidit. Ultimum locum Evangelistam nuncupavit. Remeansque, quantum licuit, sinus, promontoria, portus, atque omne litus decursum signavit in Tabula. Referebat autem hoc litus elevationem Arctici Poli decem & octo graduum habere, cum quatuor & viginti. Septentrionale littus Hispaniolæ Insulæ Poli ipsius altitudinem ostendat. Dicebat quando etiam ex observatione suorum, Anno Domini Quarto, & Nonagesimo & Quadringentesimo supra Millesimum Eclipsim apparuisse mense Septembris quatuor horis naturalibus ante in Hispaniola quàm Hispani visam fuisse: ex qua computatione colligi licet, eam Insulam horis quatuor, & Evangelistam, si modo vera referuntur, decem à Gadibus & Hispania distare; quo modo non amplius duabus horis, hoc est duodecimâ parte totius circuli terrarum ab eo loco, quem Bartholomæus Catigara vocat, & ultimum habitabilem in Oriente constituit, abesse. Per quas duas horas si dabitur, non obviantibus terris, posse navigare, ultimus Oriens, omni decurso inferiori nostro Emispherio, cursu contrario conjunctus fuerit à tendentibus in Occidentem. FINIS.

“ *Brief Relation of Antonio Gallo Concerning the Voyage of Columbus by Way of an Ocean Hitherto Unknown*

“Christopher and Bartholomew Columbus, brothers, of the Ligurian nation, sprung from plebeian parentage and who supported themselves from the wages of wool-working (for the father was a weaver and the sons were at times carders), at this time acquired great fame throughout the whole of Europe by a deed of the greatest daring and of remarkable novelty in human affairs. Even if these had small learning in their youth, when

they were come of age, they gave themselves to navigation after the manner of their race. But at length Bartholomew, the younger by birth, established himself at Lisbon in Portugal, where for his livelihood he undertook the production of painted maps adapted to the use of mariners, on which in correct drawings and their true proportions are represented seas, harbours, coasts, bays, and islands. Every year there went forth from Lisbon and returned expeditions by the sea to the Western coasts of Africa, which had their beginning forty years before, and which revealed continental lands and peoples unknown in all ages. But Bartholomew, influenced by his study of maps and familiar with the tales of those who in some manner returned from distant parts of the world, communicated their arguments and thoughts to his brother, more skilled in maritime matters, disclosing how, as a matter of necessity, if any one leaving behind him the southern shores of Africa should direct his course in the open sea to his right hand, toward the west, he would surely come somewhere on his way upon continental lands. Christopher, influenced by this reasoning, obtaining admission to the Court of the Sovereigns of Castile, discussed the matter with learned men and declared his purpose, unless he failed to secure assistance, to discover much more easily than the Portuguese had done, new lands and new peoples in places little thought to hold them. But these things being reported by these men to the ears of the Sovereigns, to whom they did not seem chimerical, the Sovereigns urged on by a desire for glory and roused to action by a spirit of rivalry toward the Portuguese, commanded that Columbus should be supplied with a couple of ships from the expedition which he had planned. With which ships, after that he had sailed toward the south of the Fortunate Islands and when it seemed that he was on the same parallel, turning to the right hand and thus directing his course out on the deep, unknown, and vast ocean, most daring of all navigators, he held on his way toward the West for many days. Notwithstanding, neither islands nor other lands appeared, although he estimated that he had sailed in the distant sea 4000 miles from the straits of Cadiz. And now courage altered and despair began, for many of his crew pleaded with him to turn back on his course, lest if they persevered their supplies should fail. But he himself, constant of purpose and serene of countenance, declared that he was himself certain, judging by signs which he knew and recognised, that lands would appear the following day: and thereupon confidence in him was not wanting: and this increased his great authority and the faith in his words and deeds which ever afterward prevailed among his followers. The islands were seven hundred, as he afterwards wrote in his letters, not very far from the continent (which he considered the island to be as it had not yet been circumnavigated by ships). Of these islands some are inhabited by wild men whom they call cannibals, feeding on human flesh, disturbing the people of the other islands with their robberies, For they cross over to the neighbouring islands, navigating in the hollowed trunks of trees, and the men are hunted for food as if they were wild beasts. Columbus, meeting on the sea with one of these hollowed trees filled with the wild men, captured it, not

without a struggle and great force, for they defended themselves valiantly, and when he returned he brought back to Spain with him as captives some of these. He named the first island on which he landed, Española, in which were seen many people conspicuous for their poverty and nakedness. He enticed to him these people, who were crowded together for safety, first by signs and afterwards by gifts and all kinds of gentleness. They easily appeared affected by their new colour and by men dressed in strange and new ways, admiring them as not natural to their world but as if sent from heaven. No quadrupeds are known to be there except certain very small dogs. The foods of these people are certain roots and acorns longer in shape than ours, but equal in flavour, unless they might be a little more pleasant. From their neck and breasts and fastened by a hanging plate they have a little gold: and some of them have a sort of garment covering their natural parts, a custom common to both men and women. But Christopher, thinking that he had found that for which he so eagerly sought, determined to sail back to Spain in order that with better equipment he might return to these same islands and lands. Therefore forty of his people being left behind in the places which he had taken and fortified, taking possession as if for the Sovereigns of Castile, and promising his people quickly to return, leaving those shores, he directed his course toward the East, whence he had come, and returned into Spain: and he sent messengers, from whom the Sovereigns learned of all that had been accomplished, by which they were pleased more than it is possible to relate. Extolling Christopher with honours and naming him Royal Admiral for all maritime affairs, they sent to meet him the most illustrious men in their whole kingdom, by whom he was most honourably conducted into their presence. He himself had brought with him some of the savages, by whom he was able to confirm the magnitude of the thing accomplished. And so the Sovereigns wished that the fame of this might be disseminated throughout all lands and that the world discovered (which they called India) abounded in much gold and spices and many things most precious for the use of mortals. Other ships were prepared, some larger and some smaller, but better adapted for these things, with which the minds of the savages might be more easily won. But first of all they sent men representing every trade and many animals of every kind as well as sows, whose fertility afterward was marvellous. But wheat from its first sowing sprang up to a most inordinate height, and then, before it had blossomed, it withered away. And at the order of the Sovereigns twelve of the ships in number were loaded with men and arms so that if the savages resisted they might be brought to whatever employment was best. Christopher took with him on this expedition Bartholomew and a third brother Jacobus and he conducted his fleet safely to Española by a navigation lasting not more than twenty days: he found his people whom he had left behind him strangled to the very last man by the savages because they said their women had suffered injury.

"But Christopher, enduring the ingratitude and treachery of the savages, reconciled himself to them with renewed benefits, dissimulating his grief in

order that he might proceed more expeditiously to the things remaining to be done: he inquired first for gold and for the things most precious in our world. He gathered a little gold and a seed like to that of pepper in shape and flavour. He built a town of materials brought with him, and to it he gave the name of Elizabeth. He himself, with two vessels selected from all the fleet, sailed around the island: and as he thoroughly examined the country farther along, he navigated to the coast of Joanna, which island he had found, so naming it on his first voyage, sailing along it for one and seventy days, continually holding a course toward the west. Never has there been such a navigation nor one of such length, nor one of such duration, as this sailor man declares that it was of 6000 miles, and he is most skilled in estimating the courses of navigations, computing the course by days and nights, as he himself described in his letters which we have seen written by his very own hand. He named the region farthest distant, Evangelista. And returning, as he chose, he described on a map the bays, promontories, harbours, and the entire coast. He reported that on this coast the Arctic Pole was elevated 18 degrees and on the north side of the island of Española the elevation was 24 degrees. He declared also from the observation of his people that when in the year of our Lord 1494 there appeared an eclipse in the month of September, it was seen in Española four hours before that it was visible in Spain: from which calculation it may be deduced that this island is distant four hours and that Evangelista, if they are correctly reported, ten hours from the straits of Cadiz and Spain: by which it is estimated that it is not more than two hours, that is the twelfth part of the whole circumference of the earth, from that place which Bartholomew calls Catigara and the last habitable place to the East. So if it be possible to sail on these two other hours, no intervening lands occurring, the farthest East lying directly under our hemisphere will be united in a contrary course by those going to the westward."

Bartolomeo Senarega was another Genoese citizen who, at the close of the fifteenth century, held high official station, and who employed his leisure moments in composing his work, *De Rebus Genuensibus Commentaria*, which remained in manuscript until Muratori gave it light in his important volumes. Both Gallo and Senarega were Ambassadors at Milan in 1499, when Louis XII. was in that duchy. While the account of Senarega is very like Gallo, having been declared by the former to have been taken from his fellow townsman's history, it is thought best to give it here in full.

Gallo says broadly that Columbus was a Ligurian, his family being of Genoa. Senarega definitely says Columbus himself was Genoese. This is important, for without doubt he intends us to understand he was both a native and citizen of the city of

Genoa. Gallo says the islands discovered by Columbus on his first voyage were seven hundred in number, while Senarega corrects this to six. On the other hand, Senarega omits the calculation, by means of the eclipse, of the situation of Española and Evangelista, the former being the island of Santo Domingo or Hayti, and the latter being the Isle of Pines. Gallo does not mention the date of the sailing of the expedition, while Senarega fixes the time as on the first of September, the real date being Friday, August 3, 1492.

"Muratori, . . . vol. xxiv., p. 534.

"*Senaregæ Commentaria de Rebus Genuensibus*

"Anno MCCCCXCII. . . .

"Ii etiam affirmaverunt, vera esse, quæ de Insulis nuper repertis à Christophoro Columbo Genuensi dicta feruntur. De quo quia in mentionem devenimus, non ingratum forsitan legentibus erit pauca quædam referre, quæ à certo Auctore cognovi, & his nostris scriptis addere. Nam ætas nostra illi plurimum debet, qui solus aperuit, quod ante per tot secula latuit. Mirabile certè inventum, perspicax ingenium, constantia in exequendo firma. Sed jam ad eum veniamus. Christophorus & Bartholomæus Columbi, fratres, Genuæ plebejis parentibus orti, & lanificii mercede victitarunt. Nam pater textor, carminatores filii aliquando fuerunt. Sed ne frontem contrahas Lector, quod Carminatores dixerim, declarabo nomen, non quia omnibus, vel mediocriter literatis apertum non sit, sed cum publicum munus geram, ita æquum est, & dicere cogor etiam pro plebejis hominibus, ut hæc intelligant. Carminatores ji sunt, quos vulgus Scarzatores appellat Volo ego humili & plebejo nunc dicendi genere incedere, cupiens etiam populo satisfacere, & per manus omnium tractari, non curans quicquam præter veritatem dicere. Qui fratres hoc tempore per totam Europam audacissimo ausu, in rebus humanis mirabili novitate in magnam claritudinem evasere. Hi siquidem intra pueriles annos parvis literis imbuti, deinde pueres facti de more gentis nostræ in navigationes exiverant. Sed Bartholomæus minor natu in Lusitania demum Ulissipone constitit, ubi intentus quæstui, tabelis pingendis operam dedit, queis ad usum nauticum, justis climatis, & proportionibus servatis, maria, portus, littora, Sinus, Insulæ effinguntur. Proficiscebantur Ulissipone quotannis, & redibant emissa navigia, quæ cœptam ante hos annos quadraginta navigationem per Oceanum ad Occidentales Æthiopes, terras gentesque omnibus retro seculis incognitas aperuere. Bartholomæus autem sermonibus eorum assuetus, qui ab alio quodammodo terrarum orbe redibant, studio pingendi ductus, argumenta, & animi cogitatum cum fratre rerum nauticarum peritiore communicat, ostendens omnino necessarium, si quis, Æthiopum Meridionalibus littoribus relictis, in pelagus ad manum dexteram Occidentam versus cursum diri-



geret, ut is procul dubio continentem terram aliquando obviã esset habiturus. Qua persuasione Christophorus inductus, in aula Regum Castellæ sese insinuans, viros doctos alloquitur, ac docet, in animo sibi esse, nisi adiumenta deficerent, multo præclarius quam Lusitani fecissent, novas Terras, Populosque novos, ubi minime putetur invenire. Hæc autem ad aures Regias per hos viros, quibus ea vana non viderentur, delata, studio gloriæ, atque cum Lusitanis æmulationis incensos Reges pepulere, ut Columbo bina navigia exornari ad eam navigationem, quam meditatus erat, jusserint. Quibus ille navigiis ex Hispanis littoribus solvens Anno 1392 [sic] Kalendis Septembris, postquam ab Insulis Fortunatis Meridie versus navigaverat, & jam proximus parallelo videretur, qui sub Canco est, declinans ad manum dextram, atque altum, inaccessum, vastumque Pelagus petens, omnium navigantium audacissimus, complures dies ad Occidentem tenuit. Nec tamen usque aut Insulæ aut Terræ apparebant, quamvis quadragies centena millia passum à gradibus Occidentem versus remotum jam sese esse arbitraretur. Jamque in desperationem verti audacia cœperat; nam etiam ex comitibus plerique retro cursum vertere, cum si perseverarent, alimenta deficerent, suadebant. Sed ipse animi constans, & vultu intrepidus tum demum edixit, certum sibi esse præcognitis ac perspectis signis, in posterum diem terras apparituras. Dictoque mox fides affuit: quod illi maximam auctoritatem ac dictorum factorumque omnium posthac fiduciam apud suos addidit. Insulæ erant sex, ut ipse postmodum per epistolas amicis scripsit, quibus nomen indidit. Ex ipsis duæ majores; Joanna major Quam tamen Insulam nondum circumactus navigiis arbitraretur . . . [sic] feri quidam homines incolunt, quos Canibales appellant, humanã carne vescentes, ac Insularum aliarum populos latrocinii infestantes. Nam cavatis magnarum arborum truncis navigantes, ad proximos trajiciunt, atque homines quasi feras in cibos venantur. Ex his cavatis arboribus unum in mari nactus Columbus, plenum hujusmodi feris hominibus, non sine prælio ac magna vi, cum sese accerime defenderent, cœpit, captivosque ex his nonnullos in Hispaniam usque postea provexit. Primam, ad quam appulit, Insulam Hispaniolam nuncupavit, in qua multi mortales paupertate & nuditate conspicui cernebantur. Hi primo nutibus ad securitatem congressus evocati, postquam donis & omni genere humanitatis aliciebantur, facile apparebant stupentes novi coloris, novique habitus alienigenas homines, non tamquam terrigenos, sed tamquam è Cœlo demissos admirari. Et fugientes insequendo, mulierem quamdam comprehenderunt, quam cum ad naves devexissent, vino & aliis rebus replissent & vestitam vilibus tamen rebus dimisissent (nam nudi incedunt) certerorum postea turbam ad littus catervatim devexit. Nulla ubi animalia quadrupedia, præter canes quosdam pusillos, haberi cognitum est. Alimenta hominum sunt radices rapis similes, & quædam etiam glandes, longe aliã figurã quam nostræ, pares tamen sapore, nisi essent usui jocondiores, mollibus castaneis, & recentibus similes. Agis ipsi eos vocant. Aurum modicum collo pendente laminã annexum; & pectori hærens, ac ad usque pudenda quasi velamen paucis deductum, virorum mulierumque commune. Sed Christophorus quod

maxime quæsierat assecutum se existimans, retro in Hispanias remeare quamprimum constituit, ut instructor deinde ad has easdam Insulas, Terrasque rediret. Relictis igitur quadraginta ex suis in loco, quem ceperat, & communiverat, quasi possessionem pro Regibus Castellæ adeptus, & sese mox redituro pollicitus, linquens littora illa cursum ultra ad Orientem unde venerat direxit, in Hispaniamque revertitur; nuntiosque præmittit, quibus omnia à se gesta Reges pernoscerent, quibus ea plusquam dici possit gratissima fuere. Nam Christophorum delatis honoribus extollentes, & Præfectum Regium totius rei maritimæ declarantes, obviam illi miserunt clarrimos ex omni Regno proceres, à quibus ad se honorificentissime deduceretur. Adduxerat ipse ex Barbaris secum aliquot, per quos rei gestæ magis confirmaretur. Ceterum ut Reges volebant, fama per omnes terras interea diffunditur, auro plurimum inventum orbem, quem Indias vocitabant, & aromatibus ac plerisque rebus pretiosissimis ad usum vitæ mortalium abundare. Alia igitur navigia pluscula & majora parantur, & rebus his instructiora, quibus Barbarorum animi allici magis posse putabatur. In primis autem homines ex omni artificio, & animalia complura ex circum genere, etiam sues, quorum proventus ad incrementum mirabile: postea multiplicatus est. Sed triticum à sementa primò statim ad altitudinem grandiusculam enatum, antequam spicesset, deperierat. At Regum jussu arma virique in navibus numero duodecim imponuntur, ut vel etiam renitentes Barbari ad quodlibet officium retinerentur. Bartholomæum, ac tertium fratrem Jacobum in ea expeditione Christophorus secum duxit, classemque hujusmodi ad Hispaniolam per navigationem dierum non amplius XX. salvam perducit; suosque, quos reliquerat, ad unum omnes à Barbaris reperit strangulatos, quod in eorum mulieres injurii fuisse dicebantur. Sed Christophorus accusata quidem Barbarorum ingratitude ac sævitia cum his tamen per nova beneficia reconciliatur, dolorem dissimulans ut ad reliquia destinata animo expeditiore progrediretur: De auro primum inquit, ac de speciebus in nostro orbi speciosioribus. Aurum modicum reperit, & semen quoddam piperi persimile, & figurâ & sapore non multum contrarium. Oppidum advectis materiis ædificat, ei que Elizabeth nomen indidit. Ipse daubus ex omni numero navibus assumtis Insulam ipsam circuit; utque ultiora pernosceret, latus . . . [sic] Joannæ, quam Insulam quoque putaverat, ita primo adventu nuncupatam, diem unum & septuaginta pernavigat, Occidentem versus perpetuum curcum tenens. Nullam unquam navigationem neque longiorem spatio, neque diuturniorem continuationem fuisse, constat; quippe circiter sexagies centena millia passuum vir nauticus, & cursus navigiorum Existimator peritissimus, fecisse se, dierum noctiumque cursu computato, ipsemet in epistolis, quas vidimus manu propriâ ipsius scriptas, prodidit. Ultimam locum Evangelistam nuncupavit. Remeansque quantum licuit, sinus, promontoria, portu, atque omne latus decursum signavit in tabella. Referebat autem is, latus elevationem Artici poli decem & octo graduum habere, cum quatuor & viginti Septentrionale latus Hispaniolæ Insulæ poli ipsius altitudinem ostendat."

*"The Commentary of Senarega Concerning Genoese Affairs*

"Year 1492.

"They also have declared that the reports are true concerning the discoveries made by Christopher Columbus, a Genoese. Since we have mentioned him perhaps it will not be unacceptable to the reader to narrate a few things which I have learned from a certain writer and to include them in our own writings. For our day owes much to him, who alone disclosed what before had been concealed for so many ages. Truly it was a wonderful discovery, his nature most acutely penetrating and his purpose most unwavering in its execution. But now we must come to tell of him.

"Christopher and Bartholomew, brothers, sprung from plebeian parentage in Genoa, supported themselves by the wages of wool-working. For the father was a weaver and the sons were sometimes carders. But do not wrinkle thy brow, Reader, because I have said carders; I will explain the name, not that it is not known to all those versed a little in letters, but since I am dealing with public affairs, I think it right to describe it to common folk that they may understand it. Those are carders whom the world calls *scarzatores*—combers. I wish to adopt a kind of speech intelligible to the humble and common people, desiring also to satisfy the public and placing things in the hands of all, not recording aught except the truth. In this time these brothers have reached great fame throughout the whole of Europe by a most daring act, a remarkable novelty in human affairs. Although these had small learning in their youth, when they were come of age, they gave themselves to navigation after the manner of our people. But at length Bartholomew, the younger by birth, established himself at Lisbon in Portugal and for his livelihood he undertook the production of painted maps adapted to the use of mariners, with the proper climatic zones and exact proportions, and on which were represented the seas, harbours, coasts, bays, and islands. Every year there went forth expeditions from Lisbon and returned by the sea to the western coasts of Africa, which had their beginning forty years before and which revealed lands and peoples unknown in all the preceding ages. But Bartholomew, influenced by his study of maps and familiar with the tales of those who in some manner returned from distant parts of the world, communicated their arguments and thoughts to his brother more skilled in maritime matters, disclosing how as a matter of necessity, if any one leaving behind him the southern shores of Africa should direct his course in the open sea to his right hand, toward the West, he would surely come somewhere on his way upon a continental land. Christopher, influenced by this reasoning, obtaining admission to the Court of the Sovereigns of Castile, discussed this matter with learned men, and declared his purpose to discover, unless he failed to obtain assistance, much more easily than the Portuguese had done, new lands and new peoples in places little thought to hold them. But these things being reported by these men to the ears of the Sovereigns, to whom they did not seem chimerical, moved by a desire for glory and roused to a spirit of rivalry toward the

## Christopher Columbus

Portuguese, the Sovereigns commanded that Columbus should be supplied with a couple of ships for the expedition which he had planned. With which ships departing from the coasts of Spain in the year 1392 [*sic*] on the first day of September, after that he had sailed toward the south of the Fortunate Islands, and when he seemed to be on the parallel nearest them, which is under the Tropic of Cancer, turning to the right hand and thus directing his course out on the deep, unknown, and vast ocean, most daring of all navigations, he held on his way toward the West for many days. Notwithstanding, neither islands nor lands appeared although he estimated that he had sailed in the distant sea 4000 miles from the straits of Cadiz toward the West. And now courage altered and despair began. For many of his crew pleaded with him to turn back on his course, lest if they persevered their supplies should fail. But he himself, constant of purpose, serene of countenance, declared that he was himself sure, judging by signs which he knew and recognised, that lands would appear the following day. Confidence in his words was immediately restored. And this increased his great authority and the confidence in his words and deeds which ever after prevailed among his followers. The islands were six in number, as he himself afterwards wrote in letters to his friends and to these he gave names. Two of these are larger than the others. Joanna is the larger. Notwithstanding this is an island, he did not think it was to be circumnavigated by ships . . . [*sic*] certain of the inhabitants who are wild are called cannibals, feeding on human flesh and disturbing the people of the other islands with their robberies. For they cross over to the neighbouring people, sailing in the hollowed trunks of great trees, and so the men are hunted for food as if they were wild animals. Columbus meeting on the sea with one of these hollowed trees, full of the wild men, took it, not without a fight and with great force, the men defending themselves most spiritedly. And afterwards he brought captives into Spain some of these. The first island on which he landed he called Española, in which were found many men conspicuous for their poverty and nakedness. He enticed to him these people, who were crowded together for safety, first by signs and afterwards by gifts and all kinds of gentleness. They easily appeared affected by the new colour and by the men dressed in new ways, admiring them as not natural to their world but as those sent down from heaven. Pursuing some fugitives, they took a certain woman whom they brought away to the ships, bestowing on her wine and other things; they sent her back clothed with a few common things (for they go naked) and afterwards she brought a crowd of the others in groups to the shore. They are not known to have any quadrupeds except certain little dogs. The foods of these men are roots like turnips and also certain acorns longer in shape than ours, but equal in flavour unless they might be even pleasanter, like ripe and fresh chestnuts. These they called Agis. They have a little gold united by a plate hanging from the neck: and also hanging from the breast: and some few have a sort of garment covering their natural parts, a custom common alike to men and women. But Christopher believing that which he had sought was found, determined to sail back to Spain in order that he might return to these islands and lands with

better equipment. Therefore, leaving behind forty of his people in that place which he had taken and fortified, taking possession thereof as if for the Sovereigns of Castile and promising to soon return, departing from those farther shores, he directed his course to the East whence he had come, and returned to Spain: he sent messengers by whom the Sovereigns learned all the news, which was more grateful than it is possible to tell. Praising Christopher with honours and declaring him Admiral of the Sovereigns for all maritime affairs, they sent to meet him on his way the most illustrious Princes in the entire kingdom, by whom he was most honourably introduced into their presence. He himself had brought with him some of the savages, by whom was confirmed the greatness of what he had done. Moreover, as the Sovereigns wished, the report was spread throughout all lands, that the world discovered, which they call the Indies, abounded in gold, spices, and many things most precious for the use of man. Then other ships both large and small were prepared and better equipped with things which they considered more adapted to alluring the savages. And first were men representing all the employments, many animals of all kinds, even sows, whose fertility proved most marvellous: afterwards it was increased. But wheat from its very first sowing sprang up to a most tremendous height, and before that it flowered, withered away. And by the order of the Sovereigns men and arms were loaded into twelve ships of the number, so that if the savages resisted they might be brought under some control. Christopher took with him on this expedition Bartholomew and the third brother Jacobus, and he conducted the fleet safely to Española by a navigation of not more than 20 days: and he found every single one of his people whom he had left behind strangled by the savages, because they said their women had been injured. But Christopher, arraigning the savages for their ingratitude and barbarity, was nevertheless reconciled to them through new benefits, dissimulating grief, in order that the things remaining to be done might more expeditiously progress: he first inquired concerning gold and concerning things more beautiful than what we have in our world. He found a small quantity of gold and the seed of a pepper not differing materially [from ours] in shape and flavour. He built a town with the materials carried over and to it he gave the name of Elizabeth. He himself with two ships selected out of the entire number circumnavigated the island and as he was exploring the shore of Joanna (. . . lacuna) which he had considered an island and so called it on his first expedition; he sailed along it for one and seventy days, keeping a course continually toward the West. There is known no such navigation for extent or for time occupied: for this sailor-man, a most skilled calculator of the courses of navigation himself, has declared in his letters which we have seen written in his own hand, that he sailed above 6000 miles computing his course run by day and by night. The last place he named Evangelista. Returning as it pleased him, he inscribed on a map the bays, promontories, harbours, and the entire coast. And from these it was reckoned that the Arctic Pole on this coast had an elevation of 18 degrees and on the north coast of the island of Española it had an altitude of 24 degrees."

## CHAPTER XXIX

### THE "POLYGLOT PSALTER"

IN the year 1516, Agostino Giustiniano published at Genoa the *Polyglot Psalter*. He was a native of Genoa and acquainted with the history of those of its citizens who had acquired fame. Opposite one of the psalms he placed a note concerning Columbus, in which he said the great discoverer was *ortus vilibus parentibus*,—sprung from common parentage. Giustiniano had for authority two local Genoese historians whose works were then in manuscript, and who said that the discoverer, when a boy, worked with his family at the occupation of wool-combing, declaring that the family was of plebeian origin. This reference was regarded by Ferdinand Columbus as a reflection upon his father, and when he wrote the life of the Admiral he sought to identify certain distinguished seamen as relatives and ancestors, and to associate Christopher Columbus with one of these captains in a desperate sea-fight. Ferdinand's story has found its way into history, and we proceed to examine its credibility.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Polyglot Psalter*

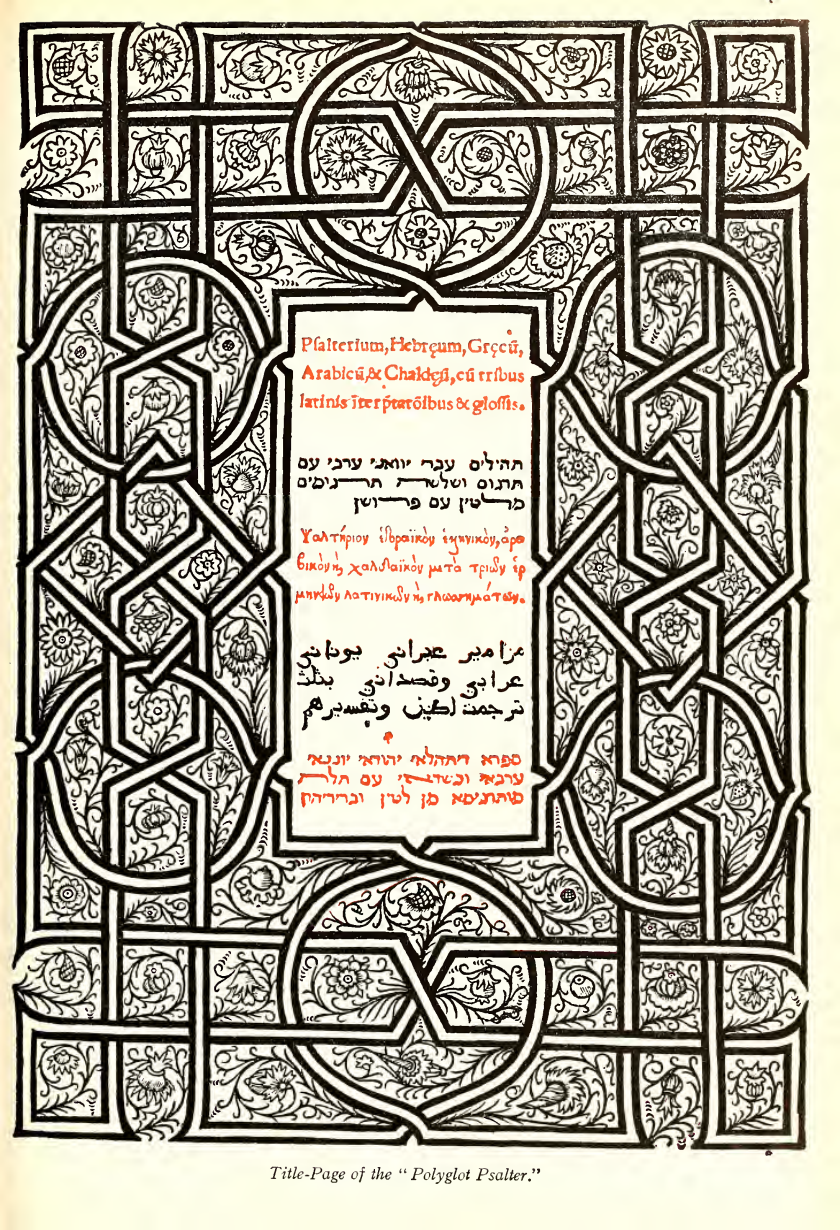
1516

Folio: title printed in Latin (in red), Hebrew (in black), Greek (in red), Arabic (in black), and Chaldaic (in red), (verso A<sup>1</sup> blank): on recto of folio A<sub>i</sub>, letter in Latin of Jacobus Antiquarius in

<sup>1</sup> The exigencies of the subject seem to demand the insertion out of their time of certain matters which might appear with greater propriety later in our work. But as we must quote at least one passage from the work of Giustiniano, we have thought it well to reproduce the entire passage in which it occurs.

We may here observe that it is our purpose in noticing early and rare editions to give such bibliographical information concerning them as will enable the reader when he meets with examples to identify them.





Psalterium, Hebræum, Græcū,  
Arabicū, & Chaldeæ, cū tribus  
Latinis Interpretationibus & glossis.

תהילים עבר יואני ערבי עם  
תרגום ושלטר תרגומים  
מרטין עם פרשן

Ψαλτήριον Ἰβραϊκόν, ἑλληνικόν, ἄρα  
βικόν, καὶ χαλδαϊκόν μετὰ τριῶν ἑρ-  
μηνειῶν λατινικῶν καὶ γλωσσημάτων.

مزامير عبرانی یونانی  
عربی وفسدانی بتلث  
ترجمت لکین وبقسدیرهم

ספרא דתהלהא יודאי יוננא  
ערבא וכדאדא עם תלר  
פולתנשא מן לטין וכרהרהר

לִי בְנֵי אֲלֵנִי מִיָּדָה	mihī, filii alieni defuerunt	מִיָּדָה בְּנֵי אֲלֵנִי	mihī, filii alieni iuenerat sunt,	ὡς ἀλλοτρίοι ἐπαλωσθησάντων
וְהִצְרִיחוּ	& cingentur	וְהִצְרִיחוּ	& claudicauerunt	ἢ ἐχολήσαν
כִּפְסוּתוֹת הַיָּמִים	a clausuris suis, uiuūt	כִּפְסוּתוֹת הַיָּמִים	a semetis suis. Viuūt	ἀπὸ τῶν ἰσθίων αὐτῶν. Ζεῖ
יְהוָה וְבָרוּךְ	DEVS & benedictus	יְהוָה וְבָרוּךְ	dominus & benedictus	κύριος ἢ ἀλογητὸς
צוּרִי	fortis meus, (tis mee.)	צוּרִי	DEVS meus,	ὁ θεός.
וְגִבּוֹר אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	& exaltabitur DEVS salu(s)	וְגִבּוֹר אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	& exaltertur Deus salutis mee.	ἢ ὑψώθητω ὁ θεὸς τῆς σωτηρίας μου
וְהָאֵל בְּיַמֵּי הַבְּקִיּוֹת	DEVS ipse dans vindictas	וְהָאֵל בְּיַמֵּי הַבְּקִיּוֹת	Deus qui das vindictas	Ὁ θεὸς ὁ δειδύς ἐκδικητικὸς
לְמַדְבַּר עַם הַחַת	mihī, & iterimēs plōs f b me	לְמַדְבַּר עַם הַחַת	mihī & subdis populos sub me,	ἐμοὶ ἢ ὑποταξάς λαοὺς ὑπὲρ μέ
מִפְּלִיט מֵאֲנִי	Eruiis me ab inimicis meis,	מִפְּלִיט מֵאֲנִי	liberator meo de inimicis meis	ὀφθαλμοῦ ἐξ ἐχθρῶν μου
אֶחָד מֵאֲנֵי	& insuper ab insurgentibus	אֶחָד מֵאֲנֵי	iracundis. Er ab insurgentibus	ὀφθαλμῶν. Ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιφαινομένων
וְהוֹכַחְנִי	eleuas me,	וְהוֹכַחְנִי	in me exaltabis me,	ἐπὶ ἐμὲ ὑψώσεσθε
מֵאִישׁ חָמָס	a viro iniquo	מֵאִישׁ חָמָס	a viro iniquo	ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἀσέλικου
מֵעֵלְיָי	liberas me.	מֵעֵלְיָי	eripies me.	εὐπρεπῶς
עַל־כֵּן	Propterea	עַל־כֵּן	Propterea	Διὰ τούτου
אֲדַבֵּר בְּגוֹשׁ יְהוָה	cōfitebor tibi i gētibo Deus	אֲדַבֵּר בְּגוֹשׁ יְהוָה	cōfitebor tibi i natiōibus dñe,	ἐξομολογήσομαι ἐν ἕθνεσι κύριε,
וּלְשִׁמְךָ אֲמַדְבֵּר	& nomini tuo cantabo.	וּלְשִׁמְךָ אֲמַדְבֵּר	& nomini tuo psalmum dicam.	καὶ τῶ ὀνόματί σου ψαλμῶ.
מְגִדָּל יְשׁוּעוֹת	Magnificanti salutes	מְגִדָּל יְשׁוּעוֹת	Magnificans salutis	Μεγαλύνων τὰς σωτηρίας
פִּלְקוֹ וְצִוְיָהּ הַסֵּד	igis tui & faciēti misericordiā	פִּלְקוֹ וְצִוְיָהּ הַסֵּד	regis eius, & faciēs misericordiā	ὀφθαλμῶν. ἢ παιδῶν ἕλεος
לְמַשִּׁיחֵוֹ לְדָוִד	A, MESSIE tuo Dauidi,	לְמַשִּׁיחֵוֹ לְדָוִד	Christo suo dauid,	τῶ χριστῷ, αὐτοῦ τῶ Δαβὶδ
וְלְרֵגֻלוֹ עַד־עַלְמִים	& femini eius vsq; i eternū.	וְלְרֵגֻלוֹ עַד־עַלְמִים	& femini eius vsq; in seculum.	ἢ τῶ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ ἕως αἰῶνος.
יֵשׁ לְבִצְחָה	XIX. Ad victoriam.	יֵשׁ לְבִצְחָה	XVIII. In finem	ἢ. Ἐἰς τὸ τέλος
בְּמִכּוֹר לַחֲרִי	Psalms. Dauidis.	בְּמִכּוֹר לַחֲרִי	Psalms Dauid.	ψαλμὸς τῶ Δαβὶδ.
הַשָּׁמַיִם בְּסִפְרָם	Celi enarrant	הַשָּׁמַיִם בְּסִפְרָם	Celi enarrant	Οἱ οὐρανοὶ διηγοῦνται
בְּדוֹדֵךָ וּמַעֲשֵׂה	gloriā DEI, & opa (sio A	בְּדוֹדֵךָ וּמַעֲשֵׂה	gloriam DEI, & opera	δύναμις θεοῦ, ποιήσων δὲ
לְבָרְךָ מִיְּמֵי בְרִיאַת	manuū eius annūciat exte(s)	לְבָרְךָ מִיְּמֵי בְרִיאַת	manuū eius annūciat firmamētū.	χρῆστων αὐτοῦ ἀγαθῶν τὸ πρῶτον
יְהוָה לְיוֹם עֲבָרָה	Dies diei dicit	יְהוָה לְיוֹם עֲבָרָה	Dies diei eructat	ἡμέρα τῆ ἡμέρα ἐρῖνυγται
אֲמַר וְלֵילָה לְרֵעִיהָ	verbum, & nox nocti	אֲמַר וְלֵילָה לְרֵעִיהָ	verbum, & nox nocti	ῥήμα, καὶ νύξ νυκτί
יְהוָה דַּעַת	indicat scientiam.	יְהוָה דַּעַת	indicat scientiam.	ἀγαθῶν ἡμερῶν.
אֵין אֲמַר אֵין	Nō sunt loquēlle, & nō sunt	אֵין אֲמַר אֵין	Non sunt loquēlle neq;	Ὅκ εἰσι λαλοῦντες
דְּבָרָם אֵיל גִּישְׁבָּע	verba, non auditur	דְּבָרָם אֵיל גִּישְׁבָּע	B sermōnes, quorū nō audiantur	λόγοι ὧν οὐχὶ ἀκούγεται
קוֹלָם בְּכָל	voxeorum, in omnem	קוֹלָם בְּכָל	voeces eorum. In omnem	εἰρωανῶν αὐτῶν. Ἐἰς πάσας
דְּאֶרֶץ עֲלֵא מוֹס	terram e xiuit silū eorū,	דְּאֶרֶץ עֲלֵא מוֹס	C terram e xiuit sonus eorum,	τῆς γῆς ἐξ ἡλθῆν ὁφθαλμὸς οὐτῶν. ὡ
וּבְקַרְנֵה חֶבְלֵי כֶלֶם	& i fines mūdi verba eorū,	וּבְקַרְנֵה חֶבְלֵי כֶלֶם	& i fines orbis terre verba eorū.	ἢ ἰστὰ τείρατο τῆς οἰκουμένης τὸ ῥήμα
לְשִׁשׁ עַם אֱלֹהֵי	foli posuit tabernaculum	לְשִׁשׁ עַם אֱלֹהֵי	In sole posuit tabernaculum	Ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ ἐτί το τὸ σκηνώμα
בְּרָם יְהוָה כְּרָמֵן	ineis. Et ipse tanquā spon(s)	בְּרָם יְהוָה כְּרָמֵן	sum, & ipse tanq; sponsus	αὐτοῦ. καὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς νυμφίος
אֵין מִתְפָּאֵר	procedens de thalamo suo,	אֵין מִתְפָּאֵר	procedens de thalamo suo.	ἐκ τρωβώματος ἐκ ποσῶν αὐτοῦ
שִׁשׁ	exultauit	שִׁשׁ	Exultauit	Ἀγαπήθηται
לְגִבּוֹר	vt fortis	לְגִבּוֹר	vt grigas	ὡς γίγας
לְרוּץ	ad currendam	לְרוּץ	ad currendam	δραμῆν
אֶרֶץ מִקְצֵה	viam. A summitate	אֶרֶץ מִקְצֵה	viam, a summo	ὀδῶν, ἀπὸ ἀκροῦ
הַשָּׁמַיִם כְּסִפָּה	celi egressus eius,	הַשָּׁמַיִם כְּסִפָּה	celi egressus eius.	τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἢ ἕξελος αὐτοῦ.







seventeen lines to Agostino Giustiniano, dated Milan, Kaleñ. Aprilis M.D.VI. [*sic*] on the verso of the same folio *Ai*; letter of Aug. Giustiniano to Pope Leo X. dated at Genoa Calends August M.D.XVI. on the recto *Aii*, repeated in Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldaic, ending on the recto of *Aiii* with an official certificate from Bernardus Granellus and Gaspar de Varagine, Inquisitor of heretical depravity, to the effect that they have seen the work on the Psalms of David wonderfully done into five tongues and that they not only approve, praise, and admire the same but give their authority for its publication in a large edition. On the verso of *Aiii* and running across the recto of *Ay* in eight columns begin the Psalms, the first column being in Hebrew, the second a Latin translation of the Hebrew, the third the Latin Vulgate, the fourth in Greek, the fifth in Arabic, the sixth in Chaldaic, the seventh in a Latin translation of the Chaldaic, and the eighth Scholia or running notes: across the verso of folio *ᶒv* and the recto of *ᶒvi*—unmarked—runs the colophon in the five languages, the Latin being:

" Impreffit miro ingenio, Petrus Paulus  
Porrus, genuæ in ædibus Nicolai Iufti  
niani Pauli, præfidente reipub. genuenfi  
pro Sereniffimo Francor Rege, præftan  
ti viro Octauiano Fulgofo, anno chriftia  
ne falutis, millefimo quingentefimo fex  
todecimo menfe. VIIIbri."

Then on the recto of the same folio *ᶒvi* is the Registrum, consisting of A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V X Y Z & ᶒ. A being in five double leaves, ᶒ in three, and the rest in fours, making 200 in all: occupying what would be the sixth column, in the upper right-hand corner of this leaf is the printer's mark 81 mm. high by 51 mm. wide, containing a lily-like plant with the initial letters P. P. inclosed in a heart, and underneath the words:

" Petrus Paulus Porrus Medio  
lanensis, Taurini degens."

Agostino Giustiniano was born in Genoa in the year 1470. He was of an illustrious ancestry, his grandfather, Andreola Giustiniano, being a man of great learning. He was admitted to the Order of Dominicans on the 25th of April, 1487, and early

attracted notice for his mental acquirements, and particularly for his knowledge of the ancient languages, which for eighteen years he taught in the province of Lombardy. In those days ecclesiastical preferment was often the result of family influence or personal scheming, but in the case of our author, Pope Leo X. made him Bishop of Nebbio, in the island of Corsica, on the 15th of November, 1514, and it is said he had no notion of his appointment until the Papal Bull was placed in his hands. Francis I. invited him to France, and under him a course of study in the Oriental languages was opened in the University of Paris. From France he went into England and received attention from King Henry VIII., and was on terms of intimacy with Thomas More and other English scholars. Besides his *magnum opus*, he wrote many other works, as he himself said:

I have caused to be printed at Paris, twelve pieces for improving youth: I have translated several things into Italian, for the benefit of the ecclesiastics of my diocese, who are all illiterate: I have translated the *Economics* of Xenophon for the instruction of my sister-in-law and of my nephew: I have made a very exact description of the island of Corsica for the service of my country inscribed to the Prince Andrea Doria, which description I afterwards presented to the Bank of St. George.<sup>1</sup>

In the dedication to Pope Leo X. in his *Polyglot Psalter*, he declares it his intention, if the Holy Father approves, to print the entire Scriptures in the five languages, and in a letter to Cardinal Bendinello Saoli, his cousin and the patron to whom he probably owed his appointment of Bishop, he writes that the Old Testament is nearly finished, and begs him to interest himself in its printing. The New Testament was evidently completed and in manuscript, for he gave leave to the Hebraist, Conrad Pellican, who was in Rome at the time (1517), to transcribe the preface to his New Testament into eight languages.<sup>2</sup>

Of the *Psalter*, this learned Bishop caused no less than two thousand copies<sup>3</sup> on paper and fifty on vellum to be printed.

<sup>1</sup> This last work is preserved in manuscript in the Vatican library.

<sup>2</sup> Conr. Gesner, in his *Bibliotheca Instituta*, tells this, and says that he himself saw the letter respecting the preparation of the Old Testament and the manuscript of the New Testament.

<sup>3</sup> This edition of 2050 copies was an extraordinary issue for that time. An edition of 300 copies was considered an average publication. The reader will find in *Glossa in Universa Biblia* of Nicholaus de Lyra, printed at Rome in 1472 by Sweynheym and Pannartz, a most interesting review of their editions, with the number of copies for each impression, the average being 275 copies. The reader must bear in

The vellum copies were distributed among the potentates of the earth, both Christian and pagan.<sup>1</sup> He bitterly and justly complained<sup>2</sup> of the want of public appreciation, and was enabled barely to dispose of a fourth part of the two thousand copies. Giustiniano is not the first author to complain of the public for not purchasing his books, but his lamentation is natural and even creditable, knowing as he did the magnitude of his labours and his years of toil, measured not only by the published *Psalter*, but by the completed polyglot New Testament and the unfinished Old Testament in the same variety of languages, the whole the work of a rare scholar, smoothing a difficult road for students and teachers. As he was the first to employ the printing-press in a chorus of so many different tongues, so he was perhaps the first to deplore the unwelcome reception

mind that when the printers say they printed *D. Augustini de civitate Dei. Volumina octingenta viginti quinque*, they include three separate editions of this particular work, the one at Subiaco in 1467, the other two at Rome in 1468 and 1470, each of the three editions consisting of 275 examples.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the pagan recipients parted with their copies, for examples of the *Psalter* printed on vellum are frequently to be met with in public and private libraries.

<sup>2</sup> "Feci stampare in Genova alle mie spese con quel travaglio, e con quella spesa, ch'ogni letterato può giudicare due mila volumi del Davidico Psalterio in le predette cinque lingue Hebraea, Chaldea, Greca, Latina, & Arabia, parendomi di quest' opera dover' acquistare gran laude, e non mediocre guadagno, il quale Pensavo esporre in la souventione di certi mei parenti, ch'erano bisognosi, credendomi sempre che l'opera dovessi havere grande uscita, e che i Prelati ricchi, ò Principi si dovessero muovere, e mi dovessero ajutare in la spesa di far imprimere li restante della Bibbia in quella varietà di lingue: ma la credulità mia restò ingannata, perche l'opera fù da ciaschedun laudata, ma lassata riposare, e dormire, perche a pena si sono venduti la quarta parte de i libri, come che l'opera sia per valent huomini e per ingegni elevati, che sono al mondo rari, e pochi, e con stento puoi ricavar i danari, ch' haveva poste in la stampa che furono in buona quantità, perche oltre i due mila volumi stampati in papero ne feci imprimere cinquanta in carte vitelline. . . . a tutti i Re del mondo così Christiani come Pagani."—*Annali, lib. quinto. Chap. ccxxiii.*

"I had printed in Genoa at my expense, with what trouble and expenditure every learned man can judge, 2000 volumes of the Psalter of David, in the aforesaid five languages, Hebrew, Chaldean, Greek, Latin, and Arabic, it appearing to me that this work should acquire great praise and not indifferent gain, which I intended to employ in the assistance of certain of my kinsmen, who were needy; I believed all the time that the work would be greatly used, and that the rich prelates or princes ought to be moved and might be incited to assist me in printing the remainder of the Bible in those various tongues: but my credulity was deceived, because the work was praised by every one, but left to repose and sleep as scarcely the fourth part of the books were sold; although the work may be by an able man and one of great intelligence, a kind of person rare in the world, it is with difficulty that I am able to recover the money that I had spent in the printing, which was in good quantity, because besides the 2000 volumes printed on paper, I caused 50 to be printed on vellum, and I sent examples of these to all the sovereigns of the world, Christians as well as pagans.

which met the fecundity of that instrument of progress and learning.

Ferdinand Columbus, in the *Historic*,<sup>1</sup> is very bitter against Giustiniano for asserting in the *Psalter* that the Admiral was sprung from plebeian stock, and in the second chapter of his book he charges Giustiniano with uttering twelve specific falsehoods, and then says that as a punishment for this utterance the Republic of Genoa, by a public decree, cancelled and withdrew the privilege of printing his work. Writers have attempted to find in this alleged action of the Genoese seigniorly the real reason of the failure to dispose of but a fourth part of the edition. There is no such decree on record. No other writer mentions this cancellation of the privilege. Giustiniano refers to his literary mortification over the failure to sell this work, but does not allude to any such cause as an estoppel. The frequency with which one meets this book to-day in the book-stalls of the antiquary proves that the edition was very large and not easily absorbed.

Sometime in the year 1530, Giustiniano embarked at Genoa to return to his bishopric in Corsica. His ship never was heard of again, and no man knows to this day his unhappy fate.<sup>2</sup> Some think the vessel was lost in a storm, some that it was taken by the Barbary pirates and that the Bishop and his fellow voyagers worked out their days beneath the sun of Morocco and the whip of the Moor.

This account of Columbus, as we have explained, is not the original work of Giustiniano. In his *Annales*, printed at Genoa in 1537, Giustiniano gives a short biographical sketch of the Admiral, and then says that he will give no more, since "Antonio Gallo has fully written his life."

The following is the passage found as a note to Psalm xix.:

"Et in fines mundi uerba eorum, Saltem tēporibus nostris q̄bo mirabili aflu Chriſtophori columbi genuensis, alter pene orbis repertus eſt chriſtianorum ꝓc̄t̄ui aggregatus. At uero quoniam Columbus frequēter ꝓdicabat fe

<sup>1</sup> *Historic del S. D. Fernando Colombo*, Venice, 1571.

<sup>2</sup> The Abbot Michael Giustiniano, in his *Scrittori Liguri Descritti*, quotes from the official registry to show that the Bishopric of Nebbio was given to Cardinal Jerome Doria on November 15, 1536.

Vossius says that Giustiniano was never seen after 1530, and that it is not known whether he perished by shipwreck or at the hands of pirates.

a Deo electum ut peripsum adimpleretur hec prophetia, non alienū existimauit uitam ipsius hoc loco inferere.

"Igitur Christophorus cognomento columbus patria genuenſis, uilibus ortus parentibus, noſtra etate fuit qui ſua induſtria, plus terrarum & pelagi explorauerit paucis mēſibus, quam pene reliqui omnes mortales uniuerſis retro actis ſeculis. Mira res, ſed tamen plurimum iam non nauium modo, ſed claſſium & exercituū euntium redeuntiumq; teſtimonio explorata & certa. Hic puerilibus annis uix prima elementa edoctus, pubeſcēs iam rei maritime operam dedit, dein pfecto in luſitaniam fratre, ac uliſſipone queſtum inſtituente, pingendarum tabellarum ad uſum maritimum, effigiantium maria & portus & litora, huiſumodi maritimos ſinus atq; inſulas didicit ab eo, que ibi tum forte iſta plurimum acceperat, qui ex regio inſtituto ibant quotannis ad explorandas inaceſſas ethiopum terras, & oceani intra meridiem & occafum, remotas plagas. Cum quibus iſta pluries ſermonē ferens queſq; ab his acceperat conferens cum his que & in ſuis ipſe iam dudum fuerat meditatus picturis, & legerat apud coſmographos, tandem uenerat in opinionem poſſe omnino fieri, ut qui ethiopum ad libicum uergentiū litora linquēs, rectus dirigat inter zephyrum & libicum nauigationē, paucis menſibus aut inſulam aliquam, aut ultimas indorum continentes terras aſſequeretur. Que ubi fatis exacte percepit a fratre, ferio intra ſe rem examinans, nōnullis regis luſpani pceribus oſtendit eſſe i animo ſibi, modo rex neceſſaria conficiende rei ſubminiſtret, longe celerius quam luſitani feciſſent nouas terras, nouoſq; adire populos, regiones poſtremo ante hac incognitas penetrare. Fit celeriter de re hac uerbum regi, qui tum regum luſitanorum emulatione, tum ſtudio huiuſmodi nouarum rerum & glorie, que ſibi ac poſteris poſſet de ea re accedere pellectus diu re cum Columbo tractata, nauigia tandem exornari duo iubet quibus ſoluens Columbus ad inſulaſq; fortunatas nauigans curſum inſtituit paululum ab occidentali linea ſiniſter inter libicum. ſ. ac zephyrum remotior tamen longe a libico & ferme zephyro iunctus. Vbi cōplurium dierum curſus exactus eſt & computata ratione cognitum quadragies ſe ſe iam centena paſſuum millia eſſe permenſum recto curſu ceteri quidem ſpe omni lapſi: referendum iam eſſe pedem & curſum in contrariam partem flectendum contendebant, ipſe uero in incepto perſiſtere & quantum coniectura aſſequi poſſet promittere haud longius diei unius nauigatione abeſſe uel continentes aliquas terras, uel inſulas. Haud abiuit dictis fides. Quippe ſequēti luce terras neſcio quas conſpicati naute eum laudibus efferre, & maximam in hominis opinione fiduciam reponere. Inſule erant ut poſtea cognitum eſt ferme innumere, non longe a continentibus quibuſdam terris ut preſe ferebat aſpectus. Ex huiuſmodi inſulis nonnullas animaduertum ferre homines incultos cognomento caniballos, humanis ad eſum carnes minime abhorrentes, ac uicinos populos latrociniis infeſtantes, cauatis quibuſdam magnarum arborum truncis quibus ad proximas trahicientes inſulas homines quaſi lupi in cibum uenentur. Nec deſuit fortuna ex his unam nauiculis cum ſuis huiuſmodi ductoribus comprehendendi, idq; haud incruenta pugna qui poſtmodum uſq; in hiſpaniam ſoſpites uecti ſunt. Que prima eſt inuenta ex inſulis hiſpana eſt

noncupata. In eaq̄ inuenti mortales innumeri paupertate & nuditate confpicui, quos primo nutibus ad congreſſum comiter inuitatos doniſq̄ allectos, ubi propius acceſſerūt, facile apparebat & diſſimilem ſuo candorem, & habitum & inauditum antea ad eos acceſſum, ceteraq̄ omnia quaſi e celo aduenientium obtuſepere & mirari, quippe color illis lōge diſſimilis noſtro, minime tamen niger ſed auro perfimilis, lacerna illis collo pēdebat herebatq̄ pectori conte gens pudenda quaſi uelamen, cui modicum annexū eſſet aurum, eaq̄ cōmunis mariū & feminarū, no amplius uirginū. Nam uirgines nude proruſ incedunt, donec a uiris quibuſdam, eius rei peritis oſſeo quodā ueluti digito, uirginitatē exuantur. Nulla apud eos animalia quadrupedia, præter canes quōſdam puſillos, alimenta illis radices ex quibus panes conficiuntur, haud diſſimilis ſaporis triticeo tum glandes alia figura q̄ noſtre ſed eſui iocūdiore. Voti cōpoſ iam factus Colūbus, remeare in hiſpaniam conſtituit communitoꝝ loco quem primum occupauerat ſoliſq̄ quadringenta ad cuſtodiam relictis in hiſpaniam nauigat. proſperamq̄ fortitus nauigationem, ubi primū ad fortunatas appulit infulas nuncios cū literis ad regē premitit, qui de his omnibus factus certior mirum immodū gauifus eſt, prefectumq̄ eum totius rei maritime conſtituēs, magnis honoribus ornat. Procedunt ei ueniēti obuiam uniuerſi proceres, magnōq̄ gaudio excipitur noui orbis inuentor. Nec mora, parantur alie naues & numero & magnitudine, priores longe excedentes omniumq̄ rerum genere implentur. Mittit hiſpania iam ſua in innocuum orbem uenena, oneratur plurima & ferica & aurata ueſtis, & cui non fatiſ erat de hoc noſtro orbe triumphaffe nauigat in puros & in innocuos populos luxus, & que uix noſtram fatiare ingluuiem poterant ſilue quamuis inceſſantibus pene exhaufte uenationibus, in remotiſſimas plagas mittunt fuem aprum q̄ illorum ante hac neſcios uentres diſtuturos. Sed nauigant cum his qui ex parata & populos iam iam captura ingluuie, prouenturis morbis Eſculapii inuento medeantur. Deferuntur femina & plante arborum. Nam triticum ut poſtea cognitum eſt ubi terre conditum fuerat, primo ſtatim ad grandiuſculam altitudinem creicens, paulo poſt euanefcebat, quaſi damnante natura noua cibariorum genera, & eos ſuis radicibus eſſe contentos iubente. Soluens igitur Columbus claſſem duodecim nauium, armis uiriſq̄ ac omni rerum copia inſtructam, non amplius uiginti dierum nauigatione ad infulam hiſpanam appellit, oſtendit quos reliquerat ad unum a barbaris ſtrangulatos, cauſa pretenſa quod in eorum mulieres impudici & iniurii fuiſſent, igitur accuſata eorum ſeuicie & ingratitude, ubi uidet eos ad penitentiam uerſos, ueniam eis edicit indulturum modo fideles in poſterum & dicto audientes ſint. Deinde miſſis inq̄ſitoribus in quaſcūq̄ partes, ubi uidet iſulā eſſe & magnitudine, & aëris tēperie, & ſoli fecūditate, & pporū frequētia inſignem, ſimulq̄ aſſetur inueniri certis in locis, aquarum in preruptis, puriſſimū aurum, nec deſſe in campis ſemen quoddā piperi perſimile & figura & ſapore, ſtatuit oino oppidū cōdere. Vndiq̄ igitur cōquiſita materie, adhibiti ſq̄ eaꝝ rerū peritis, breui erectū eſt oppidū, cui Helifabet, inditū nomē. Ipſe pfectus duabus ſibi nauibus aſumptis, iſulā ipſam circuit. Deinde cotinētis illius ſoli quod Ioane nomine noncupauerat litus legēs, dies unū & ſeptuaginta adnauigat ei litori, iugiter occidū



folem uerfus prorā tenens, circiterq; fexagies centena millia paffuū uir nauigiōꝝ curfus pertiffimus eftimator, fe eē progrefſuūm, ex dieꝝ noctiūq; fuppꝓtatione cognofcit. Id quo cōftitit pꝓonto iū Euāgelifta appellat, retroq; flectēdi curfum cōfiliū capit, rediturus eo parariōꝝ & iftructor. Inter nauigandū uero, figñātur in tabula & finus & litora. & pꝓōtorā. Retulitq; hoc mūdi latus poli artici decē & octo graduū eleuationē habere, cū quatuor tñ & uiginti feptētrionale litus infule hifpane, poli ipfius altitudinē oftēdat. Cognitum eſt autē ex obferuatione fuorū, fimodo ueram, inire rationem potuerūt, eam que anno dñi quarto & nonageſimo poſt milleſimū & quadrigēteſimū eclipſim apparuit menſe feptembri, quatuor ferme horis ante apud hifpanam infulam q̄ hifpali que uulgo fibilia nuncupatur uiſam. Ex ea autem computatione colligebat Columbus eam infulam horis quatuor, Euangeliftā uero decem a gadibus diſtare, nec amplius duabus horis, hoc eſt duodecima parte totius circuli terrarum, ab eo loco quem Ptolemeus catigara uocat & ultimum habitabilis in oriente ſole cōſtituit abeſſe, Quod ſi non obſtiterit nauigantibus ſolum, breui futurum ut ultimum oriens omni decurſo inferiore noſtro hemiſperio, conerario curfu coniunctus fuerit a tendentibus ad occidentem. His tam miris peractis nauigationibus, regreſſus in hifpaniam Columbus fati munus ipleuit. Rex ipſe qui uiuēti multa priuilegia cōtulerat, mortuo dedit ut filius in patris locū ſuccederet, pfectur, ãq; indorum mariſq; oceani ageret, qui in hodiernum uſq; uiuit, ſumma cum amplitudine, fummiq; opibus. Nec primores hifpanie dedignati ſunt illi coniugio copulare, iuuenem nobilitate & moribus inſignem. Moriens autem Columbus, haud oblitus eſt dulcis patrie, reliquit enim officio. ſancti Georgii quod appellant, habentq; genuenſes precipuum & ueluti totius reipublice decus & columen, decimam partem prouentuum uniuerſorum quos uiuens poſſidebat. Hic fuit uiri celeberrimi exitus, qui ſi grecorum heroum temporibus natus eſſet proculdubio in deorum numerum relatus eſſet."

"'And their words have gone abroad to the ends of the earth.' At least in our times, when by the marvellous attempt of Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, almost a new world has been discovered and added to that of the Christians: And indeed inasmuch as Columbus frequently declared himself to have been selected by God that through him this prophecy might be fulfilled, I think it proper to insert an account of his life in this very place. I say, then, that Christopher, by name Columbus, a native of Genoa, sprung from a common parentage, in our day by his own energy explored in a few months more land and sea than almost all other mortals in the ages that are gone. The thing is wonderful, but is made certain by testimony and by actual expeditions not only by many ships but by entire fleets going and coming. This [Columbus] who, instructed in his youthful years in the first elements of knowledge, applied himself when arrived at early manhood to a study of maritime affairs: thereafter the Admiral's brother, being in Spain, while in Lisbon pursued the avocation of decorating the maps such as are used on the ocean, and depicting the seas, harbours, and shores: and

## Christopher Columbus

in this way, from him, he [Columbus] learned of the lands and the gulfs and of the islands and he likewise learned from many who yearly went on exploring expeditions to the inaccessible regions of Africa and the remote shores of the ocean between the south and the west. Having speech often with these men and comparing what he learned from them with what he had found by studying pictures and with what he had read from the writers on cosmography, he finally arrived at the opinion that it would be possible for one who leaving the shores of Æthiopia where it turns in toward Lybia,<sup>1</sup> and directing his sailing toward the south-west, he would in a few months reach either some island or the farthest shores of India. Thereupon, when he had thoroughly understood these things from his brother and had seriously pondered over them, he declared to the leading nobles of the Spanish King that he was minded, if the King would sustain him in accomplishing the undertaking, to visit new nations to penetrate regions hitherto unknown more quickly than the Portuguese could discover new lands. Word of this was carried quickly to the King who, moved partly by a spirit of emulating the King of Portugal and partly by the desire and glory of accomplishing new things and allured by what would come to him and his posterity, treated at last with Columbus and commanded that two ships should be fitted out for him: with which ships Columbus, loosing his anchor and navigating to the Fortunate Islands, began a course a little to the left hand [below, *i. e.*, therefore, south] of the west between the south and the west, and after getting out into the sea a farther distance keeping strictly to the west. When this course had been followed many days and a reckoning showed them that they had gone forty times a hundred thousand passūs<sup>2</sup> the others lost all hope: they demanded that he should retrace his steps and turn his course to an opposite direction; but he persisted in his undertaking and having made his own calculations as to what would happen, promised them that not more than one day would pass before they would reach continental lands or some islands. Faith in his words was not wanting. Indeed with the coming of the morrow's light, having descried I know not what lands, the sailors accorded him due praise and placed the utmost faith in the judgment of this man. These lands were islands, as was afterwards determined, almost innumerable and not far from certain continental regions, as conditions suggested. In the islands of this region certain wild men were observed who were called cannibals, who consume human flesh and prey upon the neighbouring people, visiting the islands in the vicinity by means of canoes hollowed out from the trunks of great trees, hunting men as wolves hunt food. Good fortune permitted the capturing of one of these little vessels with its occupants, and so after a somewhat hard fight they were brought off uninjured into Spain. That island first found by them they called Hispana. In this there were found

<sup>1</sup> On Ptolemy's Map of the World, printed on copper plates and published at Rome in 1478, this point is on a parallel with the Canary Islands.

<sup>2</sup> A passus was equal to five feet, a thousand passūs will, therefore, equal in round numbers a mile, and forty times one hundred of these miles will give us as the distance reckoned 4000 miles.

great numbers of human beings noticeable for their poverty and nakedness, who were first invited by signs to approach and then were allured nearer: when they drew nigh, it was seen easily that they marvelled and were overcome by the complexion of our people so different from their own, by our dress and countless other things as if we had descended from heaven: indeed their colour is very unlike our own, not so much that it is black but rather a gold tinge: they wear a kind of cloak hanging from the neck and covering the breast and private parts as a veil, to which they affix a small bit of gold: and this cloak is common for both men and women, but not so for unmarried girls. Among these last a peculiar custom exists of divesting themselves of that condition when they enter the matrimonial state. There are no four-footed animals among them except certain very small dogs; they have roots on which they feed and from which they make a bread not dissimilar from wheat in flavour as well as a kind of acorn of a different shape from ours but more pleasant. Having obtained the desire of his heart, Columbus determined to return to Spain; he strongly fortified the place which he had first occupied and having left there forty of his men to guard it, he set sail for Spain. He had a prosperous voyage and when he had landed at the Fortunate Islands, he sent messengers with letters to the King, who when he learned of all his deeds greatly rejoiced, conferred upon him high honours and created him to be the head of all his maritime affairs. The nobility all went to meet him and the discoverer of a New World was received with great rejoicing. Without delay other ships were prepared, greatly exceeding the first fleet in size and number, and fitted with every sort of cargo. Spain already sends her mischievous influences into an innocent world and many a ship is loaded with garments of silk and golden embroidery, and luxury which, has been not satisfied with triumphing over this one world, makes its way to a pure and guileless people: woods exhausted by almost constant hunting and which were scarcely able to satisfy our voraciousness send the wild boar and sow to their distant shore to distend stomachs hitherto ignorant of such food. But with them sail those who by the discovery of Æsculapius will save the people from diseases that gluttony produces. Seeds and plants are sent thither. For it has become known that wheat when it is sown will at first grow up pretty well but then wither, as if nature, condemning new sorts of food for the natives, should command them to be content with their own roots for bread. Thereupon Columbus, sailing with a fleet of twelve ships and furnished with men and arms and all kinds of things, after a voyage of twenty days landed on the island of Hispana, and he found that the men to the very last one whom he had left had been strangled by the native barbarians, on the pretended justification of their having insulted their wives. Therefore accusing them of ingratitude, when he saw them turning toward penitence he declared them a pardon provided they should in the future be faithful and obedient. Then searchers being sent into various parts, he ascertained that it was an island of great size, that the climate was temperate, the soil

fruitful, with indications of a large population, and when he likewise was told that in certain places broken into by the waters purest gold was to be found, while in the open fields there was a certain seed like in shape and taste to pepper, he concluded to build a town. Materials therefore were brought together and skilled workmen employed, and very shortly a town was built which was called by the name of Elizabeth. The Admiral himself, taking two ships, circumnavigated the entire island. Thence pursuing his way along the shores of that continent which he had christened Joanna, he sailed for one and seventy days along the coast, keeping the prow of his vessel ever toward the western sun; he knew from reckoning the passing days and nights that he had sailed about sixty times one hundred thousand passūs [six thousand miles], being a most skilful man in estimating the course of his sailings. He called the promontory at which he halted Evangelista, and he then began to consider returning home, coming back better equipped and prepared. In the course of his exploration the bay, shores, and mountains were drawn in a map. He declared that this region of the world had an elevation of eighteen degrees of the Arctic Pole, while the northern shore of the island of Hispana had an elevation of four and twenty degrees. But it was known from his observations, if indeed he was able to reckon correctly, that the eclipse which occurred in the month of September of the year 1494 was seen in the island of Hispana nearly four hours before it was observed in Hispalia, commonly called Sibilis [Seville.] From this calculation Columbus concluded that the island [Hispana] was four hours distant from Cadiz and Evangelista ten hours, and not more than two hours, that is the twelfth part of the entire circuit of the earth, from that place which Ptolemy called Catigara, and which he considers to be the last habitable place toward the East. If this region of land had not stood in the way of navigation, the whole of our hemisphere having been explored, a junction or complete circuit would have been made by those who should sail toward the West. Having accomplished these marvellous navigations and returning into Spain, Columbus fulfilled the work of the prophetic declaration. The King himself, who had bestowed many privileges on him while living, granted on his death that his son should succeed to the station of the father, and should be Admiral of the Indies and the Ocean-sea, who [the son, Diego] lives even to this time with the fullest honours and fortune. The grandees of Spain have not thought it unworthy to mate him with a young lady distinguished by her noble birth and her personality. And Columbus, dying, did not forget his dear country, for he left to the Bank which is called St. George, which the Genoese regard as the chief beauty and pillar of the whole Republic, a tenth portion of all the properties possessed by him while living. Thus departed this illustrious man, who if he had lived in the time of the Grecian heroes, without doubt would have been enrolled among the number of the gods."

## CHAPTER XXX

### AN IMAGINARY FAMILY TREE

FERDINAND COLUMBUS, in the *Historie*, cites the work of Sabellicus, a Venetian historian, as a witness to prove the descent of Christopher Columbus from two great seamen of that name who flourished in the fifteenth century. He begins the first chapter of his *Historie* by referring to a fancied reaching of a root of his family tree back into Roman annals.

"Alcuni voleuano, che io mi occupaffi in dichiarare & dire, come l'Amiraglio procedette di fangue illustre: ancora che i fuoi padri per maluagità della fortuna foffero uenuti a grande neceffità, & bifogno; & che haveffi moſtrato, come procedeuano da quel Colone, di cui Cornelio Tacito nel principio del duodecimo libro della fua opera dice, che conduffe prigionie in Roma il Re Mitridate, per lo che dice, che a Colone furono date dal popolo Romano le dignità Confolari, & le Aquile, & Tribunale, ò tenda Confolare. Et voleuano, che io faceffi gran conto di quelli dui illuſtri Coloni fuoi parenti, de'quali il Sabellico defcriue una gran vittoria contra Vinitiani ottenuta: fecondo che nel quinto capitolo fia da noi raccontato. Ma io mi ritraffi da queſta fatica, credendo, ch'egli foſſe itato eletto dal noſtro Signore per vna cofi gran cofa, qual fu quella, ch'ei fece: &, perche haueua ad eſſere cofi vero Apostolo fuo, quanto in effetto fu, volle, che in queſto caſo imitaſſe gli altri, i quali, per pubblicare il lor nome da mari, & da riuere, egli eleſſe, & non gia da altezze, & da palagi; & che imitaſſe lui ſteſſo, ch'effendo i fuoi maggiori del regal fangue di Gieruſalemme, gli piacque, che i fuoi genitori foffero men conoſciuti."<sup>1</sup>

"Some persons wished me to occupy myself in explaining and telling how the Admiral proceeded from illustrious blood; although his fathers through malevolence of fortune had come to great necessity and want: and that I should show how they came from that Colone of whom Cornelius Tacitus speaks at the beginning of the Twelfth Book of his work,<sup>2</sup> who conducted King Mithridates a captive into Rome, for which he was recompensed by the Roman people, who conferred upon him the consular dignity, the honour of bearing the standard and a place among the tribunes.

<sup>1</sup> *Historie Del S. D. Fernando Colombo*, Venice, 1571.

<sup>2</sup> *Historia Augusta*, lib. xii., 21.

And they wished that I should make a great story of those two illustrious Coloni, his relatives, whose grand victory over the Venetian galleys Sabellicus describes,<sup>1</sup> the account of which follows in the fifth chapter of our *History*. But I have abandoned this labour, believing that he was chosen by our Lord for the great work which he has accomplished: and since he was destined to be his true Apostle, as in fact he was, the Lord wished that in this case he might imitate those others whom He chose to publish their names by seas and rivers rather than amongst the great and in palaces: and that he should also imitate the Lord, in that, while His descent was from the blood royal of Jerusalem, yet He was content to have His immediate parentage from an inconspicuous source."

The Roman historian does not speak of a Colone in connection with the capture of Mithridates, but refers to the royal prisoner as having been led *per junium cilonem*. The reader will observe that Ferdinand does not assert the descent of the Admiral from the Roman consul, but places the responsibility for the suggestion on others. The case is different when he speaks of the two illustrious Coloni, for he distinctively calls them *dui illustri Coloni sui parenti*. We will see later that the words of Giustiniano, in the *Polygot Psalter*<sup>2</sup> declaring Christopher Columbus *vilibus ortus parentibus* (sprung from common parentage) were constantly in the mind of Ferdinand when he wrote the life of his father. This mark of family pride is natural. We may not praise the son, but we can say that in his effort to increase the importance of his father he did what has been done in countless families before and since his time. And in this characteristic touch of a loving and proud son is a strong argument in favour of the genuineness of his *Historic*. This *Historic*,<sup>3</sup> not printed until two and thirty years after the

<sup>1</sup> The account of this occurrence, as related by Sabellicus, is generally taken from his *Rerum Venetiarum ab Urbe Condita*. III., liber iv., Bâle, 1560.

We give the original account as it is printed in his *Enneades*, Venice, 1504, only nineteen years after its occurrence.

In the former Sabellicus speaks of this Columbus as "Columbus junior Columbi piratæ illustris, ut aiunt, nepos."

Sabellicus also wrote a *History of Venice*, in which, *Decad. IV. Lib. III.*, the story of the sea-fight off Cape St. Vincent is retold. Modern writers seem to think it was this work from which Ferdinand Columbus quotes. Ferdinand distinctly says he is quoting from the "Eighth Book of the Tenth Decade," not noticing that the work is written in *Enneades* instead of *Decades*.

<sup>2</sup> *Psalterium*, Genoa, 1516. Marginal note on Psalm xix.

<sup>3</sup> *Historie Del S. D. Fernando Colombo*. Nuouamente di lingua Spagnola tradotte nell' Italiana dal S. Alfonso Ulloa. Venice, 1571.

No original manuscript of a Spanish edition of this *Historic* has ever been discovered.

death of Ferdinand, and then in an Italian version from an unknown Spanish original, has been strongly attacked by Henry Harrisse,<sup>1</sup> but without throwing out of court this internal evidence of its authorship. Anxious to present to the world a rich and ancient genealogical tree, Ferdinand permits himself to claim for the Admiral a family relationship with two famous seamen, and quotes for his authority the Venetian historian, Marcus Antonius Sabellicus. Chapter v. of the *Historie*, to which Ferdinand Columbus directs the attention of the reader in his first chapter, is entitled:

*“La venuta dell' Ammiraglio in Spagna, & come si manifestò in Portogallo, da che hebbe causa lo scoprimento dell' Indie, che ei fece.*

“Quanto al principio, & alla caufa della venuta dell' Ammiraglio in Spagna, & di efferfi egli dato alle cose del mare, ne fu cagione vn' huomo fegnalato del fuo nome, & famiglia, chiamato Colombo, molto nominato per mare, per cagiò dell' armata ch' ei conduceua contra gl' infedeli, & ancora della fua patria: tal che col fuo nome fpauentaua i fanciulli nella culla, la cui perfona, & armata è da credere che foffe molto grande, poi che vna volta prefe quattro galee groffe Vinitiane, la grandezza, & fortezza delle quali non hauria creduta, fe non che le haueffe vedute armate. Questi fu chiamato Colombo il giouane a differenza di vn' altro, che auanti era ftato grand' huomo per mare: del qual Colombo giouane Mare' Antonio Sabellico, che è ftato vn' altro Tito Liuio a nostri tempi, dice nel libro ottauo della decima deca, che vecino al tempo, nel quale Maffimiliano, figliuolo di Frederico terzo Imperatore, fu eletto Re de' Romani, fu mandato da Vinegia in Portogallo Ambafciatore Hieronimo Donato, accioche in nome publico di quella Signoria rendeffe gratie al Re Don Giouanni fecondo percioche tutta la ciurma & huomini di dette galee groffe, che tornaauano di Fiandra, egli haueua vestiti & fouenuti, dandogli aiuto, con che potefferò tornare a Vinegia: concio foffe ch' effi preffo a Libbona erano ftati fuperati dal Colombo giouane, corfale famoso, che gli haueua fpogliati, & meffi in terra. Dalla quale autorità, effendo d' vn huomo tanto graue, come fu il Sabellico, fi puo comprendere la paffione del fopradetto Giustiniano; poi che nella fua historia non fece mentione di effa, accioche non fi fapeffe, che la famiglia de' Colombi non era tanto ofcura come egli diceua. &, fe pur tacque ciò per ignoranza, ancora è degno di riprenfione, per efferli meffo a fcriuer le historie della fua patria, & tralafciato vna vittoria tanto notabile, ch' gl' ifteffi nimici fan mentione: poi che l'historico contrario ne fa tanto capitale di effa, che dice, che per ciò furono mandati Ambafciatori al Re di Portogallo. Il quale autore ancora nell' ifteffo libro ottauo, alquanto piu oltre, come che haueffe minore obbligo d' informarfi dello scoprimento dell' Ammiraglio, fa mentione di ciò, fenza mefcolarui quelle dodici bugie,

<sup>1</sup> L'authenticité des *Historie* attribuées à Fernand Colomb, Par l'auteur de la *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*. Paris, 1873.

che 'l Giustiniano vimife. Ma tornando al principal propofito dico, che, mentre in compagnia del detto Colombo giouane, l'Ammiraglio nauigaua, il che fe lungamente, auuene, che, intendendo, che le dette quattro galee groffe Vinitiane tornauano di Fiandra, andarono a cercarle, e le trouarono tra Lisbona, & il capo di san Vincenzo, che è in Portogallo: doue venuti alle mani combattetero fieramente; & fi accoftarono in modo, che fi afferrarono infieme con tanto odio, & coraggio, che d' vn vafello nell' altro montauano, vccidendofi, & percotendofi fenza alcuna pietà, così con arme da mano, come con pignate, & altri ingegni di fuoco: in guifa tale, che, effendofi combattuto dalla matina fino all' hora di vefpro, & effendo hogimai molta gente d'ambe le parti morta, & ferita, fi attaccò il fuoco fra la naue dell' Ammiraglio, & vna galea groffa Vinitiana, le quali perch' erano attaccate infieme con ganzi, & catene di ferro, instrumenti, che gli huomini di mare vfano per tale effetto, non potè effer rimediato all' vna, ne all' altra parte, per la mifchia, che tra loro era, & per lo fpauento del fuoco, che già in poco fpatio era crefciuto tanto, che il rimedio fu, che faltaffero fuori nell' acqua quelli, che poteuano, per piu tosto cofi morire, che fopportare il tormento del fuoco. Ma, effendo l'Ammiraglio grandiffimo notatore, & vedendofi due leghe, o poco piu difcofto da terra, prendendo un remo, che la forte gli apprefentò, & aiutandofi con quello tal volta, & tal volta notando, piacque à Dio, che per altra maggior cofa l'haueua faluato, di dargli forze, onde giungeffe a terra, benche tanto ftanco, & trauagliato dalla humidità dell' acqua, che egli flette molti dì a rifarfi."

*"The Coming of the Admiral into Spain, and what befell him in Portugal, from which was caused the discovery of the Indies, which he made."*

"As to the beginning and the cause of the coming of the Admiral into Spain and his interest in things relating to the sea, it was caused by a distinguished man of his name and family called Columbus, who was greatly renowned on the sea and also in his country, by reason of the armada which he conducted against the infidels. Such was his reputation that the children in the cradle were frightened by it; which person and armada it can be believed were so great, because at one time he took four great Venetian galleys, the size and strength of which I would not have believed if they had not been seen. This man was called Columbus the Younger, to distinguish him from another who was also greatly renowned on the sea. Of this Columbus the Younger, Marcus Antonius Sabellicus, who has been another Titus Livy of our times, says in Book Eight of the Tenth Decade that at about the time Maximilian, son of Frederick, third Emperor, was elected King of the Romans, Jerome Donato was ordered from Venice to Portugal as Ambassador, so that he might render thanks to King John II. in the public name of that Republic; because King John had clothed and assisted all the men and crews of those great Venetian galleys which were returning from Flanders, giving them aid that they might be able to return to Venice; since, being near Lisbon, they had been overcome by Columbus



the Younger, the famous corsair, who had stripped them and put them on land. The anger of the said Giustiniano can be comprehended by this authority coming from a man of such importance as Sabellicus, since in his history he does not mention this; because if known, the family of the Columbus would not appear as obscure as he said. And even though he is silent through ignorance, he is also deserving of reproof because of having set himself to write the history of his country and omitted so notable a victory, of which the enemies themselves make mention; since the adverse historian makes so much capital of this that he says Ambassadors were ordered to the King of Portugal on account of it. Which author in the same Book Eight a little farther on, although under less obligation to inform himself of the discovery of the Admiral, makes mention of this also without the introduction of the twelve falsehoods of which Giustiniano is guilty. But returning to the principal subject, I say that while the Admiral was navigating in company with the said Columbus the Younger, which he did for a long time, it happened that understanding that the said four great Venetian galleys were returning from Flanders, they went in search of them and found them between Lisbon and Cape San Vincent, which is in Portugal, where they fought fiercely hand to hand with great hatred and courage; and they were so heaped up together that they mounted from one vessel to another killing each other and striking each other without pity with various hand-arms and implements. And after having fought from morning until the hour of vespers and there being already many of both parties dead and wounded, the Admiral's ship and a great Venetian galley which were chained together with iron chains were attacked by fire; and the seamen were so worn out with their efforts in the fray and by the terror of the fire, which increased rapidly, that they were not able to offer assistance to either the one or the other, so that the only remedy was to fall into the water; which they preferred to do, being a quicker death, rather than to support the torments of the fire. But the Admiral perceived himself to be at a distance of two leagues or a little more from land, and being a very strong swimmer, he took an oar which he happened to find in the water, and by assisting himself with it for a time and swimming part of the time, it pleased God, who for a greater thing had saved him, to give him strength whereby he arrived at land; although so wearied and disordered from being in the water that he was many days in recovering."

On the recto of leaf 168 in the work of Sabellicus, only three leaves before he begins to speak of Columbus, is this passage:

"Maximilianus Frederici Cæsaris filius: Romanorum rex declaratus est: qd' ille Veneto Senatui per litteras significavit. Dominicus Triuifanus: qui diu Marci postea Procurator fuit: & Hermolaus Barbarus: in Germaniam missi: qui ob eam rem publico nomine ambobus gratularentur. Hieronymus Donatus in Lusitaniam: ut publico nomine amico regi ageret gratias: quod remiges & focii nauales quattuor Venetarum triremium: ex

Gallicia negotiatione redeuntium [quas Columbus iunior archipirata illuftris cruento proelio opprefferat] circa Olifiponem regiam urbem: in littus faucii & feminudi a piratis expofiti: hofpitaliter & benigne regis iuffu curati effent: ueftibus & uiatico adiuti."

"Maximilian, the son of Emperor Frederick, is declared King of the Romans: which fact was announced in letters to the Venetian Senate. Dominic Trivisanus, who afterwards was overfeer of San Marco, and Hermolaus Barbarus<sup>1</sup> were sent into Germany, both of whom on account of this thing received the public thanks. Geronimo Donato was sent into Portugal to thank the friendly King [John II.] in the name of the Republic because of the hofpitable and kindly treatment and the beftowing of food and clothing—all by the command of the King—on the rowers and failors of the four Venetian triremes returning from a commercial adventure in Flanders [which were overthrown by Columbus the Younger, the illuftrious fea-rover, in a bloody conflict], and who were left by the pirates wounded and half naked upon the fhore near the royal city of Lisbon."

The ftory of this fea-fight is told more at length by two contemporaneous writers, Marin Sanuto in his *Vitae Ducum Venetorum ab Origine Urbis*,<sup>2</sup> and Domenico Malipiero in his *Annali Veneti*.<sup>3</sup> Since early in the fourteenth century, Venice had been in the habit<sup>4</sup> of fending fhips laden with merchandife to the Northern nations<sup>5</sup> of Europe, and bringing back their pro-

<sup>1</sup> Hermolaus Barbarus was born in Venice, May 21, 1454, and thus was a comparatively young man when employed on this embaffy. Bayle fays that the fpeech which Barbarus compofed for this occafion was a moft elaborate oration, but was much curtailed in its delivery, a modification which was made on the advice of the courtiers, who reminded him that princes, while they had a great deal of patience, had fmall leisure. He therefore cut fhort his own fpeech and that of his colleague to an address of only one and one half hours, which fupplies us with ample testimony as to the patience of Maximilian, the King of the Romans. Barbarus published his *Cas-tigationes* in Rome in 1493, the year of his death, and his tranflation of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* was published by his nephew. His literary fecundity was fuch that he is faid to have compofed no lefs than twelve thoufand verfes. His portrait is in Paulus Jovius.

<sup>2</sup> *MS. Calendar*. No. 499, vol. ii., p. 254.

<sup>3</sup> *L'Archivio Storico Italiano*. Florence, 1843.

<sup>4</sup> These commercial expeditions grew out of a treaty made between the Venetian Republic and Baldwin IX., Count of Flanders in 1202.

<sup>5</sup> The produce and manufactures, other than wine and fices, conveyed to England by the Venetians in their Flanders galleys during the fifteenth century, were:

Spun cotton, grown in India and procured by the Venetians in Damascus, and alfo that grown in Egypt and procured by the Venetians in Messina, in which latter place they alfo fecured the raw cotton from Malta.

Raw filk, procured in Messina and Malaga.

Damasks, fatins, and Bawdekens (a word derived from Baldacca or Bagdad) of gold and filk from Venice.

Dyed filks, yellow, blue, and light green, imported from Persia, and procured by

ducts in return. The vessels for the most part employed in this business were galleys called *flamandes*, working under both oars and sails. They touched at the ports of Spain and Portugal both in their outward and homeward journeys, and so great was the importance of these commercial adventures that they became objects of national solicitude and frequent diplomatic correspondence. Harrisse, in his *Les Colombo*, has shown that to this latter circumstance we owe much of our historical information concerning that period. Ships so laden were the natural prey of pirates, or freebooters, or corsairs, whatever we may choose to call them, and the bravest and most successful of these in the latter half of the fifteenth century floated from their mastheads the flag of France. Among these sea-rovers was one called Columbus Junior. These ships were obliged to pass through the Straits of Gibraltar, and outside this gateway, in the roomy thoroughfare of the Atlantic, the French corsairs awaited their maritime harvests. On the night of the twenty-first of August in the year 1485, four of these Venetian galleys, under command of Barthèlemi Minio, were off Cape Saint Vincent, having come out of the Mediterranean on their way to Flanders. Sabellicus says distinctly that the Venetian vessels were returning from Flanders,—*Ex Gallicia negociatione redeuntium*,—but the diplomatic correspondence indicates that the fleet was on an outward voyage. The letter of the Venetian Senate to its Ambassador, Jerome Georgius, begins with referring to the affair,—*Quod cum trirèmes nostræ oneravæ viagiî Flandriæ*. Sanuto speaks of the fleet *Le 4 galie nostre de Fiandra—Partidie di Cadex*. Moreover, the cargo consisted of spices, Malvoisie wine,<sup>1</sup> cotton, and raisins the Flanders galleys at Aleppo, while some came from Turkey, and these were secured in the markets of Damascus by the Venetian merchants.

From England the galleys took home tin and wrought pewter, dressed hides, broadcloths, kerseys, friezes, dressed ox-hides, and calf-skins, these latter weighing thirty pounds the dozen. Shortly after the time of which we are writing, in 1498, the Venetian galleys exported grain. The salt from Ivica formed a portion of a galley's return journey.

From out the Flanders galleys Bruges would take silks from Syria, wax from Barbary, rock-alum from Constantinople, ostrich feathers from Macedonia, and, in turn, export by the same ships cloths of serge and baize, gloves and caps of wool, cutlery, and hardware. Antwerp was supplied by these galleys with sulphur from Sicily, ivory for combs, and jewels of various kinds.

<sup>1</sup>This was probably Malmsey or Malvasian wine, a wine both red and white, made from grapes grown on rocky ground and of a peculiar sweetness. Originally it was a name applied to the same kind of wine grown near Naples, but the term was made to cover similar wines of Cyprus, Candia, and the other islands of the Grecian

from Corinth, a natural consignment of Eastern goods for the Northern markets of Europe. However this may be, they were somewhere near the Cape Saint Vincent, when suddenly they found confronting them seven ships under the French flag, and a battle succeeded, which is declared to have lasted for twenty long hours. The pack-horses of the ocean yielded to the fierce wolves of the sea, and the Venetians lost three hundred of the crew, two captains, and a number of gentlemen. The remainder of the conquered were robbed of their goods and clothes and thrown on the shore of Cascaes, whence the unfortunates made their way to Lisbon. Ferdinand Columbus would have us behold his father, one of the gentlemanly adventurers, sailing with his relative, Columbus Junior, a striking figure on one of the attacking boats; he would reveal to us his father's boat grappling with one of the Venetian galleys; he would have us see fire breaking out on the latter, and the flames quickly communicating to its embracing foe; he would have us watch the future Admiral, with the lurid light falling on his brave face, yielding to the devouring fire, a more terrible enemy than its sister element, the sea, as he catches at an oar and precipitates himself into the water, swimming safely to the friendly shore of Portugal, there to fall into the hospitable arms of his future spouse. It is a spectacular introduction to the life of Columbus—but it is not true.

In the first place, the corsair known from the *Historie* and the *Enneades* as Columbus Junior was not a Genoese, not a Ligurian, not an Italian, but a citizen of France, a subject of Charles, the eighth king of France of that name, and of a family in no way connected with Christopher Columbus or his ances-

Archipelago. The Venetians went over to these islands for the Malmsey, and then carried it in their ships to the West, to Flanders, and to England. The foreign vessels were larger than theirs, and thus could afford to carry the wine for a lower freight rate. There was a formal decree of the Venetian Senate on November 18, 1488,—V. XII., *Senato Mar.*,—putting an export duty for foreign ships of four ducats on every butt of Candian wine, a butt consisting of forty-eight Venetian gallons. This same decree urged the building of larger vessels, and offered a bounty of three thousand ducats for every ship built in Venice capable of holding one thousand tons below deck. It says: "Our forefathers always took care that there would be a good number of large ships in this city for the maintenance of the navy, but at present there is no ship of upwards of one thousand tons burden."

The English also at their end made the Malmsey wine pay an extra duty, and by an act in the first year of Richard III., it was made a charge that for every butt of Malmsey, and every butt of the wine of Tyre, ten good bow staves should be brought in.

tors. The diplomatic correspondence refers to two commanders, and they are called "The Admirals of the king, his subjects and vassals." This passage occurs in a second letter of the Senate to Sir Jerome Georgius, the Ambassador representing the Republic on a special mission at the French Court, and dated December 2, 1485. In this letter reference is made to *Temerarium illum ausum in galeas nostras perpetratum a prefectis classis sue Christianissime celsitris subditisque et vassalis illius*. In still another letter, dated December 15, 1485, the Senate refers to the capture of the triremes as *A prefectis classis Magestatis Sue*.

The allusion to the capturers of the triremes as admirals and subjects of the King of France is important, distinguishing them, as it does, from the common pirates or corsairs preying upon the Mediterranean commerce, one of whom at least had his lair in or about Genoa towards the end of the fifteenth century, and who went by the name of Columbus. It is certain that the Columbus here in question was a French subject and a French Admiral or Vice-Admiral.

Marin Sanuto speaks of the French fleet as being under the command of "Colombo Zovene zoe Nic<sup>o</sup> Griego,"—Columbus Junior and Nic<sup>o</sup> Griego. In the official document from the Senate to its Ambassador,<sup>1</sup> dated September 18, 1485, the commanders of the capturing fleet are called *Filius Columbi et Johannes Grecus*. In the official document from the Senate to its Ambassador, dated December 2, 1485, reference is made to the object of his special duty, *Pro recuperatione triremium nostrorum viagii Flandrie interceptorum a filio Columbi et Georgio Greco*.

On the other hand, Domenico Malipiero, in his *Annali Veneti*, speaking of the event under date of August 20, 1485, says: *Colombo Corsaro, el Zovene, fis de Colombo Corsaro, Capetanio de Dette nave Francese Armade, S'ha scontrà sora cas san Vincenzo, ne I Mari di Spagna, in le Quattro Galeazze de Fiandra*. Under date of April 9, 1486, this record is made<sup>2</sup>:

<sup>1</sup> This Sir Jerome Georgius, or Geronimo Zorzi, as he was called in the Venetian dialect, was really the Ambassador of the Republic to Milan, and thus went into France to King Charles VIII. only on a special mission, that of recovering the three uninjured triremes and the restitution of the goods. Charles VIII., while nominally King of France, was still in his minority, having been born June 30, 1470, and his elder sister, Anne, wife of Pierre Beaujeu, was Regent, associating with herself in the conduct of the realm her husband, the Bourbon Prince.

<sup>2</sup> *Annali Veneti*. "Archivo Storico Italiano." Vol. vii., p. 621.

"A' 9 de Avril, Geronimo Zorzi, Ambassador in Franza, scrive che l' ha fatto querela con quel Re, a Nome della Signoria, della presa delle galeazze de Fiandra, e ghe ha domandà refacimento; el Re ghe ha respo, che ghe era in esser dusento bale de specie, cento cinquanta bote de moscatelo, trenta sachì de contoni e quaranta bote d'uva passa; e che in Biscaia, ghe è specie per 2000 ducati; e ghe se leva un conto del danno patido, chè l' ha intention de satisfar el tutto; che l Corsaro ha domandà salvo conduto al Rè per tre settimane, per giustificar le so rason; e l Rè ghe ha respo che al vuol, che l paga; e che l no è par farghe salvo conduto, se l'ambassador della Signoria no consente; e che esso ha ditto al Rè, che la Signoria ha da negociar conaltri che con la sua Maestà, e che quato al salvo conduto, el fazza quel che ghe par. E con questa risposta, el Rè ha fatto 'l salvo conduto al Corsaro; el quel è comparso, e ha ditto delle so rason fondate su l' interdittò e scomunega del Papa, la qual ho notà in la seconda Parte, sotto quest' anno que corre 1486. E l Rè ha sententià finalmente, che il diebba restituir le galie e tutte le robe, e che si so beni sia obligati a la refation; e ha dechiario, che se i beni del corsaro non satisfarà integramente, che l pagherà esso l resto; e se ha mostrà facile a satisfar la Signoria, perchè l'è homo giusto, e perchè l dessegna de far l'impresa del Regno de Napoli."

"April 9, Jerome Zorzi, Ambassador to France, writes that he has quarrelled with the King in the name of the Republic, on account of the taking of the galleys from Flanders, and that he has demanded indemnity; the King has replied that there were in readiness for him 200 bales of spices, 150 pipes of Muscatel, 30 sacks of cotton, and 40 casks of raisins, and that in Biscay there are spices to the amount of 2000 ducats, and that provided he makes up an account of the damage suffered, he intends to satisfy the whole; that the Corsair has demanded safe-conduct from the King for three weeks to justify his privilege, and the King has replied to him that he wishes him to pay it, and that it is not for him to give him safe-conduct if the Ambassador of the Republic does not consent; and that he [the corsair] has said to the King that the Republic must negotiate with others beside his Majesty, and that as to the safe-conduct he may do as he thinks best. And upon this reply the King had sent the safe-conduct to the Corsair; who has appeared and spoken of his privilege founded upon the interdiction and excommunication of the Pope, which I have noted in the second part under date of the current year 1486. The King has finally sentenced him to restore the galleys and all the merchandise, and that his property shall be devoted to the restitution; and has said that if the property of the Corsair will not satisfy the debt wholly, that he will pay the rest; and the Republic has shown itself ready to be satisfied because he is a just man, and because he intends to undertake the affair of the kingdom of Naples."

We have already seen the Venetian historian, Marin Sanuto,<sup>1</sup> speaking of two commanders of the French fleet, *Colombo Zovenc*

<sup>1</sup> Marin Sanuto had access to the national records, for he was employed by the Council of Ten to examine all the secret archives.

[Junior] Zoe [and] *Nic<sup>o</sup> Griego*. When Sanuto comes to record the event mentioned above, under the date of April 9, 1486, he says:

"E che il rè a bon voler che la Signoria recuperi e vol satisfar contra *Nico Griego ditto Colombo Zovenc*."

Among the secret documents of the Venetian<sup>1</sup> Republic there has been found one giving instructions from the Senate to its consular representative in London, under date of December 2, 1485, in which reference is made to the mission of its Ambassador, *Per Recuperar Legatic Nostra del Viazo de Fiandra intercepte dal fiol de Colombo et Zorzi Griego*.

On November 3, 1485, the Senate gave directions to effect the capture of a French *galéasse*, which ship was supposed to be at Alexandria, and for this purpose sent the sum of five thousand ducats in bags to hire more men to assist the crew of their own ship, commanded by "Ser Hieronimo Bon." The Flanders galleys and their cargoes were carried to Honfleur. Here one Rosetti, the Ambassador's messenger, was set upon by the inhabitants and murdered. Marin Sanuto, in his manuscript, *Lives of the Doges*, preserved in the St. Mark Library, under date of April 9, 1486, writes:

"On the 9th of April letters were received from our Ambassador in France. Hieronimo Zorzi, how he had recovered from the captured Flanders galleys 200 bales of spices, 150 butts of Malmsey, 30 bags of cotton, 40 casks of currants, which were at Honfleur: item, that in Biscay there were spices derived from the same source, to the amount of 2000 ducats; and that the King is well inclined towards the Seignior's indemnity, and means to give satisfaction."

*Nicolo Griego*, who is called *Columbus Junior* [*Colombo Zovenc*], wanted to obtain a safe-conduct from the King for three weeks, to arrange a compromise; the King made answer that he would not give it to him, unless the Ambassador chose to do so; as he did. The corsair then came to the King, who, having heard his apologies, gave sentence that he had wrongly captured our galleys at a loss to our subjects of 200,000 ducats.

In another secret document, written in Latin and dated April 20, 1486, reference is made to the appearance of Georgius Grecus before the French King, by his command, to make restitution

<sup>1</sup> *Deliberazione Senato (Secreta)*, vol. xxxii., quoted in Rawdon Brown's *Calendar*.

for the robbery of the Venetian vessels upon the high seas. The capture of the vessels was declared illegal and 200,000 ducats was ordered to be paid as indemnity.

It is recorded in *Deliberazioni Senato Secreta* (vol. xxxiii.), under date of June 17, 1486, that the Republic was willing to abate 50,000 ducats from its original demand, which appears, according to an entry dated December 2, 1485, to have been 200,000 ducats. On March 8, 1487, a record is made of news that two ships arrived in England laden with goods recovered from the Flanders galleys. Under date of September 15, 1487, acknowledgment is made by letters of August 15, from Hieronimo Zorzi, the Ambassador, in which he speaks of the difficulty of recovering the goods belonging to the Flanders galleys, or damages for the loss of same, and the Republic remarks: "Greatly marvel at this, as it is at variance with justice and equity, and remote from our expectation. Doubt not, however, that our citizens and merchants will obtain that satisfaction which is their due." With this somewhat feeble protest ends the recorded controversy between the Republic of Venice and the King of France over the capture of the Flanders galleys by Nicolo Griego, called Columbus Junior.

We think we may read from the records and the Venetian histories this story:

On the twenty-first day of August of the year 1485, just at the first of the light, a company of four Venetian merchant vessels, laden with a miscellaneous cargo of cotton, wine, spices, and dried fruit from the region around about Peloponnesus, under the command of Captain Bartholomew Minio, was attacked when off Cape Saint Vincent by a fleet of seven vessels sailing under the *fleur-de-lis* emblem, and under two Admirals or Vice-Admirals, the chief being known in Venetian history as Colombo the Younger, and the second in command being Georgius Grecus, both being subjects and vassals of the French King. After a long conflict of twenty hours, in which many were killed, the merchant vessels were defeated. The sailors and passengers were cast upon the shore of Portugal, and so hospitably entertained at the order of the King of that country that the Venetians afterwards took official action in sending an Ambassador to return thanks for his courtesy. The capturers took their plunder, ships and merchandise, into Portugal, where they at-



tempted to dispose of the latter, but the King, John II., issued an edict forbidding any one, under severe penalties, to buy anything coming out of the conquered ships. They then carried their spoils either into France, Flanders, or England. Wherever the booty may have been deposited, Pierre Beaujeu, Prince of Bourbon, acting for the French King, was responsible; and he recognised the responsibility, for, when pressed by the Venetian Ambassador, he ordered before him not Colombo, the Admiral, the chief of the expedition, but Georgius Grecus, the second in command, whom he severely rebuked, and for whose hostile conduct in attacking the vessels of a friendly nation he agreed to make suitable restitution. While Georgius Grecus was a French subject and high in naval command, he was, as his name indicates, a native of Greece. As we shall see, Colombo was a French Admiral or Vice-Admiral high in favour with the French King.

On October 1, 1474, two ships belonging to King Ferdinand of Sicily were captured near the harbour of Vivero, in the Bay of Biscay, by a corsair, a subject of Louis XI., King of France. Under date of December 8, 1474, King Ferdinand made a vigorous complaint to the French monarch, of whom he asked reparation for his vassals' depredations.<sup>1</sup> This bold corsair

<sup>1</sup> In his *Codex Juris Gentium Diplomaticus*, Hannover, 1693, Leibnitz publishes the King's letter to the French King, and King Louis's reply, but adds the gratuitous and false information that this Columbus was called Christopher.

"Littere quas Rex Ferdinandus scripsit Regi Christianissimo per Dominum suorum armorum Regem super captione duarum triremum suarum per Columbum et alios subditos Regis, facta apud vivarium portum Hispaniarum recepte Parisius die jovis XXVI Januarii M<sup>o</sup>CCCC. Septuagesimo quarto.

"Littere scripte per Christianissimum Regem supremum Dominum nostrum Regi Ferdinandò respondendo litteris quas ipse Rex Ferdinandus scripsit sibi per dominum suum armorum Regem super captione duarum triremum per Columbum et alios subditos regis facta apud vivarium Hispaniarum portum, quæ litteræ factæ fuerunt die ultima mensis Januarii M<sup>o</sup>CCCCLXXIIII."

Nicholas Thoynard declared that the Colombo mentioned by Leibnitz was not Christopher Columbus, but Guillaume de Casenove, called Coulomp, a Vice-Admiral of France. Thereupon the German philosopher and historian corrected his statements with regard to the name:

"Sed significavit Toinardus sub Ludovico XI., vice-amiralium fuisse quemdam Gulielmum de Casanova cognominatum Coulomp, cujus et meminit contemporaneus autor libri, qui *Chronici Scandalosi* nomine venire solet."

It is thought that this chronicle is based upon a work—now lost—by Jean Castel, a French historian, and writers are inclined to give it good credence. Three times this chronicle makes mention of a Colombo:

"Le Roy . . . fist aussi arriuer et auitailler la nef de Monsieur l'Admiral, la nef de Colon et aultres plusieurs beaux nauires" [about June, 1470]: "The King also caused to arrive and to victual the ship of Monsieur the Admiral, the ship of Columbus, and many other fine vessels."

was surnamed Colon, Coulon, Coullon, or Coulomp, various old French forms for the name of a dove, and thus the word was written in Latin Columbus. Harrisse, in his *Les Colombo de France et d'Italie*, has identified this Coulon with a cadet of Gasconne named Guillaume de Casenove, who, while the future Louis XI. was yet the Dauphin, became his familiar, and was his companion when the young Prince, after having once revolted against his father, and after one forgiveness, again put himself in opposition and fled to the Duke of Burgundy.<sup>1</sup> Simon de Phares, a celebrated astrologer, speaks of the bold Coullon, Vice-Admiral of Normandy, "cestui sceut le secret de la quarte de naviguer." Louis de Bourbon was Admiral from 1461 to 1483, and thus Guillaume de Casenove was his Lieutenant or Vice-Admiral. He is mentioned in a royal document dated January 20, 1465, in which he is qualified as "Vis-admiral de France maistre enquestueur et reformateur des eaues et foretz en Normandie et Picadie"; and in royal letters issued July 15, 1466, Louis XI. confirms Coullon with eulogies in his office of Master of Streams and Forests of Normandy. In the year 1469, in the month of June, Coullon was in the English Channel with a squadron of eight ships, awaiting some Flemish galleys coming from Venice, and in the state papers of the Republic he is called the pirate. The neighbouring State of Milan refers to him less coarsely as "Colombo, homo de guerra del S. Re di Franza per mare." There seems to be no difficulty in identifying Colombo the corsair, or pirate, with Coullon or Colon of France, or in identifying this Coullon with Guillaume de Casenove of Normandy, the Vice-Admiral or Lieutenant of the Admiral. But, under any circumstances, the fanciful claim set up by Ferdinand Columbus that his father was descended from the Admiral Colombo is without foundation.

The following curious letter is to-day preserved in the Laurentian Library at Florence, and relates, beyond doubt, to this same French Admiral Guillaume de Casenove, called Columbus,

" . . . en ung hostel pres d'illec nommé Gaillartbois, appartenant à Colon Lieutenant de M. l'Admiral" [about May, 1475]: "In a house near that called Gaillarbois, belonging to Columbus, the Lieutenant of the Admiral."

" . . . la plus grant desconfiture qui passé à cent ans fut faite sur mer (Coulon et aultres escumeurs de mer)": "the greatest disaster experienced on the sea for a hundred years was inflicted by Columbus and the other sea-rovers" [some time in the year 1479].

<sup>1</sup> Mezerai said of Charles VII. that he might have been called happy if he had been the son of some other King, or the father of some other Prince.

whose exploits upon the sea were in the mouths of the Florentines and all maritime peoples.

The reference to a Columbus by a member of the Vespuccius family is interesting, but there is no connection whatsoever between the Columbus there mentioned and the Genoese wool-carder.

“(juori) da Messer p<sup>o</sup> Vespucci.  
 (juori) Spectabili viro  
 Benedicto de deis etc.  
 Mediolani.

“ Febr. 11.

“ Spectabilis tamquam frater etc. Tornando da firenze ho trouato. 3. lectere delle tue nelle quali mi avisi piu nouelle. El chaso di S. polo et la partita delli imbasciadori hosti al duca di borghognia mi era nota. Sar- ammi piacere che seghuiti la rubrica dello scrivere. Sono stato a firenze et ho ueduto el nostro messer bongiani et ricordatogli quelle campane Lascai [sic] che Jacopo guicciardini doueua partire fra pochi di. so che non bisogna ti ricordi che uenendo a milano gli tenghi buona compagnia chome hai facto a me.

“ E si da ordine al nauicare per ogni banda et questa terra per lo studio et preducto nauicare. Et perche lorenzo ci uerra in questa quaresima et molti altri fiorentini sara uno trionfo.

“ Arno ha facto disordine et a firenze ruppe una schafa. ando a tra- uerso. 15. o 20 huomini che ne e morti cinque et se non fussino state schale, funi et buani a ripescharli haueuano da fare assai et hareb beno facti pelle- grini nella aqqua dolce.

“ Lo ambasciadore unitiano mi a decto a firenze che l ottoman fa pur segnio di mettersi a ordine et mandare nel mare egeo. Dubito che l pocho credere non ti nuoca.

“ Colombo comprendo che si facci sentire in quelli mari di la et habbi preso molti nauilli de bischaini. Direti altre gran nouelle de franciosi se tu non fussi un gran borghognione. Solo ti dichio quelli principi non sono acti a fare arte di lana ne arte di seta. Rachomandami a m. piero da posterla, a Zacheria da pisa, messer pier francesco uisconti se ui e. S. Taddeo, S. Ghiu- danio et di al S. messer Tadeo et al S. giudanio che io rachomando la mia chomare la qual tu pregho uiciti personalmente per mia parte. Pisis die XI february 1479.

“ DONATUS }  
 ACAIUOLUS } orator et p̄

“(outside) from Messer p<sup>o</sup> Vespucci.  
 (outside) Spectabili viro <sup>1</sup>  
 Benedicto de deis etc.  
 Mediolani [Milan].

<sup>1</sup> Honourable gentleman, Benedetto Dei, etc.

"February 11.

"Spectabilis tamquam frater,<sup>1</sup> etc. On my return from Florence I have found three of your letters, in which you advise me of more news. The matter of the S<sup>o</sup> Pole and the departure of the Ambassadors there [Milan?] to the Duke of Burgundy, was known to me. It will be a pleasure to me if you follow the rubric of the writing. I have been to Florence and have seen our Messer Bongiami and I mentioned to him those bells I left [*sic*]. As Jacopo Guicciardini ought to leave in a few days, I know that it is not necessary to remind you that in coming to Milan you may keep him good company, as you have done by me. Preparations are being made for voyages on all sides of this country by study of the aforesaid voyage. And as Lorenzo will come here during this Lent, and many other Florentines, it will be a triumph.

"The Arno has caused disorders and at Florence it broke a cock-boat [a kind of small boat] capsized 15 or 20 men, of whom five are dead, and if there had not been good ladders and ropes to fish them out, they would have had enough to do and would have made pilgrims in the fresh water. The Venetian Ambassador told me in Florence that the Ottoman still shows signs of making preparations to send (ships) into the Ægean Sea. I doubt that your little faith will harm you.

"I understand that Columbus makes himself felt in those seas yonder and has taken many vessels from the Biscayans. I would tell you other important news about the French if you were not a great Burgundian. I only tell you that those Princes are not fitted for the carrying on of the woollen or silk trade. Commend me to M. Piero de Postula, to Zacheria da Pisa, to Messer Pier Francesco Visconti, if he is there, S. Taddeo,<sup>2</sup> S. Ghiudanio and say to S. Messer Tadeo and S. Giudanio that I recommend my gossip [wife?], whom I pray you to visit personally on my behalf.

"Pisa, February 11, 1479.

"DONATUS } Ambassador et<sup>3</sup> p̄  
ACAIUOLUS }

"Laurentian Library, Ashburnham Collection. Dei Correspondence."

At the time of the great fight off Cape Saint Vincent, England was in the throes of civil war. Richard III. was on the throne. Pierre de Beaujeu, ever hostile to England, had fitted out a fleet at Honfleur to aid Henry Tudor, the head of the Lancastrians, and whose mother was Catherine of France. Venice was friendly to England, and therefore France was unfriendly to Venice. The decisive battle of Bosworth Field occurred on the very day following the Franco-Venetian sea-fight off Cape Saint Vincent. It is more than probable that, instead of a picture of a bloody pirate plundering the merchant ships of Venice,

<sup>1</sup> To be honoured as a brother.    <sup>2</sup> Notary (Ser.).    <sup>3</sup> Ambassador and Alderman.

a proper perspective would show us a hostile force acting hastily and without sufficient official authority, but still within the field of indirect or collateral reprisal. Ostensibly France and the Republic of Venice were at peace, but, in reality, France could not look with restrained distrust at a fleet of four heavily laden merchantmen going around the Portuguese shores, bound, doubtless, for a northern expedition to enrich its English enemies. When diplomatic complaint gained the ear of Pierre Beaujeu, he feigned displeasure at his French admirals, promised restitution, and there he rested both his displeasure and the fulfilment of his promise. The records do not show that the value of the Venetian cargoes was ever recompensed to the Adriatic Republic.

Above all, there is not the slightest reason to accept the statement of Ferdinand that his father had any part in the sea-fight off Cape Saint Vincent in 1485, and that the buoyant oar floated him not only into the harbour of safety, but of matrimonial bliss, in the land of Portugal. Christopher Columbus, in the year 1485, was finishing his career in Portugal, and was getting ready to go into Spain. He had married years before in Lisbon, and had long lived in one of the Portuguese islands off the coast of Africa,—Porto Santo. Such an event as Ferdinand relates would have fitted his life better if it had been placed back some fifteen or twenty years, but we see the quiet, staid, married man preparing for his departure out of Portugal, not to be an aimless wanderer, but holding to his absorbing purpose, ever dreaming of his projects, and striving to convince pilots, philosophers, priests, and princes of a new route to the Eastern lands, and of his knowledge of the way thereto.

## CHAPTER XXXI

### THE LAND OF HIS NATIVITY

IN the year 1504, there was published at Venice a little book<sup>1</sup> giving the first narrative history of the Columbian discoveries. This work is represented by a unique example preserved in the library of San Marco at Venice. It is practically the composition of Peter Martyr, translated into the Venetian dialect by Angelo Trivigiano. In its opening sentence—Cristophoro Colōbo Zenoefe—we find the first announcement to the world that Christopher Columbus was a native of Genoa. In the letters of Columbus reporting his first voyage, published in 1493, in Spanish, first in folio and then in octavo form, or in the several Latin translations of the letter, there is no mention of his nationality. Nor is any reference to the place of his birth found in the account of the second voyage of Columbus, as published in 1495 by Nicolaus Syllacius.

Peter Martyr, in his epistle to Johannes Borromeo, dated from Barcelona May 14, 1493, says:

“Poſt paucos inde dies rediit ab antipodibus occiduis Chriſtophorus quidam Colonus vir Ligur”:

“A few days afterwards a certain Christopher Columbus, a Ligurian, returned from the Western Antipodes.”

These letters of Peter Martyr, while more or less encyclical in character, were necessarily known only to the privileged, and no part of them reached the public until the *Libretto* appeared in 1504.

Peter Martyr, then, in speaking of Christopher Columbus, calls him a Ligurian. Angelo Trivigiano, who also had a per-

<sup>1</sup>This little book is known bibliographically as the *Libretto*.

sonal acquaintance with Columbus, in translating Peter Martyr improves upon his author, and calls the Discoverer a Genoese. In ancient times, Liguria included the territory in north-western Italy on both sides of the maritime Alps and of the Apennines extending northward to the river Po, from the land of Gaul on the west to Etruria. The Greek colony of Massilia was spoken of as having been established within the borders of Liguria. In the time of Columbus the Ligurian territory extended on the coast from Porto di Moneco—Monaco—on the west to Porto Ericis, the east side of the bay of Spezia. Genoa was but a part of Liguria. A Genoese, then, was certainly a Ligurian, but a Ligurian was not necessarily a Genoese. Trivigiano is more exact than Peter Martyr. However, this does not tell us if Christopher Columbus was born in the city or in the State of Genoa.

Oviedo<sup>1</sup> says of him:

“Digo que Christobal Colen segun yo he sabido de hombres de su nascion, fué natural de la provincia de Liguria, que es en Italia, en la qual cæ la

<sup>1</sup> Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo de Sobrepeña, or of Valdés, was born at Madrid in April, 1478. He was a page or attendant on the young Prince John, son of Ferdinand and Isabella, and was at Barcelona in April, 1493, when Columbus was received by the sovereigns on his return from the first voyage. He must have been born an historian, or perhaps, more properly speaking, a chronicler, one who fills a greater office than that of a historian. Writing of himself when scarcely fifteen years of age, he says:

“Assi que no hablo de oydas en ninguna destas quatro cosas, sino de vista; aunque las escriba desde aqui, o mejor diciendo, ocurriendo á mis memoriales desde el mismo tiempo escriptas en ellas.”

“Therefore I do not write about any of these four things from hearsay, but as an eye-witness; although I write of them from this place, or, more properly speaking, according to my memorandum books, wherein they have been written since the time itself.”

He rose rapidly and to high preferment. He was at one time secretary to the Great Captain Gonsalvo de Córdoba. The superintendence of the gold refineries in the New World was bestowed upon him, and in this position he must have reaped great wealth. In the English translation of Peter Martyr, printed at London, 1555, in the preface to the reader Richard Eden says:

What shulde I heare speake of the golde which themperous maiestic receaveth frome all the Indies, wheras onely in the two metynge shoppes of the gold mines of the Islande of Hispaniola, is molten yearlye three hundreth thousande pounde weyght of. VIII. unces to the pound, wherof the fyfte parte is dewe vnto hym, whiche amounteth to three score thousande weyght yearlye.

Oviedo was Governor of the city of Santa Maria in Darien, and afterward Governor of the province of Carthagená. Later he was appointed to be the Governor of the important fortress of San Domingo. In 1525 he became chronicler to Charles V., and, later, was historian for the Indies. He made no less than twelve voyages between the Old and New World. At the second marriage of King Ferdinand, Oviedo performed an important function, and he was at Cordova when the Great Captain Gonsalvo de Córdoba was preparing to march into Italy. His chief work was the *History of the Indies*. He wrote not only of human events, but in his *Summario*, printed first in 1526, he describes the natural history of the Indies, the climate, plants, and animals. He died at Valladolid in 1557.

cibdad é Señoria de Génova: unos dicen que de Saona, é otros que de un pequeño lugar o villaje, dicho Nerví, que as á la parte del levante y en la coste de la mar, á dos leguas de la misma cibdad de Génova: y por mas cierto se tiene que fue natural de un lugar dicho Cugureo.”<sup>1</sup>

“I say that Christopher Columbus, according to what I have learned from men of his nation, was a native of the province of Liguria, which is in Italy, in which is situated the city and Seigniorship of Genoa: some say that he was from Saona, and others that he was from a small place or village, called Nerví, which is in the eastern part and on the seacoast, two leagues distant from the city of Genoa itself: and more certainly, it is maintained that he was a native of a place called Cugureo.”

Las Casas, in first speaking of Columbus, says:

“De nacion Genovés, de algun lugar de la prouincia de Genova.”<sup>2</sup>

“Of the Genoese nation, from some place in the province of Genoa.”

Bernaldez, the Curate of Los Palacios, in his *Historia de los Reyes Católicos*, thus closes his 131st chapter:

“. . . dicho Almirante Christobal Colon de maravillosa honrada memoria, natural de la Prouincia de Milan. . . .”

“. . . the said Admiral Christopher Columbus, of marvellously honoured memory, native of the Province of Milan. . . .”

This allusion to Milan is explained by the fact that at the time Bernaldez wrote, Genoa was under the control of its more powerful neighbour, Milan. That is to say, Genoa was a dependency of Milan from 1421 to 1435, and again from 1464 to 1499.

Ferdinand Columbus, in his *Historie*, speaking of the birth-place of his father, says:

“Per lo che alcuni, che in una certa maniera penfano ofeurare la fua fama, dicono, che fu di Nerui, altri che di Cugureo, & altri che di Bugiafco, che tutti fono luoghi piccioli preffo alla città di Genoua & nella fua steffa riuiera: et altri, che vogliono efaltarlo piu, dicono, che era Sauonefe, & altri Genouese: & ancor quelli, che piu fagliano fopra il vento, lo fanno di Piacenza, nella qual città fono alcune honorate perfone della fua famiglia, & fepulture con arme, & lettere di Colombo.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Historia General*, lib. ii., cap. ii.

<sup>2</sup> *Historia de las Indias*, lib. i., cap. ii.

<sup>3</sup> *Historie*, 1571 edition, verso folio 2. This passage is very badly translated in the French edition, reference to Bugiasco and Genoa as his possible birthplace being omitted. Indeed the student should not consult the second edition, that published in French at Paris in 1681. Many other passages are either mangled or omitted in this translation. The first edition published in Italian at Venice in 1571 is in all our great libraries at home and abroad.



“By which some, who in a certain manner intend to obscure his fame, say, that he was from Nervi, others that he was from Cugureo, and others that he was from Bugiasco, which are all small places near the city of Genoa and on the same coast: and others who wish to make him more exalted, say that he was a Savonese, and others a Genoese: and still others who are more given to inexactness, say that he was from Piacenza, in which city there are some honoured persons of his family, and sepulchres with the arms and inscriptions of Columbus.”

Here Ferdinand Columbus tells us there was in that early day a question in which of six places Columbus had his birth, and he does not indicate in this particular passage that Genoa was the real birthplace, although he knew well his father's statements concerning that subject. His allusion to the purpose or desire of some to obscure his father's fame refers to the account given by Giustiniano in the *Polyglot Psalter*.

Christopher Columbus, then, was an Italian, a Ligurian, and a native of that province, the capital of which was the city of Genoa.

## CHAPTER XXXII

### THE MINOR CLAIMANTS

AT least eighteen places, more than twice the number which claimed Homer, dead, have claimed Christopher Columbus as their own son,—Nervi, Cogoleto, Bugiasco, Savona, the city of Genoa, Piacenza (Pradilla), Cuccaro, Quinto, Albissola, Finale, Oneglia, Cosseria, Chiavari, Novara, Milan, Modena, England, and Calvi in the island of Corsica. The first six of these places are mentioned by Ferdinand Columbus in his *Historic* in the order given. But that Ferdinand knew his father was a native of Genoa, and that he himself believed Genoa to be the birthplace of the Admiral, is plain from his reference shortly afterward in the same *Historic* to Giustiniano as the *conterraneco*, or the fellow citizen, and we know that Giustiniano was a native of Genoa. The surname Columbus in its Italian forms was most common in Liguria and Lombardy. There were families of this name in nearly every seaport town of the Mediterranean. In those days no baptismal registers were kept, and when the great Admiral had become famous, it was natural that these towns and villages should claim him for their own. By that time it was easier to assert than to deny, and local pride waived the formalities of actual proof. The doubtful legend was transmuted by homely village faith into the indisputable. Then a tablet fastened the story on the wall of some dwelling, and in the market-place a statue for ever declared him a native born.

*Nervi* is mentioned by Oviedo and Ferdinand Columbus, but only as a rumoured birthplace. Each of these writers simply reports, "Some say he was born in Nervi." Oviedo writes:

"Digo que Christobal Colom, segun yo he sabido de hombres de su

nasçion, fué natural de la provincia de Liguria, que ese en Italia, en la cual cæ la cibdad é Señoria de Génova: unos dizen que de Saona, é otros que de un pequeño lugar ó villaje, dicho Nervi, que es á la parte del levante y en la costa de la mar, á dos leguas dela misma cibdad de Génova: y por mas cierto se tiene que fue natural de un lugar dicho Cugureo."

"I say that Christopher Columbus, according to what I have learned from men of his nation, was a native of the province of Liguria, which is in Italy, in which is situated the City and Seigniorship of Genoa: some say that he was from Saona, and others that he was from a small place or village, called Nervi, which is in the eastern part and on the seacoast, two leagues distant from the city of Genoa itself; and more certainly it is maintained that he was a native of a place called Cugureo."

Nervi is a town of nearly six thousand inhabitants, picturesquely situated a little over seven miles to the east of Genoa. As one climbs the Monte Giugo at its back, there is disclosed a glorious view of the Riviera di Levante as far as Porto Fino on the east, and of the Riviera di Ponente on the west, looking away toward the maritime Alps. The climate is delightful, and one could not select, if he had the choice, a more agreeable birthplace.

*Cogoleto*,<sup>1</sup> or *Cugureo*, as it was called by Oviedo and Ferdinand Columbus, has presented in its time some very strong claims. This is a small village some fifteen miles westward of Genoa. A little house, now a shop, is declared in a tablet erected in 1650 to be the veritable birthplace of Columbus. Oviedo first mentions this place in connection with Columbus—"por mas cierto se tiene que fué natural de un lugar dicho Cugureo": "more certainly it is maintained that he was a native of a place called Cugureo."

Ferdinand Columbus, in chapter ii. of his *Historie*, says:

"Baffando io per Cugureo, procurai di hauere informatione di due fratelli Columbi, che erano i piu ricchi di quel castello, & si diceua, ch' erano alquanto fuoi parenti: ma, perche il men vecchio passava i cento anni, non feppero darmi notitia di ciò."

"In passing through Cugureo, I strove to obtain information from two Columbus brothers, who were the richest men of that little town, and it was said that they were in some degree his relatives: but, as the youngest

<sup>1</sup> Cogoleto appears written in many different ways, as, for instance, *Cogoreto*, *Cucchereto*, *Cugureo*, *Cogoreo*, *Cucureo* in Herrara, and *Cugurgo* in Puffendorf. It owes its various names to an attempt to express in written form the name of a locality extremely difficult to pronounce in the Genoese dialect.

was more than one hundred years old, they were not able to give me information in regard to this matter."

This passage from Ferdinand's *Historic* has led many writers to accept the theory that Columbus himself was of that rich family. However, years afterward, about the time the *Historic* of Ferdinand was coming from the press, one Bernardo Colombo a descendant of this Cogoletto family, then reduced to comparative poverty and knowing neither to read nor write, learning that the last direct descendant of Columbus in the male line had died, went into Spain, and there, joining forces with another claimant, made an attempt to gain the estates and honours of the great Admiral, made vacant by the death of Diego, the second Duke of Veragua. His claim was that a certain Lança was the father of the Columbus called Domenico, whom he claimed was the father of Columbus; that the same Lança had a brother named Nicolao, and it was from this Nicolao that Bernardo Colomb of Cogoletto claimed descent. The courts denied the claims of Bernardo with some degree of severity, but local chroniclers have continued to declare Christopher Columbus a member of this family, and a native of the little Mediterranean village of Cogoletto. To trace the line of Columbus, it is necessary to find a man by the name of Domenico, who had three sons, called Christopher, Bartholomeo, and Giacomo. Felice Isnardi, about the year 1838, produced a document which purported to be the last will and testament of Domenico Colombo, son of Giovanni Colombo of Cogoletto, who espoused Maria Giusti of Lerca, and who was the father of three sons, Christopher, Bartholomeo, and Giacomo. The will is dated August 23, 1449, and Harrisse seems to us right in assuming that the testator did not long survive his will. We know that Domenico, the father of our Columbus, was alive fifty years after the date of this will. Moreover, his will bequeaths his property to the three sons, which would require that Giacomo, the youngest brother of Christopher, and who, when he went into Spain, took the Spanish form of his name, Diego, should have been at least at the mature age of thirty-five years when he was apprenticed, in 1484, in the house of a wool-carder or weaver of Savona.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The curious reader may consult *Nuovi Documenti*, by Felice Isnardi, and *Revista Critica*, by Giambattista Belloro, for a continuation of this controversy, where in the little work of the latter author the said will reads *Dominicus Columbus Quondam*

*Bugiasco*, or *Bogliasco*, is a little village about nine miles from Genoa and a short distance to the east of Nervi. Its claims rest entirely upon the assertion of Ferdinand Columbus that in his day there were some who said his father was of that place.

*Savona*, a considerable town on the Italian Riviera, about twenty-six miles west of Genoa, has made a very strong claim for the honour of having produced the great Discoverer. Galindez de Carbajal, whose work is preserved in manuscript form in the National Library in Paris, speaks of Columbus as:

*Xpval Colon Ginoves Natural de Saona.*

We have already seen that Oviedo and Ferdinand Columbus both report some persons as assigning the place of the Admiral's birth to the city of Savona. Some two centuries after, an Italian author, Felipo Alberto Pollero, in his *Epichemera*, quoted Francesco Spinola as declaring that he had seen carved on the tomb of Columbus in the Cathedral of Seville, these words:

*Hic facit Christophorus Columbus Savonensis.*

There is no record that the remains of Columbus were ever deposited in the Cathedral Church at Seville before they were taken to San Domingo, nor of any inscription there or elsewhere in the words he ascribes to Spinola.<sup>1</sup>

However, there were discovered by Giulio Salinerio, at the end of the seventeenth century, certain documents which, for a time, seemed to prove the contention of the citizens of Savona on behalf of their beloved city. But these documents only prove that, about the beginning of the year 1470, a certain weaver

*Bartholomei*. In this document only the names of Bartholomeus and Christophorus are found.

It is not easy at a late day to produce a document that will answer all the requirements of the past.

<sup>1</sup> The remains of Christopher Columbus, when removed from Valladolid, were deposited in the *Monasterio de las Cuevas*, a Carthusian convent founded in 1400 by Archbishop Gonzalo de Mena, who gave it the name Monasterio de Nuestra Señora Santa Maria de las Cuevas, the Monastery of our Lady Holy Mary of the Caves. The chapel within the monastery was built, according to HARRISSE, in the year 1507, by the Prior Diego de Luxan, and dedicated to Santa Ana. Here in 1509 the remains of Columbus were removed from Valladolid, where he died in 1506. And here they remained until, some time between 1538 and 1549, they were transported across the seas to the Cathedral Church of San Domingo, where we believe, notwithstanding the claims of the Spaniards that they were taken to Havana, they rest until this day.

named Dominicus Columbus came to settle himself and family for a time in Savona. On March 2, 1470, in the presence of Giovanni Gallo, notary, this Dominicus Columbus engaged an apprentice by the name of Bartholomeus Castagnetus, and in the document the former is thus styled, *Dominicus de Columbo Civis Januæ Q. Johannis de Quinto textor pannorum et Tabernarius*.<sup>1</sup> On the 23d of January, in the year 1477, this same notary, Giovanni Gallo, designates Dominicus de Colombo as *Civis et Habitatoris Savonæ*. This last documentary evidence is quoted by the Savonese to prove their side of the question. The explanation of *civis* is not far to seek, as it is probable that, in the interim between 1470 and 1477, Dominicus, the father, had purchased a home and entered upon the rights of citizenship. In a document signed March 20, 1470, in which Christopher Columbus is a witness, the latter is called *Cristoforo de Colombo Lanerio de Janua*.<sup>2</sup>

In a document dated August 7, 1473, the sale of a house in the city of Genoa in the Gate Olivella, which had been conveyed by Dominicus Columbus (to a certain party whose family name is omitted in the deed), is ratified at Savona in the presence of Pietro Corsaro, notary, by Susanna Fontanarossa, the wife of Dominicus, and by Christophorus and Johannes Pelegrinus, their sons.<sup>3</sup> The opening lines of this document are very important:

<sup>1</sup> It was the custom to file original documents in the archives of the city of Savona under the names of the notaries before whom they were executed, but HARRISSE reports that he has not been able to find the original of this particular document, and quotes it upon the authority of Giambattista Belloro and other writers. These archives are preserved to-day in a corridor on the first story of the City Hall. They include the papers of no less than eighty-four official notaries who have exercised their calling in Savona from the year 1364 to 1777. These have been handled, and some of them quoted, by such historians as Julius Salignerius in his notes on Tacitus, printed at Genoa in the year 1602; Giovanni Tommaso Belloro, writing in 1810; Father Battista Spotorno, and Angelo Sanguinetti in his *Vita di Cristoforo Colombo*, Genoa, 1846.

<sup>2</sup> Preserved among the notarial documents of Lodovico Moreno in the archives of Savona, No. 921-926.

<sup>3</sup> "Anno salutiferæ nativitatis ejusdem millefimo quadringentefimo feptuagefimo tercio indictione sexta fecundum curfum civitatis Saonæ die vero fabati feptima menfis Augufti.

"Sozana filia q. Jacobi de Fotanarubea de bifagno & uxor Dominici de Columbo de Janua, ac Cristoforus & Johannes Pelegrinus filii dictorum Dominici & Sozanæ, jugalium & cum auctoritate & confensu dictorum parentum fuorum prefentium contententium & auctoritatem eorum prefentantium constituta in prefentia mei notarii & testium infraferiptorum, sciens & perfectam scientiam habens dictum Dominicum de Columbo virum ipsius Suzanæ & pater ipsorum Cristofori & Johannis Pellegrinis vendidisse & alienasse & seu vendere & alienare velle quamdam domum ipsius Dominici

*Sozana filia q. Jacobi de Fontanarubca de bifagno & uxor Dominici de Columbo de Janua, ac Crijtoforus & Johannis Pelegrinus filii dictorum Dominici & Sozana.*

We learn from this document several facts:

First. Dominicus Columbus was, on August 7, 1473, an inhabitant of Savona; and in another document, dated January 23, 1477, we find Dominicus Columbus was *Civis et habitatoris Savonæ*,—citizen and inhabitant of Savona.

Second. Dominicus had come from the city of Genoa, where he owned real property, and of which city, therefore, he had been a citizen.

Third. The wife of Dominicus was Susanna Fontanarossa, Latinised into Fontanarubca,<sup>1</sup> and she was a daughter of the

*fita in civitate Janua in contracta porte oricelle cui coheret ab una parte Simonina Bozorina ab [alia parte]. Antonius Ritius de Bifagno, retro viridarium Johannis Berroto de rapallo, antea via publica, & fi qui alii sunt veriores confines videlicet Petro . . . textori pannorum de Janua pro pretio librarum centum quin quaginta quinque monetæ Januæ sub modis pactis & formis conventis inter dictum Dominicum ejus virum & dictum Petrum de . . . & de ea vendicione velle fieri facere instrumentum seu instrumenta cum clausulis cautellis & aliis debitis & opportunis. Et sciens etiam ipsa Suzana dictam domum & omnia alia bona dicti Dominici viri sui fuisse & esse obligata & hypothecata pro dotibus suis & seu etiam extradotibus, sponte, consulte, deliberate & ejus certa scientia ipsa Suzana profe, & suos heredes annuit & consentit, ac annuit & consentit dicte venditioni & alienationi dicte domus de qua supra factæ per dictum Dominicum dicto Petro. . . .*

<sup>1</sup> Ferdinand Columbus, in the eleventh chapter of the *Historie*, page 31, edition 1571, relates the journey of Bartholomew, the brother of Columbus, into England to the Court of Henry VII.:

Ma, temendo, se parimente i re di Castiglia non affentifsero alla sua impresa, non gli bisognasse proporla di nuovo a qualche altro Principe, & cosi in ciò passasse lungo tempo: mandò in Inghilterra un suo fratello che haveva apreso di se, chiamato Bartolomeo Colon: il qual quantunque non haveffe lettere Latine, era però huomo pratico, & giudiciofo nelle cose del mar, & sapea molto bene far carte da navigare, & fiere, & altri instrumenti di quella professione, come dall' Ammiraglio, suo fratello, era intruato. Partito adunque Bartolomeo Colon per Inghilterra, volle la sua sorte, che desse in man di Corsali, i quali lo Ipogharono insieme con gli altri della sua nave. Per la qual cosa, & per la sua povertà, & infermità, che in cofi diverse terre lo affalarono crudelmente, prolungò per gran tempo la sua ambasciata, fin che, acquistata un poco di facultà con le carte, ch'ei fabricava, cominciò a far pratiche co' Re Enrico settimo, padre di Enrico Ottavo, che al presente regna: a cui appresentò un Mappamondo, nel quale erano scritti questi versi, che fra le sue scritture io trovai, et da me faranno qui posti più tosto per l'antichità, che per la loro eleganza:

“Terrarum quicunq; cupis feliciter oras  
Noscere, cuncta decès doctæ pictura docebit  
Quam Strabo affirmat, Ptolemæus, Plinius, atque  
Iridorus: non vna tamen sententia quisq;  
Pingitur hic etiam nuper sulcata carinis,  
Hispanis Zona illa, prius incognita genti,  
Torrida, q̄ tandè nunc est notissima multis.”

“Et più di sotto diceva:

“Pro auctore siue pictore.  
Janua cui patriæ est nomen, cui Bartholomæus Columbus de terra rubra, opus edidit

- late Jacobus Fontanarossa of Bisagno, one of the suburbs of the city of Genoa.

Fourth. Christophorus and Johannes Pelegrinus were two sons of Dominicus and Susanna, and both of these sons were arrived at their majority at the date of the document, and had a legal right for themselves to ratify the sale of real estate made by the father.

From the document dated March 20, 1470, we learn that Christopher Columbus was a Genoese, and that he was a worker in wool. The last notarial act in which Dominicus Columbus is mentioned is dated August 17, 1481, executed before Ansaldo Basso, notary. On September 17, 1484, Giacomo or Jacobus Columbus, the youngest son, is contracted in apprenticeship, and this indicates that the father was then living in Savona.

iftud Londonijs ann. Dñi 1480. atq: infuper anno 8. decimaq̄: dia cum tertia mēfis Febr.

“Laudes Christo cantetur abunde.”

“Et percioche avvertirà alcuno, che dice Colūbus de terra rubra, dico, che medefimamente io vidi alcune fottofcrittioni dell’ Ammiraglio, prima che acquiftaffe lo ftato, ou’ egli fi fottofcriveva *Columbus de terra rubra*.”

“But, fearing, if the King of Castile did not assent to his undertaking, it would be necessary for him to propose it anew to some other Prince, and thus in this manner a long time would elapse: he sent to England one of his brothers, whom he had with him, named Bartholomew Columbus: who although he was not a Latin scholar, was, however, a practical man and of good judgment in matters relating to the sea, and who knew very well how to make charts and spheres and other instruments of that profession, as he had been instructed by the Admiral, his brother. Bartholomew Columbus having left for London then, his fate decreed that he should fall into the hands of corsairs, who despoiled him together with the other persons on his vessel. On account of which, and on account of his poverty and infirmity, which in different lands thus assailed him so cruelly, he prolonged for a long time his Ambassadorship, until having acquired a little means through the charts which he made, he began to negotiate with the King Henry VII., father of Henry VIII., who reigns at the present time: to whom he presented a Map of the World, in which were written these verses, which I found among his papers, and which are placed here by me more on account of their antiquity than on account of their elegance:

“ ‘Thou which desirest easily the cofts of lands to know,  
This comely mappe right learnedly the fame to thee will show:  
Which Strabo, Plinie, Ptolomew and Ifodore maintaine:  
Yet for all that they do not all in one accord remaine.  
Heere also is fet downe the late difcouered burning zone  
By Portugalles, vnto the world which whilom was unknowne.  
Whereof the knowledge now at length through all the world is blowne.’

“And underneath he added:

“ ‘He, whose deare natiue foyle heigst ftately Genua,  
Euen he whose name is Bartholomew Colōn de Terra rubra,  
The yeere of grace a thousand and foure hundred and foure-foure  
And eight, and on the thirteenth day of February more,  
In London published this worke, To Christ all laud therefore.’

“And since some will say that he says ‘Colūbus de terra rubra,’ I say, that in the same manner I saw some subscriptions of the Admiral, before he acquired rank, where he subscribed himself ‘Columbus de terra rubra.’”

The chapter is quoted in full and translated in Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, etc.*, London, 1589; pages 507-508.



These documents prove that, while Domenico and Susanna Colombo, and Cristoforo, Bartolomeo, and Giacomo, their sons, were all residing in Savona for a time, they were all Genoese by nativity, and not of the city of Savona.

*Piacenza*, the French Plaisance, a comparatively large town in ancient Lombardy, some three and forty miles in a south-easterly direction from Milan, claims to be the birthplace of Christopher Columbus, from the assertions of its poets and writers, who seem to depend largely upon Oviedo and Ferdinand Columbus. Oviedo, in his *Historia General de las Indias*, said of the Admiral's family:

*El Origen de Sus Predecessores es la Cibdad de Plaçençia en la Lombardia.*<sup>1</sup> Ferdinand Columbus says: *È Ancor Quelli che Piu Sagliono Sopra il Vento, lo Fanno di Piacenza, Nella Qual Città Sono Alcune Honorate Persone della Sua Famiglia, È Sepulture con arme, È lettere di Colombo:* and then he adds: *Del antique é noble linage de Pelestrel.*

"And still others who are more given to inexactness say that he was from Piacenza, in which city there are some honoured persons of his family, and sepulchres with the arms and inscriptions of Columbus . . . of the ancient and noble lineage of Pelestrelli."

There was a family by the name of Colombo at Plaisance, and it may have been, as HARRISSE suggests, that some of its members migrated during the period of the civil wars from Lombardy into the southern parts of Liguria bordering the Mediterranean. One finds a *Facius de Colombo de Placentia* mentioned in certain notarial acts in the year 1248, but, so far, there has been traced no line running from the Genoese branch back to the family of *Placentia*. There was printed at Viterbo, in 1583, a poem by the almost unknown poet Marinoni, in which were these lines:

"Cui mecum patria est eadem, genevose Colombe  
Cujus avos olim præclara Placentia missit,  
Antiquæ florent et ubi vestigia prolis."

<sup>1</sup> Oviedo had in mind perhaps the family line of the mother of Diego Columbus. Her name was Philippa Moñiz, and either her grandmother or her aunt, Isabel Moñiz, had married Barthomeu Perestrello, who in the fifteenth century emigrated from Plaisance into Portugal.

When Peter Martyr's *Decades* were first published in English (London, 1555), Richard Eden evidently had not read Oviedo very carefully. In the edition of 1612, prepared by Michael Lok, he repeats from Oviedo the story of the Pilot dying in the house of Columbus at Madeira, and also says: "*Hæc [Columbus] descendit as some think, of the house of the Pelestrelles of Placentia in Lumbardie.*"

Pietro Maria Campi, a canon<sup>1</sup> of one of the churches in Placentia, author of *Historia Ecclesiastica di Piacenza*, published, in the year 1662, a pamphlet entitled *Discorso Historico Circa la Nascita di Christoforo Colombo*, in which he declared that not only did the family of the Columbus come from Placentia, but that the great Discoverer himself was born at Pradello, one of the suburbs of Placentia, indeed, part of the city. To substantiate these claims, certain documents were reported, made in the fifteenth century, but not now producible, in which appears a Bertolino Colombo, who was the father of Giovanni, who, in turn, was the father of two sons, Nicolo and Dominico, the latter of whom was the father of Bartolomeo and Cristoforo, and in which, it is said, these two sons, about the year 1471, went to Genoa, "whence they sailed to unknown islands." We may leave the city of Savona in its own interests and as the rival of Piacenza, to show that Christopher Columbus was at that time not on voyages to unknown islands, but within its own walls, engaged in the work of weaving or carding wool. We have already shown in the document dated at Savona, March 2, 1470, in which Dominicus Columbus engaged an apprentice, that the former is said to be the son of Johannes de Quinto, *Textor pannorum et Tabernarius*,—John of Quinto, weaver of cloths and shop-keeper.

*Cuccaro*, a little town in the Duchy of Monferrato, in Piedmont, claims the honour of being the birthplace of Columbus, but its claims are brought into court at a date later than most of the other claimants. Antonio de Herrera, in his *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos*, Madrid, 1601, refers to the Columbus family of Cuccaro as if it was that from which the Admiral had descended, and as if it was identical with the family living in Piacenza or Placentia:

*Los Colombos de Cucaro, Cucurco, i Plascencia, eran unos mismos.*

Baldassare Colombo of Cuccaro laid claim in 1578 to the estates and Majorat<sup>2</sup> of the Admiral, on the ground that, as the

<sup>1</sup> The reader will recall that it was for a church in Placentia, S. Sisto, erected in 1459, that Raphael painted his masterpiece, sold in 1753 to Augustus III., King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, for 20,000 ducats, and which, now in the gallery at Dresden, delights the world as the *Sistine Madonna*.

<sup>2</sup> The Majorat was instituted by Christopher Columbus, February 22, 1498, and was entitled *Institucion del Mayorazgo*. It was first given in full in Navarrete, vol. ii., pages 226-235, forming part of Document No. CXXXVI., and will be found reproduced

last male heir, the second Duke of Veragua, had left no proper heirs, the property and its accompanying honours should go to him, as he could trace his line directly from the grandfather of Columbus. He declared that his ancestor, Langa Colombo, Lord of Cuccaro and of Conzano, had three sons, Enriotto, Franceschino, and Domenico, and that the last of these, Domenico, had also three sons, Bartolomeo, Cristoforo, and Giacomo. He declared that Domenico died in 1456. As the Domenico of Genoa or of Savona, the father of three sons, Cristoforo, Bartolomeo, and Giacomo, was alive until nearly the close of the century, and inasmuch as the father of the Genoese Dominicus was Giovanni (as will be seen when we discuss the claims of Genoa), manifestly the descent was not along the same line. On November 5, 1590, the Cuccaro claimant caused to be printed at Madrid, in the printing establishment of Pedro Madrigal, a memorial of thirty-two leaves, but which, so far as we know, is not now extant in any public library. One of its chapters, however, in our present Work. This document was supposed to provide Diego and his heirs with directions for securing, holding, and dispensing the rights and privileges accorded Columbus in his agreements with the Spanish Sovereigns, particularly in regard to "the eighth part of the lands and revenues" coming from his discoveries.

The history of this document is most interesting. The heirs at law attached to it much more importance than it really possessed, since it was at most a memorandum, and not a legal instrument. It was signed, however, by the Admiral, in the seven capital letters which he devised for his strange and formal signature:

.S.  
S. .A. .S.  
X M Y  
El Almirante.

When Luis Columbus, the profligate grandson of the Admiral, was sent into exile to Oran in Africa, the Council of the Indies directed Pedro de Artiaga, a magistrate of Seville, to inventory the family papers of Columbus stored in the monastery of Las Cuevas. This was done on July 24, 1566, in the presence of the Prior, Andrés de Aguilar, and of two notaries who prepared the inventory. The originals were then replaced in the great iron chest and left in the monastery. Luis Columbus had an illegitimate son by Luisa de Carvajal, named Cristoval, and the reader will be careful not to confound this character with Christoval Colon y Toledo, the second son of Diego (son of the Discoverer) and of Maria de Toledo; nor yet again with Cristoval de Cardona, Admiral of Aragon, son of Maria Colon y Toledo, who married Sancho de Cardona. When the nephew of Luis, Diego Colon y Pravia, the second Duke of Veragua, died, January 27, 1578, this Cristoval Carvajal obtained possession, if not of all the papers and documents, certainly of this *Institucion del Mayorazgo*, and his father's lawyer, Dr. Verastegui, to whom it had been delivered by the Prior of Las Cuevas upon Cristoval's order, carried it to the *Curator ad litem* of Cristoval, one Dr. Hurtado. The Council of the Indies ordered this Dr. Hurtado to place it in the hands of Francisco de Valmaseda, official clerk of the Council, and this was done on May 13, 1579. Cristoval de Cardona, great-grandson of the Discoverer, demanded the return of this document, and on April 29, 1585, by order of the Council it was restored to the Ad-

ever, was embodied in the *Memorial del Pleyto*.<sup>1</sup> It gives a history of the Admiral and his family, made up of extracts or facts or assertions from the *Historia* of Oviedo and the *Historie* of Ferdinand Columbus, and from allegations made by the claimant and his counsellors. We read:

When Cristoforo set out [from Cuccaro] in 1451 his father Domenico, as has been proved, was then alive and it does not appear that he was then dead, that which happened only in 1456, as will be hereafter proved . . . the fact that the said Domenico died in the year 1456 is learned from the

miral through the hands of his agent, Gaspare de Zarate. When it left the possession of the official keeper of documents for the Council of the Indies, this *Institucion* consisted of eight leaves, but when afterwards it was ordered to be produced in court, one of the leaves was missing. The Admiral and his agent were accused of mutilating the document, were arrested, tried, and acquitted. It was just at this time that Baldasare de Cuccaro produced a legalised copy of the missing leaf, which the Council directed should be added to the original to complete the eight leaves.

After Nuño de Portugal was declared sole heir of the estates and rights of Christopher Columbus, the family papers, including the Majorat, were ordered to be returned to him, December 22, 1608, although the actual delivery does not appear to have been made until May 15, 1609. In the year 1796, after two centuries of litigation, these papers were taken from the house of Berwick-Alba, whose chief, Don Jacobo-Felipe Carlos Fitz-James Stuart, was the defeated claimant, being a descendant of the youngest daughter of Luis Columbus, and transferred to Don Mariano de Larraategui, grandfather of the present Duke of Veragua. The full title of the present Duke is Don Cristobal Colon de la Cerda, Duke of Veragua and of La Vega, Grandee of Spain of the first order, Marquis of Jamaica, Admiral and Grand High Steward of the Indies.

The missing page which Cristoval de Cardona, the Admiral of Aragon, was accused of purloining from the original document, is said to have been that portion providing for distant relatives possessing the Majorat, in case the heirs designated under that document should fail to leave male posterity. As Cristoval claimed the interest only through Maria Colon y Toledo, he, or his agent, might have been suspected of purposely mutilating the document.

<sup>1</sup> "*Memorial del Pleyto sobre la sucession en possesscion del estado y Mayorazgo de Veragua, Marquesado de Jamayca, y Almirantazgo de las Indias, que fundó don Christoval Colon, primero descubridor, Almirante, Virrey y Governador general dellas.*"

Folio in form, no date or place of printing, but probably at Madrid in 1606. Collation: 1 leaf of errata, 15 leaves not marked, and 262 leaves of text marked. It is found in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris (Inventaire Reserve, P. 363), and in the *Biblioteca de l'Academia de historia* at Madrid (Collection Salazar, Est. 8. 3a. S. 53).

In this documentary work are found details of the descent of the three daughters of Diego, second Admiral of the Indies: Maria of Toledo, Condesa de Guadaleste, whose line became extinct in 1580 with Cristoval Colon de Cardona, Admiral of Aragon; Juana y Toledo, wife of Louis de la Cuera, who, having no male heirs, was excluded from the succession; Isabella, wife of George of Portugal, whose son finally inherited the Majorat. In this volume are found the details of the scandalous life of Luis Colon, the grandson and the third Admiral of the Indies, and who was convicted of polygamy.

Harrissee (*Christophe Colomb*, vol. i., p. 51) enumerates no less than nineteen memorials relating to the descent and inheritance of the Columbus family, and declares that there were still others which he could find in no library, although he frequently met with references to them.

will of Franceschino his brother and in which one reads these words: "cui cohæret hæredes nobilis Dominici Columbi," from which it is plain that the said Domenico was not then living.

We have already seen that the Cogoletto branch of the Colombo family, with Bernardo Colombo at its head, had produced in the Spanish Court<sup>1</sup> a Dominicus Columbus, who had lived at Cogoletto, and who had had in that town three sons, Cristoforo, Bartolomeo, and Giacomo. The Cogoletto branch was poor, and it united what strength came from its pretensions with the forces of Baldassare of Cuccaro. But the facility with which the latter and his legal advisers produced their proofs, and the abundance of their documentary evidence, were the undoing of both Baldassare and Bernardo. It was recalled that the Admiral himself had spoken of sending moneys to Italy, for the use of his father Domenico, and therefore that father, Domenico, could not have been the Domenico of the family at Cuccaro. They produced a priest, who testified that Christopher Columbus, the Discoverer, was born in Cuccaro, and gave various particulars of events which had happened more than a hundred years before. Baldassare fought long and zealously, but finally he and his claims were rejected, and, in 1606, he left Spain, returning to his family castle in Monferrato. There are members of the Colombo family still in Cuccaro, and to this day they tell of the glories of their ancestors, and of the wrongs of their house.<sup>2</sup>

*Quinto*, one of the suburbs of Genoa, is situated on the coast about six miles east of the city. The wealthy inhabitants of the capital here have summer villas among the palms and plantations of lemon trees. No one to-day disputes its claim to have once held within its bosom the humble but industrious family of the Columbi. It is possible, but not probable, that the Discoverer was born in this village. It is the only spot which can contend with the city of Genoa itself for the distinguished honour. The

<sup>1</sup> The Council of the Indies created this court called the Tribunal, and which consisted of seven judges. They rendered final judgment on June 13, 1607, declaring Nuño de Portugal sole heir.

<sup>2</sup> G. F. Galeani Napione produced an interesting work, which the reader may consult in reference to the claims of Cuccaro:

*Della Patria di Christoforo Colombo dissertazione Pubblicata nelle Memorie dell' Accademia Imperiale delle Scienze di Torino Ristampata congiunte, Documente, Lettere Diverse ed Una Dissertazione Epistolare intorno all' Autor del Libro De Imitatione Christi.* Florence, 1808.

Also, *History of Monferrato*, by Vicenzio Conti.

## Christopher Columbus

house in which he is said to have been born is No. 8 Via del Colombo, and is now a tenement house occupied by several families of peasants. It is owned by Giuseppe Piaggio.

*Albissola* is a little village on the coast where the Sansobbia enters the Mediterranean, twenty-four miles west from Genoa, and about two and a half miles east of Savona. So far as we know, its pretensions have been recorded by no other writer than Julius Salinerius,<sup>1</sup> and probably no resident of the little place ever heard of its claims.

*Finale*, or *Finalmarina*, is a little seaport town some fourteen miles westward of Savona. It is mentioned, with its claims, by the Chevalier Luigi Bossi in his *Vita di Cristoforo Colombo*, published at Milan in 1818.

*Oneglia* is a rather important town on the coast some eight and sixty miles westward from Genoa. It is dignified as a claimant by the Father Spotorno in his work on the family and country of Columbus.

*Cosseria* is a small and unimportant village situated between Millesimo on the Bormida and Le Carcare, and derives its fame as a claimant, and perhaps the suggestion itself, from a dissertation by Dr. Ravina, as reported in Father Spotorno's *Life of Columbus*.

*Chiavari* is situated on the coast twenty-four miles east of Genoa. It may be classed with most of the other doubtful towns as persistent in its claims, but weak in its proofs. Father Spotorno recognises them as claimants, but says: "Non ha testimonianza nè di antichi scrittori, nè di monumenti sincere."

*Novara*, in Piedmont, some forty miles west of Milan, no longer presents serious claims, and owes what prominence it already has as a claimant to former consideration and to the association of its name with Savona, Cogoletto, and Genoa. The dramatic unities seem to call for a seaport village in which Columbus must first have seen the light of day, and neither Lombardy nor Piedmont can fulfil this condition.

*Milan* is mentioned by Domingo de Valtanas, in his *Compendio de Algunas Cosas Notables de España*, printed without date at Seville. It will be remembered that Andrés Bernaldez, the Curate of Los Palacios, related that Columbus was a native of

<sup>1</sup> *Adnotationes Julii Salinerii Juriconsulti Savonensis ad Cornelium Tacitum, Genue apud Josephum Pavonem, MDCII., Quarto.* (See pages 336-357.)

the province of Milan. More than once in the vicissitudes of the wars of those times, Genoa was a dependency of its northern neighbour, and it is evident the good curate did not intend to indicate the city of Milan as the actual birthplace of the Discoverer.

*Modena*, in the fifteenth century, possessed a noble family of Colombo, which asserted that the great Navigator must have sprung from its house. Father Spotorno points out that if there had been the least foundation for this claim, both Muratori and Tiraboschi, anxious as they were for the glory of Modena, would have spoken of the matter, but they are silent as to this claim.

*England* takes its place as a claimant rather as a mask and domino than as a serious figure. The claim rests on the following passage from the book *De Jure Maritimo et Navali*, printed at London in 1682:

Nor ought alone the praises of those great monarchs, whose mighty care had always been to preserve the Reputation of their Empire in their Maritime preparations, to be remembered; but also those of our Inhabitants who always have been as industrious to follow the encouragement of those Princes under whom they flourished, and who with no less Glory and timely application in Traffick, did constantly follow the examples of those of Genoa, Portugal, Spaniards, Castilians and Venetians, whose fame in matters of commerce ought to be enrolled in Letters of Gold, since the Ages to come, as well as present, having been doubly obliged to their memory, the third of which making use of a *discontented Native of this Isle*, the Famous *Columbus*, who prompted by that Genius, . . . [Then, close in the margin]; *Born in England, but resident at Genoa.*

*Calvi*, a fortified town in the northern part of the island of Corsica, long possessed a tradition that the great Discoverer was born in that little town. It is only fair to say that the tradition existed before the claim was formally made by the Abbé Martin Casanova de Pioggiola. Corsica was a part of the territory of Genoa from the middle of the fourteenth century until 1768, when it was ceded to the French by the Genoese. The claim, of course, is ridiculously weak, and the reader is referred to Har-

<sup>1</sup> *De Jure Maritimo et Navali*; or, *A treatise of Affairs Maritime and of Commerce*. In three books. The third edition enlarged By Charles Molloy.

London, printed by John Bellinger in Clifford's-Inn Lane, against the west door of St. Dunstan's Church: and George Dawes in Chancery Lane, against Lincoln's-Inn Gate. 1682.

8vo, title preceded by two magnificent steel engravings, and followed by 11 prel. ls.: text, 433. numb. pp.; 6 unnumb. ff.

risse in *Christophe Colomb et la Corse*, Paris, 1888, for its formal refutation. In 1882, President Jules Grévy of the French Republic, gave it the sanction of the French people in approving of the erection of a statue in Calvi to commemorate the birth of Christopher Columbus in that place. The great seal of a great nation cannot stamp the image of historical fact on the metal of unsubstantial tradition.



## CHAPTER XXXIII

### GENOA THE BIRTHPLACE

WHEN we approach the city of Genoa to consider her claims as the birthplace of the Discoverer, we are met on all sides by documentary evidence of an indisputable character, and by direct and positive declarations of reliable witnesses. The family name of Colombo was common in Italy, and particularly so in the province of Liguria. In ancient documents constant references are made to this familiar surname. We find that the Christian names were similar likewise, there being many called Christopher, many called Domenico, many called Giovanni in the same generation and in neighbouring villages, and, for the most part, all following the same profession of workers in wool. We have seen the following genealogical table:

<p>The Columbus family in <i>Piacenza (Pradilla)</i>:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Giovanni.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Domenico.</p> <hr style="width: 80%; margin: auto;"/> <p style="text-align: center;">Bartolomeo, Cristoforo.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">in <i>Cuccaro</i>:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Lança.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Dominico.</p> <hr style="width: 80%; margin: auto;"/> <p style="text-align: center;">Bartolomeo, Cristoforo, Giacomo.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">in <i>Cogolto</i><sup>1</sup>:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Giovanni.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Domenico.</p> <hr style="width: 80%; margin: auto;"/> <p style="text-align: center;">Cristoforo, Bartolomeo, Giacomo.</p>
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It will now be necessary to add a fourth brief genealogical tree, which, we think, can be demonstrated to be the true Arbor Columborum:

<p style="text-align: center;">The Columbus family in <i>Genoa</i>.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Giovanni, of Quinto.</p> <hr style="width: 80%; margin: auto;"/> <p style="text-align: center;">Domenico of Genoa and Savona.</p> <hr style="width: 90%; margin: auto;"/>		
<p>Cristoforo The Discoverer.</p>	<p>Bartolomeo The Adelantado.</p>	<p>Giacomo, called in Spain, Diego.</p>

<sup>1</sup> This is the genealogy as given by Isnardi, correcting that claimed by Bernardo Colombo, who gave Nicolao as the father of Domenico, instead of Giovanni.

Domenico Colombo, son of Giovanni, hires an apprentice:

"In nomine domini amen. *Petrus de Verzio de Fontanabona* quondam Guilielmi, habitator dicti loci, promifit & folemniter convenit *Dominico de Columbo Filio Johannis Textori Pannorum Lane*, prefenti ftipulanti & recipienti, quod *Antonius Filius Quondam Lodijii de Leverono*, de ponte Cicanie *Etatis Annorum XII*. in circa itabit & perfeverabit cum ipfo Dominico pro famulo & difcipulo fuo ad artem ipfam textorum pannorum lane, & ad exercitum ipfius artis, *Annis Quinque* proxime venturis, nec abeo recedet toto dicto tempore, res & bona fua cuftodiet & falvabit, nec furtum aliquem in domo ipfius Dominici magiftri fui committet. . . . Actum Janue in platea palatii ducalis comunis Janue prope hoftium dicti palatii, anno dominice nativitatis mellefimo quadringentefimo trigeftimo nono . . . die mercurii prima Aprilis. . . ."

Domenico Colombo, son of the late Giovanni<sup>2</sup> buys a house at Quarto<sup>3</sup>:

"*Paulinus de Moconexi de Monteghirphi*, habitator in villa Quarti potef-tacie Bifamnis quondam Antonii: Jure proprio & in perpetuum per fe heredes & fuceffores fuos & habituros & habentes caufam ab eo vel eis, vendidit & titulo & ex caufa vendicionis dedit & traddidit *Dominico de Columbo, Testori Pannorum Lane in Janua Quondam Joannis*, prefenti ftipulanti & recipienti pro fe heredibus & fucefforibus fuus & habentibus & habituris caufam ab eo vel eis, pecium unum terre pofitum in potef-tacia bifamnis in villa Quarti, in loco dicto toppore, arboratum olivis ficubus & aliis diverfis arboribus, videlicet a domo ipfius pauli infra, cui coheret a parte superiori ipse paulinus, videlicet domus predicta, a parte inferiori foftatus, ab uno latere *Simon de Moconexi*, & ab alio latere *Benedictus de Maiono*, & fi qui. . . . Cum omnibus. . . . Ad habendum. . . .

"Actum Janue in contracta porte Sancti Andree videlicet in apoteca magiftri Andree de Clavaro barberii, anno a nativitate domini MCCCC primo indicione XIII fecundum Janue curfum, die Veneris XXVI Marcii . . . ."

Domenico Colombo, son of the late Giovanni, at Genoa, March 26, 1451, serves as a witness.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Marquis Marcello Staglieno discovered this document in searching in the notarial archives of the city of Genoa. He gave it to Henry Harrisse, who inserted it in the Appendix to the second volume of his *Christophe Colomb*, Paris, 1884.

<sup>2</sup> It was the notarial custom in the Middle Ages to place before the name of a deceased person the adverb *quondam*, meaning the late, the former, the deceased.

*Valeriani quondam centurionis testamentum: Matris tue quondam mancipia*: in the Justinian Code.

<sup>3</sup> Quarto is a little village about one mile westward of Quinto and about five miles east of Genoa. The house Domenico buys has its orchard of olives and figs, and would have made a pleasant home for any one, but in another document we learn that Domenico immediately leased it for a period of two years, so that he evidently did not propose to occupy it himself when he purchased it.

<sup>4</sup> The document is a bill of sale from a man by the name of Cressio of Moconesi

[At the end of the same document.] "Actum Janue in contracta *Porte Sancti Andree* videlicet iuxta bancum residentie mei notarii infraferipti anno a nativitate domini MCCCCL primo indicione XIII secundum Janue cursum die sabbati XXVII marcii hora signi meridiei in circa presentibus testibus Berthone de Muzante de Quinto, testore pannorum lane quondam Guilielmi, & *Dominico de Columbo* textore pannorum lane quondam *Johannis*, civibus *Janue* ad hec vocatis & rogatis."

Giovanni Colombo de Moconesi obtains, January 17, 1466, as security, Domenico Colombo, then dwelling in Genoa in the street of the Gate St. Andrea:

" . . . Insuper pro premiffis omnibus & fingulis per dictum Johannem eidem Luce, firmiter attendendis complendis & obfervandis pro dicto Johanne venditore, eiusque precibus & mandato, verius dictum Lucam emptorem presentem & ut supra ftipulantem, videlicet de & pro evictione & legitima defensione dicte petie terre, folemniter interceffit & fideiuffit *Dominicus de Columbo* quondam *Johannis* textor pannorum lane, habitator *Janue* in contracta extra portam sancti *Andree* his prefens, videlicet ufque ad annos decem proxime venturos, ita quod lapsis dictis annis decem huiusmodi fideiuffio fit caffa & nulla, & locum non habeat ultra dictos annos decem, & inde se proprium & principalem promifforem ac defenforem dicte petie terre conftituit & effe voluit in omnibus pro ut supra.

"Sub ypotheca & obligatione omnium bonorum ipfius *Dominici* prefentium & futurorum. . . .

"Actum Janue extra portam Sancti Andree videlicet in apotheca dicti *Dominici* de Columbo. Anno a nativitate domini *Millefimo* *quadringentesimo* *sexagesimo* *sexto*, indictione tertia decima secundum Janue curium, die veneris, *decima* *septima* *menfis* *Januarii*, in vesperis, presentibus testibus *Juliano* de *Caprili* quondam *Jacobi* habitatori ville *Zenefretre* potestacie *Bifannis*, *Luca* de *Honcto* de *Fontanabona* quondam *Berthorini*, & *Quirico* *Caracia* textore pannorum lane quondam *Johannis*, cive & habitatore *Janue* ad premiffa vocatis & rogatis."

Domenico Colombo of Genoa, the son of the late Giovanni of Quinto, at Savona, March 2, 1470, engages an apprentice:

"*Dominicus* de *Columbo* civis *Janue* q. *Johannis* de *Quinto* textor pannorum & tabernarius parte una & *Bartholomeus* *Castagneti* de *Fontanabona* q. *Nicolai* olim famulus dicti *Dominici* parte alia fponde, . . ."

Susanna Fontanarossa, at Genoa, May 25, 1471, consents to the sale of property:

to Paolo de Moconesi, an inhabitant of the village of Quarto, and Domenico Colombo simply signs as a witness, together with Berthone de Muzante, both being citizens of Genoa.

"*Suzana, filia quondam Jacobi de Fontanarubea, & uxor Dominici de Columbo textoris pannorum lane, presentis & auctorizantis omnibus & fin-gulis infra-scriptis sciens & certam notitiam habens de quadam vendicione per ipsum Dominicum facta Juliano de Caprili & Stampino de Caprili de certis terris & possessionibus, . . .*

"Actum Janue in sala superiori palacii comunis Janue videlicet ad bancum refidentie mei notarii infrascripti Anno Dominice nativitatís mille-fimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo primo indicione tertia secundum cursum Janue die fabati vigesimo quinto maij post tercias presentibus testibus Johanne de Benedicto Antonii & Antonio Garello, Jacobi, civibus Janue ad hec vocatis & rogatis."

Christopher Columbus of Genoa serves as a witness in an act dated at Savona, March 20, 1472.

[At the end of Document.] "Actum Saone in contracta palacij caufarum comunis in apotheca ipsius Nicolai testatoris quam titulo locationis conducit a Johanne de Uxilia, presentibus Johanne Vigna factore, Francisco Urmeta, Dominico de Facio accimatore, Jeronimo. . . . Calegario, Bernardo Sambaldo factore, Cristoforo de Columbo lanerio de Janua & Dominico Vigna factore, testibus vocatis & rogatis ore proprio ipsius testatoris. . . . Saonæ, MCCCCLXXII, die XX Martij."

[Notarial document of Lodovico Moreno, No. 921-26.]

Christopher Columbus becomes surety with his father:

"*Dominicus Columbus lanerius habitator Saonæ & Cristoforus ejus filius patre confentiente &c. iponte confitentur Johanni de Signorio presenti, &c. se eidem teneri ac dare et solvere debere l. centum quadraginta monetæ Januæ & sunt occasione precii vendicionis cantariorum VII lanæ de . . .<sup>1</sup> ad rationem de libris XXti Januæ pro singulo cantario . . .*

"Actum Saonæ sub Palatio. . . . MCCCCLXXII, die XXVI Augusti

Susanna Fontanarossa at Savona, August 7, 1473, publicly consents to the sale of the house in the Gate Olivella, in the city of Genoa:

"Anno salutiffere [sic] nativitatís ejusdem millefimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo tercio indicione sexta secundum cursum civitatís Saonæ die vero fabati septima mensis Augusti.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There are two words here which are not legible in the manuscript. The document is in the notarial effects of Tommaso del Zocco.

Mention is made of a document dated September 10, 1471, and executed at Savona by Domenico Colombo, in which he becomes surety for one Pasquale di Fontanabona, and in which Domenico is called "habitator Savonæ," but the original of this cannot be found. It is cited by Tommaso Belloro.

<sup>2</sup> HARRISSE calls attention to the illegibility of this passage in the original.

"*Sozana filia Q. Jacobi de Fontanarubca de bifagno & uxor Dominici de Columbo de Janua, ac Cristophorus & Johannis Pelegrinus filii dictorum Dominici & Sozanae, jugalium & cum auctoritate & consensu dictorum parentum suorum presentium consententium & auctoritatem eorum presentium constituta in presentia mei notarii & testium infracriptorum, sciens & perfectam scientiam habens dictum Dominicum de Columbo virum ipsius Suzanae & pater ipsorum Cristofori & Johannis Pellegrenis vendidisse & alienasse & seu vendere & alienare velle quamdam domum ipsius Dominici sita in civitate Janua in contracta Porte Orivelle cui coheret ab una parte Simonina Bozorina ab (alia parte) Antonius Ritus de Bifagno, retro viridarium Johannis Berroto de rapallo, antea via publica, & si qui alii sunt veriores confines videlicet Petro . . . textori pannorum de Janua pro pretio librarum centum quinquaginta quinque monetæ Januæ sub modis pactis & formis conventis inter dictum Dominicum ejus virum & dictum Petrum de . . .*"

Domenico Colombo at Savona, August 19, 1474, buys an estate in the village of Legine:

"*Seius civis Saona: sponte & eius certa scientia, per se & suos heredes titulo & ex causa venditionis, iure proprio & in perpetuam dedit, vendidit, ac tradidit seu quasi Dominico de Columbo de Quinto Januæ lanerio habitatori Saonæ, presentis, ementi, & acquirenti per se & heredes suos petiam unam terræ vineatæ, campivæ & arboratæ ac boschivæ cum una domo supraposita, sitam in villa Legini in contracta vulcade . . .*

"*Actum Saonæ in contracta palatii caufarum communis Saonæ . . . MCCCCLXXIV. Indictione septima die 19 Augusti.*"

Domenico Colombo serves as a witness to a document executed at Genoa, September 30, 1494:

[End of document.] "*Actum Janue in burgo Sancti Stephani videlicet prope portam arcus [buco] . . . olim domus Johannis quondam Gasparis Pifurni: patris dieti Carloti ubi nunc habitat Tomas & . . . predicti anno dominice nativitatis millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo quarto indictione duodecima secundum Janue cursum die martis trigesimo Septembris in terciis presentibus Dominico de Columbo olim textore pannorum hanc quondam Johannis, Nicolo de Borzuo callegario quondam Johannis, Bartholomeo Viola, revenditore fructorum filio Raymondo Dominico. . . Batilana filio Vincençii DOMINICO DE ALBARO quondam Baptiste & Gullicmo de Passano de Romagna . . . quondam Duilij civili & homine intellectus . . . ad premissa vocatis specialiter & rogatis—MCCCCLXXXIV 30 Septembris.*"

Giacomo Colombo (although not in Savona at the time), in a document dated at Savona, January 26, 1501, is known as Diego Colombo:

“ . . . Quare cum predicta vera sint, dictus Titius heres pro dimidia icti q. *Sei* ejus patris, petit exequi & executioni mandari dictum instrumentum contra dictos *Christophorum & Jacobum dictum Diegom* modo supra narrato, cum venerit, dies & conditio dicti instrumenti iuxta formam capituli Saonæ sub rubrica de solutione facienda ad prefens. . . .”

Christopher Columbus and his brothers, Bartolomeo and Jacobo, sons of the late Domenico Colombo, are absent in Spain in January, 1501<sup>1</sup>:

“Die ea in Vesperis. Supradictus *Titius* dicto nomine constitutus in iure coram spectabile domino vicario & magistratu Saonæ sedente in iure pro tribunali in palatio caufarum communis Saonæ ad eius confuetum juris bancum.

“Dicit & exponit quod pro hac die & hora fecit citari *Monetum Rudatium & Emanuclum Rubatum* cives Saonæ hic præfentes constitutos tanquam vicinos, & notos domus habitationis *Cristophori, Bartholomei & Jacobi de Columbis filiorum & Heredum q. Dominici* pro fumenda & habenda informatione de ipsis iuxta formam statuti de contumacibus.

“Qui Monetum & Manuel sic ut supra iussi & citati, constituti ubi supra, prius delato iuramento & interrogati de infra scriptis eorum & cuiuslibet ipsorum iuramento. Dixerunt & dicunt coniunctim vel divisim, ac omni validiori modo via, dictos *Cristophorum, Bartolomeum, & Jacobum de Columbis, filios & heredes dicti q. Dominici eorum patris, iam diu fore a civitate & posse Saonæ absentes ultra Pisas & Niciam de Proventia, & in partibus Hispaniæ commorantes*, ut notorium fuit, & est, & similiter se se nefecire an habuerint, vel dimiserint aliquem procuratorem, vel caudicum intervenientem pro ipsis, vel altero ipsorum & sic eorum iuramento referunt: præfente dicto Titio dicto nomine, & de ipsorum relatione iuramento firmata ut supra rogante, per me notarium infra scriptum confici publicam scripturam, ad hoc ut fieri possit iudicium præparatorium cuicumque causæ movendæ contra ipsos de Columbis quibusvis nominibus.

“Qui quidem præfatus dominus vicarius & magistratus, existens ubi supra, prædicta admisit si & quatenus, &c., & mandavit per me notarium ad

<sup>1</sup> In an act, dated at Savona, August 6, 1474, *Dominicus de Columbo de Quinto Januæ lanarius habitator Saonæ*, purchased an estate in Legine, Corrado de Cuneo, the notary employing the legal pseudonym *Sejus* for the seller and the pseudonym *Titius* for Sebastiano de Cuneo, the son of the seller,—the John Doe and Richard Roe of English legal pseudonyms. These fictitious titles were recognised as of ancient usage in the time of Aulus Gellius. Domenico died, and failing to pay in full for the estate, his sons, as heirs at law, were sued to recover the money and the documents in the case, at least four in number, were in the possession of Julius Salinerius, who used them in his *Notes on Tacitus*, printed in 1602, and already mentioned by us. These instruments were all executed in the presence of the notary Tommaso de Moneglia, but although other papers of his are still on the official files, there are no traces of these most valuable and precious documents.

infantiam dicti Titii dicto nomine hæc præcantis & acceptantis confici instrumentum.

"Actum præsentibus testibus *Francisco de Guilielmis, Thoma de Zocho & Vincentio Priano* notarijs civibus Saonæ."

In the years 1457, 1458, 1460, the books belonging to the Order of Saint Benedictus of Saint Stephen show that Domenico Colombo paid a sort of church assessment upon two houses in Genoa, and doubtless in the same diocese: one in the street of the Gate St. Andrea, between the Gate St. Andrea and the Court of Mulcento; the other in a street near the Gate Olivella. The Gate Olivella is no longer in existence. It was situated on the slope southeast of the hill where are now the gardens of Acquasola. It is believed that the house and garden near the Gate Olivella, and which Domenico Colombo sold on August 7, 1473, were situated on a street or little court running parallel to the Vico Bosco of to-day.

An act of July 14, 1474, relates to the sale of a house to one Tommaso Carbone, a shoemaker, and the property is thus described:

" . . . terram dicti Monasterij . . . in burgo S. Stephani in contracta ufque in Mulcentum in carrubeo recto, cui coherent ante dictus carrubeus, ab uno latere domus *Dominici Columbi*, fita super folo dicit Monasterij ab alio latere, domus *Pelegrini de Plazia* callegarii, retro quintana & est illa domus quæ fuit quondam Antonij de Bondi."

In a document executed at Savona, January 23, 1477, we read:

"*Suzana filia quondam Jacobi de fontanarubea & uxor Dominici de Colombo lanerij civis & habitatoris Saonæ*, constituta in prefencia mei notarij & testium infraascriptorum, sciens & attendens quod dictus Dominicus de Colombo ejus vir interdit vendere seu aliter obligare domum unam cum uno giardino retroposito ipsius dominij, sitam in burgo Sancti Stephani inclite Civitatis Januæ in contracta Sancti Andree, quibus domus & viridario coherent ab una parte *Nicolaus de paravana*, ab alia hæredes quondam Antonij Bondi ante via publica & retro mura Civitatis, predicto petro Antonio de garfio habitatori dicte civitatis. . . ."

In a document executed at Genoa, July 21, 1489, Domenico Colombo gives up his house near the Gate St. Andrea to his son-in-law, Jacobus Bavarelus, cheesemonger:

"Cum verum fit ut partes afferunt, & fatentur infraſcripte quod *Jacobus Bavarelus formajarius* alias confectus fuerit quoddam eſtimum in quadam Domo cum apotheca ſub ea, viridario, puteo, & vacuo eidem Domui contiguus, *poſitis Janue in contrata porte ſancti Andree* ſub confinibus contentis, & deſcriptis in dicto eſtimo, tamquam in bonis *Dominici de Colombo* quantum pro libris ducentum quinquaginta Januinorum monete currentis de foldis quinquaginta quinque pro ſingulo Ducato, & ultra pro expenſis contentis in dicto eſtimo de quo conſtat publicâ ſcripturâ inde confectâ, ſcriptâ ut dicitur manu *Dominici de Villa Notarij* ad quod habeatur relatio: & quod contra dictum eſtimum per dictum *Dominicum* tamquam Patrem, & legitimum Adminiſtratorem *Criſtophori, Bartholomei & Jacobi, filiorum ipſius Dominici, ac filiorum & heredum q. Suzane* eorum matris olim uxoris dicti quondam *Dominici*. . . ."

Of course the reader will underſtand that the notary here makes a *lapsus pennæ*, ſince Domenico, that particular Domenico, the huſband of the quondam Susanna, was ſtill alive.

In the firſt document above quoted, the houſe owned by Domenico Colombo adjoins that of the late Antonio Bondi, and in the ſecond it adjoins that owned by the heirs of the ſaid Antonio Bondi. In the ſecond document this houſe in the Gate St. Andrea was ſold. Yet in the third document it was in the poſſeſſion of Domenico Colombo until July 21, 1489, when he abandoned it to his ſon-in-law, the ſeller of cheese. The document indicates that it was tranſmitted through the law to the poſſeſſion of this Jacobus Bavarelus, to pay for a debt, and that Domenico Colombo could redeem it in two years, which he does not appear to have done.

Either Domenico had two houſes in the ſtreet of the Gate St. Andrea, or elſe the houſe ſold in 1477 came back into his hands. It is a ſubject of regret that the houſe referred to in the third document dated, July 21, 1489, was not more particularly deſcribed, but it would ſeem that the document in the handwriting of the other notary, Domenico de Villa, is loſt. The coincidence of the general deſcriptions, and the particular deſcription in each caſe of the houſe having an apotheca or ſtore, would ſuggeſt the two references as intended for the ſame houſe. In any event, we may be ſure that the houſe which Domenico made over to his ſon-in-law was the old family reſidence in Genoa, where Christopher and his brother ſpent their youth.

The reader will obſerve that, in the document dated January 17, 1466, the houſe of Domenico Colombo, at leaſt his ſhop,



was *Extra Portam Sancti Andreae*, without the Gate St. Andrea. Several of the notarial documents declare that the house was situated between the Gate St. Andrea and Mulcento, a distance of over 268 feet.

Giambattista Pavesi, the Savonese scholar of the seventeenth century, who studied the entire question of the birthplace and early days of Columbus, states, but without giving his authority, that the house of Domenico Colombo was the first on the street of Ponticello, next the street of Mulcento, indicating that it was on the corner. The notarial acts seem to place houses on both sides of the Columbus houses, which descriptions certainly do not admit of the house occupying a corner site.

If the house of Columbus was beyond the Gate St. Andrea, it is not the house designated by the municipality of Genoa in the inscription it has caused to be placed upon the house in the Vico Dritto del Ponticello, for the Gate St. Andrea, one side of it at least, stands where it did in the fifteenth century.

From a study of these documents, we learn that, in the year 1439, there was living in the city of Genoa one Domenico Colombo, who had come from the neighbouring village of Quinto, of which place he probably was a native; that this Domenico was the son of Giovanni Colombo of Quinto, and that the said Domenico was a weaver of woollen cloths and keeper of a shop; that, in the year 1451, Giovanni Colombo was no longer living, and that his son Domenico, still a resident of Genoa, had bought a house at Quarto, about five miles from the capital, but which he did not use as a residence; that at the beginning of the year 1466 he was living in a house situated in the street outside or beyond the Gate St. Andrea, and that it was there he had his place of business; that in the year 1472, or perhaps 1471, Domenico Colombo was a resident of Savona, and that his son Christophoro Colombo then—in 1472—in his majority of twenty-five years of age or more, was living with him there<sup>1</sup>; that Su-

<sup>1</sup> It is true that in the document in which Christopher Columbus joins surety with his father the latter is declared to give his formal consent,—*patre consensente*,—which would seem to indicate that the son had not yet arrived at the age of legal majority, that is, at the age of twenty-five. Roman law prevailed in Italy, and under the Roman law the son was perpetually subservient to the father. Aulus Gellius declares that this custom prevailed in the finer amenities of life, and relates how a certain governor and his father were visiting a famous philosopher, in whose room was but a

sanna Fontanarossa, daughter of the late Giacomo or Jacob Fontanarubea, was the wife of Domenico Colombo, and that she was the mother of Christopher, Giovanni Pelegrinus, Bartolomeo, and Giacomo, and of a daughter, who had married Jacobus Bavarelus, a cheesemonger in Genoa, but which daughter was probably dead by the year 1489; that in the month of September, in the year 1494, Domenico Colombo was living in Genoa and was spoken of as "formerly a weaver of woollen cloths"; that, at Savona on March 20, 1472, Christopher Columbus of Genoa acted in the capacity of a witness, and was, presumably, at that time at least twenty-five years of age<sup>1</sup>; that Susanna Fontanarossa was dead before July 21, 1489, as was her second son, Johannes Pelegrinus; that her only daughter,<sup>2</sup> the wife of Jacobus Bavarelus, seems to have survived her and left an heir; that the heirs of Susanna were her three surviving children and sons,

single armchair, and when the son, because of his official position, and at the will of his father, was about to seat himself therein, the philosopher forbade him, and said it was not seemly he should be preferred before his father.

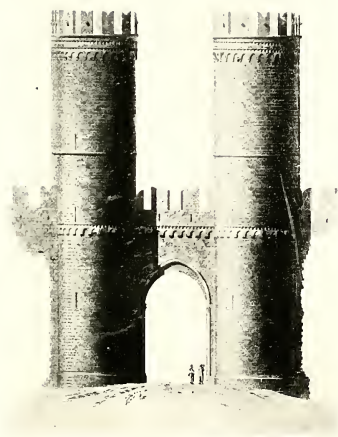
<sup>1</sup> A man could be called as a subscribing witness before his majority, although in the ordinary course of business affairs, then as now, a mature understanding would be more acceptable in the witnessing of business agreements.

We find Giacomo Colombo, Diego, as he was called after going into Spain, stating in an act of apprenticeship, dated Savona, September 10, 1484, that he was then of a majority of sixteen years, and three years afterwards, August 25, 1487, we find him witnessing an agreement, and in this act he is called "a weaver of woollen cloth," but he had not yet reached his twentieth year.

<sup>2</sup> The Marquis Marcello Stagliano is said by HARRISSE to have discovered a document in which she is called Blanchineta—Blanchineta filia quondam Dominici Columbi textoris pannorum lane—Blanche, or the diminutive Blanchineta, daughter of the late Domenico Colombo, a weaver of woollen cloth. She married Giacomo Bavarello, a cheese merchant, who came evidently from Bavari, a village in the neighbourhood of Stagliano, about two miles east of Genoa.

This notarial act which HARRISSE published (vol. ii., page 451, of his *Christophe Colomb*) discloses that on October 26, 1517, there was one Pantalinus, or Pantaleone, Bavarello, son of Giacomo Bavarello, quondam Johannis, born in 1460, that is to say, at the time of the said act being *major etiam annis viginti Septem*, and heir to his mother, Blanchineta, then deceased. This Pantaleone, then, was the nephew of Christopher Columbus, and when he made his Majorat was a lad of eight. HARRISSE conjectures that this branch of the family may have been in the mind of Columbus when he directed that some one of his lineage should be maintained with his wife in Genoa. But the language indicates that he refers to some one who then had a house and wife in Genoa. It is strange that this Blanchineta should not have been joined with her brothers as heirs, when Domenico abandoned his house to her husband, unless it was that having received her *dot* on her marriage she was no longer considered a claimant on the estate. It is also singular that the son, Pantaleone, should not have been mentioned by either Columbus, his uncle, or by Diego, his cousin.

It is likely that the name of Nicoletta, given the sister of Columbus by Antonio Colombo in his *Albero Genealogico* in 1654, and repeated by Isnardi in his *Risposta*, is imaginary.



*Gate St. Andrea, Genoa.*

[Reproduced from Harrisse's "Christophe Colomb."]



Christopher, Bartolomeo, and Giacomo; that in the legal papers in a suit brought by the heirs of Corrado de Cuneo, to recover the purchase price of an estate at Legine from the heirs of Domenico Colombo, these heirs are said to be Christopher, Bartolomeo, and Giacomo, the latter declared to be also known as Diego, a purely Spanish Christian name, and that all three were then in Spain. Thus we have identified the three members of the Columbus family in Spain, Christopher the Discoverer, Bartolomeo the Adelantado, and Diego the youngest, as the sons of Domenico Colombo, originally of Quinto, but who was living and in business in the city of Genoa before the year 1439, and that the youth of all three sons must have been spent in the city, if, indeed, they were not all three born there.<sup>1</sup>

We may now turn to an examination of certain witnesses who may be supposed to have knowledge of this matter. And first we call Christopher Columbus himself. The Spanish Sovereigns, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, when the Court was at Burgos, April 23, 1497, authorised Christopher Columbus to institute a Majorat, a sort of trust formed and established for the management of his estates, including his "property, vassalages, revenues, and perpetual offices," to the end that there might remain a perpetual memorial of himself, his house, and his race. The instrument itself never could be as wonderful a piece of transmitted authority as the document of the King and Queen, granting the transmission of that authority. They order that:

There may be made a Majorat in the said Don Diego Columbus your son, and in your said children and descendants, in whom you may wish to make or shall make the said Majorat or Majorats, with the conditions and limitations, obligations, bonds and confirmations, institutions and sub-

<sup>1</sup> There was a commission appointed by the Academy of Sciences of Genoa in the year 1812 for the particular purpose of investigating the vexed question as to the birthplace of Columbus, and this commission presented a formal report under the title:

*Ragionamento nel quale si conferma l'opinione generale intorno alla patria di Cristoforo Colombo, presentato all' Accademia delle Scienze, lettere e arti di Genova. Nell' Adunanza del dì 16 Dicembre 1812 dagli accademici Serra, Carrega, e Piaggio.*

Quarto without place or year, 105 pages.

The reader may also consult the collection published by the municipality of Genoa, known as:

*Codice diplomatico Colombo-Americano, ossia Raccolta di Documenti originale e inediti, spettanti a Cristoforo Colombo alla scoperta ed al Governo dell' America.*

This work was translated into English, and published in London in 1823.

stitutions, which you shall judge proper, and with whatsoever statute and devises, conditions and covenants, and according to, and in the form and manner in which you shall bind, devise, dispose, and stipulate, by one or more instruments, as has been said. All of which, and each thing, and part thereof, considering it, as here expressed and declared, as if it were here expressed and specified word for word, We now and henceforward of our said certain knowledge, proper motion, and absolute royal power, of which in this respect we will make use, praise, approve, confirm, and interpose in it, and in everything and part of it, our royal decree and authority. And we command that it be of avail to you, and be observed in all, and in everything and part of it, inviolably, both now and for ever; *although it and each thing and part thereof, were against express law and against all form and order of law.* . . .

Under authority of this document, the Admiral proceeded to institute his Majorat, which he executed on February 22, 1498. In the early part of the document is the following appeal:

. . . . y asimismo lo suplico al Rey y á la Reina nuestros Señores, y al Principe D. Juan su primogénito nuestro Señor, y á los que le sucedieren por los servicios que yo les he fecho: é por ser justo que les plega y no consientan ni consienta que se disforme este mi compromiso de Mayorazgo é de Testamento, salvo que quede y este así, y por la guisa y forma que yo le ordené para siempre jamas, porque sea servicio de Dios Todopodero y raiz y pie de mi linage y memoria de los servicios que á sus Altezas he hecho, *que siendo yo nacido en Génova* les vine á servir aquí en Castilla y les descubrí al Poniente de tierra firme las Indias y las dichas islas sobredichas.

. . . . and likewise I entreat the King and Queen, our Sovereigns, and the Prince Don Juan, our Lord, their firstborn, and those who may succeed him, by the services I have rendered them and because it is just, that it may please them, and that they may not consent that this my constitution of Mayorazgo and testament shall be disfigured but that it may remain and be in the manner and form which I have ordained for ever; that it may be the service of the All Powerful God and the root and base of my lineage and a memory of the services I have rendered their Highnesses; *for I being born in Gnoa* came to serve them here in Castile, and discovered the Indies and the aforesaid islands for them to the west of the mainland."

One of the separate items and provisions reads as follows:

"*Item:* mando al dicho D. Diego, mi hijo, ó á la persona que heredare el dicho Mayorazgo, que tenga y sostenga siempre en la *ciudad de Génova* una persona de nuestro linage que tenga allí casa é muger, é le ordene renta con que pueda vivir honestamente, como persona tan llegada á nuestro linage, y haga pie y raiz en la dicha ciudad como natural della, porque podra haber de la dicha ciudad ayuda é favor en las cosas del menester suyo, pues que della salí y en ella nací."

"*Item*: I direct the said Don Diego, my son, or the person who inherits the said Mayorazgo, to keep and always maintain in the city of Genoa a person of our lineage who has a house and wife there; and I direct that he shall have an income so that he may be able to live honestly, as a person so near to our lineage: and that he may be the root and base of it in the said city, as a citizen thereof, so that he may have aid and protection from the said city in matters of his own necessity, since from it I came and in it I was born."

In his last will and testament, made and signed August 25, 1505, executing it anew and approving it again at the same place on May 19, 1506, he confirms the Majorat which he had left in the monastery of Las Cuevas in Seville.<sup>1</sup> It was from this same monastery of Las Cuevas that this document was produced on the occasion of the great suit in 1578.

Ferdinand Columbus, the natural son of the Admiral, in his *Historie*, when speaking of the various cities and villages claiming to be the birthplace of the Discoverer, leaves the subject without stating in so many words just which city has the rightful claim, and for this careless act of omission he has been criticised, some saying he did not know, and others arguing that this omission indicated the *Historie* not to have been the work of Ferdinand, but of some other hand. We have shown that in speaking of Giustiniano he calls him *Conterraneo*, which is interpreted to mean *From the same place*,—and therefore his fellow citizen,—and it is well known that Agostino Giustiniano was a native of the city of Genoa. Later, in the fifth chapter of his *Historie*, when relating the adventures of his father with the corsair Columbus when he came to shore near the city of Lisbon, he says that there his father *ritrouano molti della sua natione genouese*, which is only satisfactory in that it eliminates Piedmont and Lombardy. But in his last will and testament, executed at Seville, July 3, 1539, nine days before his death, Ferdinand Columbus comes before us as a solemn witness, and declares himself:

<sup>1</sup> A close reading of the text might indicate that the Admiral made his Majorat when he was leaving Spain for his fourth and last voyage in the year 1502, but we think there could have been only one Majorat, since the several points enumerated in his will as in the Majorat appear as formal items in this instrument, as we find it in Navarrete, and as it is reproduced in this present Work. Doubtless it was sent in the year 1502 to the monastery of Las Cuevas, together with other documents and papers. However this may be, if we admit that the instrument made in 1498 was the work of the Admiral, we have in it the clear statement that he was born in the city of Genoa.

*Hijo de D. Christobal Colón Ginoves Primero Almirante que Descubrió las Indias.*<sup>1</sup>

In the *Libretto*, as we have seen, Angelo Trivigiano, supplying a deficiency in the text of Peter Martyr and from out of his personal knowledge of the Admiral, declares him to have been a Genoese. This account was put into print two years before the Admiral died.

Oviedo says, more plainly, that he was a native of the city of Genoa, and he not only knew the Admiral personally, but declares that it was common report that Genoa was his birthplace.

In 1555, when Richard Eden translated into English and published in London the *Decades* of Peter Martyr, he described the Admiral as:

*Christophorus Colonus (otherwise called Columbus) a gentleman of Italy, borne in the citie of Genua.*

We think, then, we are justified in concluding that the burden of proof, from the documentary evidence and the testimony of worthy witnesses, favours the claim of the Genoese that Christopher Columbus, the Discoverer, was born in the city of Genoa.

When we undertake to fix the exact spot in the city of Genoa where Columbus was born or where he spent his youth, we meet with difficulty. It would seem that Domenico Colombo, the father of Christopher Columbus, in the year 1457, was paying annual dues to the Abbey St. Stephen on the lease of two houses, one near the Gate St. Andrea, and the other near the Gate Olivella. These two places are far apart. We fancy, somehow, that a newcomer to Genoa would first settle near the harbour, and later move farther away. It is a natural movement. One finds a house in each of these quarters pointed out to him as the birthplace of Columbus. In the small but busy street called Vico Dritto del Ponticello is a house, No. 37, which the municipality of Genoa pronounces the veritable residence of Domenico when Christopher Columbus was a youth. But the reader will recall that there is more than one reference to the house of Columbus as situated *extra portam Sancti Andreae, beyond the gate St. Andrea*. On the other hand, we have seen reference in a

<sup>1</sup> This self-designation occurs in item 56 of the Last Will and Testament, a most voluminous document. Four times he calls himself D. Fernando Colon, *hijo de D. Xpoual Colón, Primero Almirante que Descubrió las Indias*, and only once does he insert, between the surname *Colón* and the title of his office *Primero Almirante*, the qualifying word *Ginoves*.





*House of Columbus,  
Vico Dritto del Ponticello 37, Genoa.*



notarial deed to a house of Columbus situated between the Gate St. Andrea and the Vico di Mulcento. Therefore these deeds must describe two separate houses. However, it is enough to know that somewhere in Genoa, and probably near the Gate St. Andrea, was born and developed the instrument of Providence in the great work of finding for man a New World.

## CHAPTER XXXIV

### THE DATE OF HIS BIRTH

It is as difficult to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion concerning the date of the birth of the Discoverer as it is to determine the exact place where the event occurred. The various dates given for the date of the birth of Columbus, some of which can be eliminated easily from the discussion, are as follows:

The year 1430 by the author of the *Summario*, printed in 1534.

The year 1435 by the Baron Bonnefoux and by A. F., an unknown author.

The year 1436 by Andrés Bernaldez, the Curate of Los Palacios.

The year 1437 by Galeani Napione.

The year 1441 by Father P. F. X. de Charlevoix.

The year 1445 by Christobal Cladera, followed by Luigi Bossi.

The year 1446 by Juan Baptista Muñoz.

The year 1447 by William Robertson.

The year 1449 by Emma Willard.

The year 1456 by Oscar Peschel.

There was printed at Venice in 1534 a little book of seventy-nine leaves, entitled:

LIBRO PRIMO  
DELLA HISTO  
RIA DEL ' IN  
DIE OC  
CIDEN  
TALI

In all copies of this work,<sup>1</sup> so far as we know them, there are found in the same binding two other little works, the one *Libro Secondo delle Indie Occidentali*, and the other *Libro Ultimo del Sommario delle Indie Occidentali*. The *Libro Secondo* is dated 1534, and consists of sixty-four numbered leaves (having a map of *Isola Spagnuola* between leaves one and two), followed by a leaf containing the table of contents, and another with the colophon and the privilege to print the book for twenty years. The colophon reads:

“ Stampato in Venegia, nel Mefe di Decembre, Del 1534.”

The other tract consists of sixteen leaves unnumbered, but with signatures, the last leaf having no printing. As these three books are unmistakably from the same press, and as the second is dated in December, 1534, we are justified in assuming that the first, although it is without date, was printed some time during the year 1534. On the recto of Aii we read:

“ In Genoua antica & nobil citta d'Italia nacque Christophoro Colombo di famiglia popolare, & fi come è il costume de Genouefi, fi dette à nauicare, nelquale effercitio, effendo di grande ingegno, & hauendo bene imparato conofcere li moti di cieli, & il modo d' adoperare il quadrante & l'aftrolabio, in pochi anni diuene il piu pratico & ficuro capitano di nauì, che fuffe al fuo tempo. Nauigando adunq̃ come era fuo costume, in molti viaggi fatti fuor dello fretto di Gibilterra in verso Portogallo & quelle marine, haueua molte volte offeruato con diligentia, che in certi tempi dell'anno foſſiauno da ponente alcuni venti, liquali durauano equalmente molti giorni, & conofcendo che non poteuan venire d'altro luogo che da la terra che gli gener-

<sup>1</sup> On the verso of the title we read:

“SVMARIO DE LA GENERALE  
HISTORIA DE L'INDIE OCCI-  
DENTALI CAVATO DA LI-  
BRI SCRITTI DAL SI-  
GNOR DON PIETRO  
MARTYRE DEL CONSI-  
GLIO DELLE INDIE  
DELLA MÆSTA  
DE L'IMPERADORE  
ET DA MOLTE  
ALTEE PAR-  
TICVLA-  
RI RELA-  
TIONI.”

“Summary of the General History of the West Indies taken from the writings of Don Peter Martyr of his Majesty, the Emperor's Council of the Indies, and from many other particular accounts.”

aua oltre al mare, fermo tanto il pensiero sopra questa cosa, che delibero volerla trouare, & effendo d'eta d'anni XL. huomo di alta ftatura, di color rosso, di buona compleffione & gagliardo, propofe prima alla Signoria di Genoua, che volendo quella armargli nauili fi obliheria andar fuor dello stretto di Gibilterra, & nauicar tanto per ponente, che circundando il mondo arriuera alla terra doue nafcono le Spetierie. Questo viaggio parue, achianche l'udi molto ftrano come à quelli che mai haueuano atal cosa penfato, o con lo intelletto fattone alcun difcorso, & riputauanfi faper tutto quel che fuffe poffibil dellarte del nauicare, & per questo tennero questo fuo ragionamento per vna fauola & vn fognò: anchor che haueffer fentito dir che da qualche vno delli ferittori antichi è ftata fatta mentione d'una grande Ifola molte miglia fuora di questo stretto alla volta di ponente."

"In Genoa, an ancient and noble city of Italy, was born Christopher Columbus of a common family: and according to the custom of the Genoese, he devoted himself to navigation, and being of great intelligence and having very well learned to know the signs of the heavens and the manner of operating the quadrant and astrolabe, in a few years he became the most skilful and clever sea-captain of his time. In sailing, therefore, as was his custom on many voyages outside the Strait of Gibraltar, towards Portugal and those coasts, he had many times carefully observed that at certain times of the year, winds blew from the west which were equable during many days' duration: and knowing that they could not come from any other place than from land beyond the sea which gave rise to them, he fixed his mind so firmly upon this thing, that he became desirous of finding it: and being 40 years of age, a man of tall stature, ruddy in colour with a good complexion and strong, he proposed first to the Seigniorship of Genoa that if they would equip some vessels for him, he would agree to go outside the Strait of Gibraltar and sail so far to the west, that circumnavigating the world, he would arrive at the land from whence spices come. This voyage appeared very strange to whomever heard of it, they being persons who had never thought of such a thing, or who had talked of it without any understanding: and believing themselves to know all that was possible of the art of navigation, for this reason they considered his proposition a fable and a dream: although they had heard it said that by some one of the ancient writers, mention had been made of a great island many miles outside this strait towards the west."

The *Libro Primo*, as the title tells us, is made up of extracts from Peter Martyr's writings, but the particular paragraph here quoted, and which bears upon this quotation, was gratuitously inserted by some other hand. It cannot be charged to Oviedo, for he had nothing to do with this Italian translation, and the same statements are not found in his own work. When, however, Giovanni Battista Ramusio, or Rhamusio, as he called

himself, published the third volume of his *Navigazioni et Viaggi*<sup>1</sup> at Venice in 1556, he incorporated the *Summario* bodily. Navarrete refers<sup>2</sup> to the passage quoted above from Ramusio, and gives its purport, although not accepting its conclusions. But if Ramusio is not responsible for the statement<sup>3</sup> originally, he certainly is for repeating it in his work. Assuredly Peter Martyr is not responsible for it, since no such statement is found in his acknowledged works. Nor is Trivigiano responsible for it, since it is not in the *Libretto*. The age assigned Columbus by the author of the *Summario* when he went into Portugal was forty years, but the author of the *Summario* does not tell us when he went into Portugal. Navarrete, reading this passage not in the original, apparently, but in Ramusio, and assuming that the latter date was 1470, rightly declares that if we must deduct forty years from that figure, we arrive at the year 1430 for the birth of Columbus. Accepting 1470 as the time when Columbus went into Portugal, and accepting the story found in Ramusio as to his having been forty years of age when he offered his projects to Genoa, the distinguished author tries to show that it was

<sup>1</sup> The work was issued from the celebrated printing establishment of the Giunta at Venice, the first volume having the date of 1554, and the third, in which we have our present interest, being dated 1556. This press was established by Lucas Antonius Junta, or Giunta, at Venice in 1482. In the third generation after the great Aldus, another Aldus, the younger son of Paulus Manutius, married Francesca Lucrezia, granddaughter of Mariotta Junta, belonging to the fourth generation of the great Junta, and thus united the blood, if not the business, of two famous printers.

Ramusio modestly did not put his name to his work, either in the titles or in the colophons, but in a letter written him by the illustrious Hieronymo Fracastro we learn that it is Giovanni Battista Ramusio who has prepared the great but badly arranged collection of voyages. This desire, real or affected, of hiding his personality, gives colour to the view that he may also have arranged the Peter Martyr relation, in which case he is to be charged with the introduction of the "forty years" and several other unauthenticated stories.

<sup>2</sup> Navarrete, vol. i., page lxxix.

<sup>3</sup> M. d'Avezac thinks that Ramusio was the anonymous compiler of the extracts from Peter Martyr's *Decades*, and cites a letter written from Padua, January 21, 1535 (*Opere del Cardinale Pietro Bembo*, Venezia, 1720, vol. iii., page 408), in which Cardinal Bembo thanks Giovanni Battista Ramusio for a copy of a book lately printed. . . . "del dono che fatto in' haueate de' due libretti volgari ora impressi delle cose dell' India, et Mondo nuovo. . . . Penso abbiate voi fatto tradurre in volgare questi due libri dello Spagnuolo."

Foscarini also says (*Della letteratura Veneziana ed altri scritti intorno ad essa*, Venice, 1854, vol. i., page 467): "Questi fuorono tradotti o fatti tradurre dal Ramusio."

The collector of Americana should secure this third volume of Ramusio at all hazard. It contains, among other interesting matter, the first printed account of the alleged voyage of Giovanni Verrazzano.

## Christopher Columbus

later than 1470 when this offer was made and rejected, and thus secures a later date from which to deduct his forty years. We have seen in the documentary history of Savona that Christopher Columbus, the son of Domenico and afterwards identified as having gone into Spain, was at Savona March 20, 1472, again on August 26, 1472, and once more on August 7, 1473. It must have been toward the close of 1473, or the beginning of 1474, that Columbus went into Portugal, and furnished Navarrete a proper date from which to deduct the forty years as given in the *Summario*. But, as we shall see directly, every argument applying against the date of 1436 is still stronger as against the date of 1430. It would require a difference of thirty-eight years between the birth of Columbus and that of Diego, his youngest brother. The *senectus bona* of the Admiral, when he died, would have been nearer eighty than three-score years and ten. The anonymous character of the author of the *Summario*, and the extreme improbability of his statement, have caused its rejection at once.

Nor is the date 1435 worth discussing.<sup>1</sup> While it is the one adopted by Washington Irving, it is evidently a fractional calculation leading a little back of the year 1436. In a note to subsequent editions the illustrious author makes it plain that he was following blindly a manuscript account of Columbus written by the Curate of Los Palacios, unsupported by any other testimony, not printed in his own day, and therefore requiring the greatest care in its interpretation.<sup>2</sup> Andrés Bernaldez, the

<sup>1</sup> The date 1435 is given by Baron le Capitaine Bonnefoux, Paris, 1853, and this is accepted by Count Roselly de Lorgues in his *Christophe Colomb, Histoire de Sa Vie et de ses Voyages, d'Après des Documents Authentiques Tirés d'Espagne et d'Italie*, Paris, 1856. Count Roselly accepts the story of Bernaldez as to the seventy years crowning the life of Columbus when he died at Valladolid in 1506, but as that event occurred on May 20, he puts the birth back into the year 1435, in order to have seventy years fully accomplished. The Abbé Eugene Cadoret, Canon of the Church of St. Denis, adopts this date in his *La Vie de Christophe Colomb*, Paris, 1860.

An anonymous author, signing himself A. F., wrote a tract to prove the claims of Placentia, in which he advocates this date of 1435. His manuscript seems to have been consulted by HARRISSE, d'AVEZAC, and others, but it remains still unprinted.

<sup>2</sup> Washington Irving published his *History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* in New York and in London in the year 1828. Navarrete's great work is dated 1825, although, as the letter to the King is dated January 12, 1826, it was not until then that it can be said to have been published. Irving himself states that while at Bordeaux in the winter of 1825-26 he was informed by Alexander Everett, the United States Minister at Madrid, that Navarrete's work was in press, and it was suggested that he visit Spain and translate it into his delightful English. Shortly



Curate of Los Palacios,<sup>1</sup> had a personal acquaintance with the Admiral. In his *Historia de los Reyes Católicos*, printed for the first time at Granada in 1856, in two volumes, and again published at Seville in 1870, he says:

"Ansi se lo dije e hice entender yo el año de 1496 cuando vino en Castilla la primera vez despues de haber ido á descubrir, que fué mi huésped é me dejo algunas de sus escripturas, en presencia del Sr. D. Juan de Fonseca, de donde yo saqué y cortejelas con las otras que escribieron el honrado señor el Dr. Anca ó Chanca y otros nobles caballeros que con el fueron en los viages ya dichos, que escribieron lo que vieron, de donde yo fui informado, y escribí esto de las Indias, por cosa maravillosa e hazañosa." [Vol. ii., p. 43.]

"Thus he told me these things and made me understand in the year 1496, when he came into Castile the first time, after having gone to make discoveries, as he was my guest and left me some of his writings, in the presence of Don Juan de Fonseca; from which I copied and abridged them with the others which the honourable Dr. Anca or Chanca and other noble gentlemen wrote, who were with him on the voyages already related, who wrote what they saw; from whence I was informed and wrote this about the Indies as being a marvellous and heroic thing."

With this testimony of his accuracy, in which he makes an

afterwards he set out for Madrid, and then, says Irving, "Soon after my arrival the publication of M. Navarrete made its appearance." It furnished nearly every thread woven by Irving into his history, although even then we may express surprise at the rapidity with which the task was performed,—something under two years. It was not Irving's task, however, to test the threads or to examine whence they came into Navarrete's hands. Navarrete did a greater work for the student than many Irvings, and yet it required the fascination of the American's pen to fix the attention of the student on the vast field of information furnished by the Spanish scholar. The worms which furnished the silk for Navarrete's threads were in the old volumes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the blurred and frayed manuscripts of that same distant time. Months of searching would produce perhaps a single document of value. Patience, toil, unthanked labour, is the portion of Navarretes in all times.

<sup>1</sup> Andrés Bernaldez was born at Fuentes-de-Léon about 1450, and in the year 1488 was appointed pastor of the little village of Los Palacios, some twelve miles south of Seville, where, in 1513, he died, still a curate, but with the added dignity of honorary chaplain to the Archbishop Diego de Deza, one of the protectors and friends the most faithful of Christopher Columbus. When the Admiral returned from his second voyage,—not the first voyage, as the good curate says,—as he was on his way to the Court, then at Burgos, he passed by Los Palacios, and was the guest of Bernaldez. In the company of the Admiral was the converted Indian, brother of Caonoboa, and baptised "Diego" after the youngest brother of Columbus. About the neck of the Indian hung a rich collar of gold, a tangible evidence of the wealth of the New World, and this greatly impressed the host. Then, too, the Admiral obligingly related to him his adventures, and gave him copies of some of his notes, so that the curate believed himself qualified to speak when he told his story of Columbus. But, after all, it seems to have been a passing acquaintance, and ought not of itself to vouch for the good curate's accuracy.

error of three years in the time of his return from the voyage of discovery, we may note his further testimony. He says:

"El cual dicho Almirante D. Christobal Colon, de maravillosa y honrada memoria natural de la prouincia de Milan estando en Valladolid el año de 1506, en el mes de Mayo, murio in senectute bona, inventor de las Indias, de edad de 70 años poco más ó menos."

"The said Admiral Don Christopher Columbus of marvellous and honoured memory, discoverer of the Indies, native of the province of Milan,<sup>1</sup> being at Valladolid in the year 1506, died in a beautiful old age, at the age of seventy years, a little more or less."

If we deduct seventy years from May, 1506, it will give 1436 as the year in which Columbus was born. This date has been adopted by many writers, on the authority of this statement made by the Curate of Los Palacios, and without reckoning on other information from sources just as reliable and which has been always as accessible as the *Historia de los Reyes Católicos*.<sup>2</sup> If Domenico Colombo, the father of the Admiral, was, say, twenty-five years of age when Christopher was born, he would have been three and eighty when he performed the office of witness for Carlolina Pisurni on September 30, 1494. Of course, it is perfectly possible that an aged man might serve in this capacity, but it is not very probable that one so old would be called upon to act as a witness, especially in the heart of a crowded city, where subscribing witnesses were plenty, in a case where the testimony of a witness might be needed in years to come. We know that Domenico Colombo was alive shortly before the act of April 8, 1500, which would give him a most honourable, but, of course, not impossible, longevity, if he were born in 1411. We know from documents above quoted that Giacomo, or Diego,

<sup>1</sup> The Curate of Los Palacios here means that the Duchy of Milan included Genoa as a dependency, which was the case for a good portion of the fifteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> In dealing with manuscripts which purport to have been written several centuries ago, and which have passed through many hands, the utmost caution should be exercised. Here the purely literary man is worthless. The antiquarian and autograph expert should make an examination of each ancient document, placing upon it the stamp of his approval before the historical writer should venture to use it.

The original manuscript of Bernaldez was said to be preserved in the *Bibl. oteca Real* in Madrid. When the *Historia de los Reyes Católicos* was first printed in book form at Granada, in the year 1856, it was made not from the original, but from an early transcript in the possession of one Francisco Flores, and which was declared to be a faithful copy by the prebend of *La Sancta Iglesia de Sevilla*. It is said that the above *Historia* was actually first printed and published after the manner of the modern *jeuilleton*, at the bottom of a local newspaper.

the fifth child and youngest son of Domenico, was born in 1468, inasmuch as he was sixteen years old in 1484. If Susanna Fontanarossa, wife of Domenico and mother of three children, was eighteen years old when Christopher was born, she would have been fifty when she gave birth to Giacomo, an age not impossible, but still rather more than fulfilling the promise of fecundity in the women of Italy. We know that Ferdinand Columbus was born of Beatrix Enriquez de Arana on August 15, 1488, which would make his father to have been past the mark of one and fifty years when he entered upon his affair of gallantry with this lady of Cordova, a thing not at all impossible, but in the drama of life the unities seem to call for blood somewhat cooling at the age of fifty and more. If Christopher Columbus was born in 1436, he would have been six and fifty when he embarked upon his eventful voyage, an age not impossible, but still far beyond that of most discoverers, and of most explorers in undertaking their first navigations.<sup>1</sup> Certainly the expression *In senectute bona*, used by the good curate, is more applicable to one reaching to seventy years than to one counting but three full score, and we must assume that he believed the Admiral to be seventy years of age when he departed this life at Valladolid. Moreover, when the Admiral was in Spain after his last voyage, he wrote to his son, Diego, asking him to secure for him a special concession to use a mule in travelling. This letter is dated December 21 (1504):

*Se sin importunar se oviese licencia de andar en mula, yo trabajaria de partir para allá pasado hencero, y ansi lo haré sin ella.*

"If without importunity, a licence can be procured for me to go on mule-back I will try to leave for the Court after January and I will even go without this licence."

In another letter to Diego dated at Seville, December 29, (1504), he writes:

*La licencia de la mula, si sin trabajo se puede haer, folgaria della y de una buena mula.*

<sup>1</sup> In the authority for the establishment of the Majorat dated at Burgos, April 23, 1497, the Sovereigns permit him to entail his estate and honours on "Don Diego Columbus, your oldest lawful son or on any of your sons able to entail (?), whom you now have or may have from henceforth"—a provision which would not likely have occurred to them if they had regarded him as then sixty-one years of age.

## Christopher Columbus

"I would be glad of the licence to travel on mule-back and of a good mule, if they can be obtained without difficulty."

"1505. 23 de Febr. El rey: Por quanto yo soy informado que vos el Almirante D. Cristóbal Colon estais indispuesto de vuestra persona á causa de ciertas enfermedades que habeis tenido é teneis, é que no podeis andar á caballo sin mucho dagno de vuestra salud: por ende, acatando lo susodicho é vuestra ancianidad, por la presente vos doy licencia para que podais andar en mula ensillada é enfrenada por cualesquier partes destos Reinos é Señorios que vos quisiéredes é por bien toviéredes, sin embargo de la premática que sobre ello dispone: é mando á las Justicias de cualesquier partes destos dichos Reynos é Señorios que en ello no vos pongan nin consientan poner impedimento alguno, se pena de diez mil maravedis para la Cámara á cada uno que lo contrario ficiere. Fecha en la ciudad de Toro á viente y tres de Hebrero de mil quinientos y cinco años."

February 23, 1505. The King: Inasmuch as I am informed that you, the Admiral Christopher Columbus, are in poor bodily health on account of certain infirmities which you have had and have, and that you cannot ride on horseback without great injury to your health: therefore, acknowledging the aforesaid and *your old age*, by these presents, I grant you licence to ride on a mule saddled and bridled, through whatever parts of these Kingdoms and Realms you wish and desire, notwithstanding the law in regard to it: and I order the Justices of all parts whatsoever of these Kingdoms and Realms not to offer you any impediment in this thing or allow any to be offered you, under penalty of ten thousand maravedis for the Treasury to each one who shall do to the contrary.

"Done in the City of Toro, February 23, 1505."

Columbus does not appear to have urged the request because of his old age or because of infirmities incident to old age. In granting it, the King, himself three and fifty years of age, says he is informed that the Admiral is in poor bodily health owing to certain diseases he had. It is true that the document adds, "conceding this to your old age." The edict<sup>1</sup> against

<sup>1</sup> The rough roads of Spain made travelling difficult under any circumstances, and particularly so in winter. The gentle, ambling gait of the mule made it the favourite means of travel. This naturally affected the raising of the more useful and productive animal, the horse. King Alfonso XI. had been compelled to issue an edict absolutely forbidding the travelling on mule-back, but as time went on, the severity of the order was modified. In 1494 it was reported to King Ferdinand that it was almost impossible to find five or six thousand horses fit for the use of the cavalry in the Spanish army, and thereupon the King issued an order forbidding the use of the mule to all except the clergy, women, and children.

The Admiral was proposing at first to travel in a litter, and it was said that the actual stretcher on which the body of the deceased Cardinal Diego Hurtado de Mendoza had been carried to its last resting-place, had been offered his use by the Cabildo of Seville. Notwithstanding the prompt granting of the licence, it was not until May, 1505, that the Admiral found himself able to attempt an attendance upon the Court.

using mules was strictly enforced, and when exceptions were made the reasons should be stated. Probably the King never saw, dictated, or read the document, but put his name in the ordinary affairs of business to a regular form rather than an unusual grant, for licences were not uncommon. Therefore we do not attach over-much importance to the allusion to his age. Columbus himself declared that he would go to Court in any event, with a mule or without a mule. The will can overcome a certain incapacity proceeding from disease, but this is not accomplished so easily when it arises from old age.

The date of 1436 is adopted by Navarrete, Humboldt (more in acquiescence than affirmation), Hoefer, Deschenal, Lamartine, Fiske, and many other distinguished historians.

The date of 1437, a variation of the rounded date of 1436, is preferred by Count Gianfrancesco Galeani Napione, whose dissertation entitled *Della Patria di Cristoforo Colombo* was read before the Imperial Academy of Science of Turin, and afterwards printed at Florence in 1808. Francesco Cancellieri prefers this date in his *Notizie Storiche e Bibliografiche di Cristoforo Colombo, di Cuccaro nel Monferrato, Scopritore dell' America*, printed at Rome in 1809. To this number must be added Cæsar Cantu.<sup>1</sup>

The date of 1441 is adopted by the Abbé Charlevoix in his *Histoire de l'île Espagnole*, printed at Paris in the year 1730. He seems to have reckoned something like the following calculation:

The youth of Columbus before he went to sea.....	14 years
Time spent in unsuccessful solicitation in Spain.....	9 "
Time passed after the return from last voyage to his death. . .	1 yr. 6 mos.
Years passed on sea.....	40 years
Total.....	64½ years.

to be deducted from May 30, 1506, and thus bringing the period of his birth into the year 1441.

This date is accepted by the Abbé Provost d'Exiles in his

<sup>1</sup> *Storia Universale Scritta da Cæsar Cantu*, Torino, 1838-1844. In this he first gives the dates, *Colombo Cristoforo, Genovese, 1441-1506*. In the thirteenth volume of the *Racconto*, Torino, 1843, he records the death of Columbus at Valladolid, *il 12 Maggio, 1506*. Afterwards the author added the words, "*di scssanta nove anni,*" "at sixty-nine years of age." In the third French edition, printed at Paris in 1867, this is repeated, together with the mistaken date, May 12, 1506, instead of May 20, the eve of the Ascension, or May 21, the day of the Ascension, in the year 1506.

continuation of the *Histoire Générale des Voyages*,<sup>1</sup> and by Girolamo Tiraboschi, in his *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*.<sup>2</sup>

The dates 1445 and 1447 are accounted for in this discussion of the birth of Columbus by certain writers using in this calculation fractional parts of the year as they approach or recede from the standard date of 1446. The date of 1445, for instance, was adopted by the Chevalier Luigi Bossi in his *Vita di Cristoforo Colombo Scritta e Corredata di Nuove Osservazioni di Note Storico-critiche e di un' Appendice di Documenti Rari o Inediti*, Milan, 1818. Harisse remarks that, while it is written with taste and observation, there is not much new matter in the work. The date 1447 is accepted, and may be said to have been originated by Dr. William Robertson in his *History of America*.<sup>3</sup> In the last sentence but one of the second book of the first edition of his *History of America* (see page 175), we read: "Columbus ended his life at Valladolid on the twentieth day of May, one thousand five hundred and six, in the fifty-ninth year of his age."

The date 1449 owes what importance it may have in this discussion not so much to the fact that it was mentioned by Emma Hart Willard in her *History of the United States or Republic of*

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire Générale des Voyages ou Nouvelle Collection de Toutes les Relations de Voyages par Mer et par Terre, etc.* 20 vols. in 4to. Paris, 1746 to 1780. 80 vols. in 12mo. Paris, 1754. Volume xlv. of this edition in 12mo corresponds to volume xii. of the quarto edition, and is largely devoted to Christopher Columbus. The subject of the birth of Columbus is discussed on page 400 of the xlvth volume, and on page 141 of the xiith volume of the respective editions.

<sup>2</sup> *Storia della Letteratura Italiana del Cav. Abate Girolamo Tiraboschi, Nuova Edizione*, Firenze, 1805-1813; 9 volumes in 20 parts in 8vo; see vol. vi., p. 245, footnote.

<sup>3</sup> In a note to the first edition of his *History of America*, printed at London in the year 1777, in two large quarto volumes, in note xi. of the Appendix to volume i., we read:

"The time of Columbus' death [*sic*] may be nearly ascertained by the following circumstances: It appears from the fragment of a letter addressed to him by Ferdinand and Isabella, A. D. 1501, that he had at that time been engaged forty years in a seafaring life. In another letter he informs them that he went to sea at the age of fourteen: from those facts it follows that he was born A. D. 1447."

And then the author or editor refers the reader to *Life of Christo. Columbus*, by his son, Don Ferdinand, and to Churchill's *Collection of Voyages*, vol. ii., pp. 484, 485.

Dr. Robertson refers to Antonio de Herrera in a footnote, as if for authority, but that Spanish historian says absolutely nothing as to the age of the Admiral in speaking of his death. He simply says: "Murio mui Catolicamente el Año de 1506, en Valladolid, dia del Ascension a 20 de Maio": "He died in the Catholic faith, in the year 1506, in Valladolid, on the day of the Ascension, May 20." (*Decad. i., libro vi., cap. xv.*)

*America*,<sup>1</sup> published in 1828, but because her interpretation of the true date is introduced by Alexander von Humboldt in his *Examen Critique de l'Histoire de la Géographie du Nouveau Continent*, published at Paris in the year 1837, and seriously referred to in M. d'Avezac's *Année Véritable de la Naissance de Christophe Colomb*, published at Paris in 1873.

The date of 1456 is given by Oscar Peschel of Stuttgart, and, when first promulgated, found quite a little acceptance, until a new study of the matter clearly showed its improbability, contradicting, as it did, almost every statement we have of the Admiral's life. The learned German has pinned his faith to a single passage in the *Lettera*, the original of which we reproduce in this Work. This strange letter, written by the Admiral in a time of great mental and physical strain, was sent to their Catholic Majesties from Jamaica: *Data Nelic Indie in la Insula Janahica A. 7 di Julio del 1503.*<sup>2</sup> On the recto of b<sub>3</sub> (unmarked), in the twenty-second line from the top, we read:

"*Jo veñe a servire U. M. de tempo de anni 28 & adesso non ho cauullo che non sia canuto: el corpo debile & inferno.*"

"I came to serve your Majesties at the age of 28 years and I have not at

<sup>1</sup> Emma Hart Willard, an instructor, compiled a *History of the United States or Republic of America*, printed first in New York by White, Gallagher & White, 1828. She gives a page of authors consulted by her, but among the names none carried the slightest weight, except Dr. William Robertson, and him she did not follow. On page 28 of her work she says: ". . . Christopher Columbus, of Genoa, formed the design of crossing the Atlantic in search of new countries towards the west." On page 29 she writes: "On his return from a fourth voyage which he made, finding Isabella, his patroness, dead and himself neglected, he sunk beneath his misfortunes and infirmities and died, May 20, 1506, in the 57th year of his age."

In her *Abridgement of the History of the United States or Republic of America*, printed in New York by White, Gallagher & White, 1831, she repeats the incorrect statement as to Columbus on his return finding his patroness dead, and again says: "He sunk beneath the misfortunes and died in 1506 in the fifty-seventh year of his age."

In her *Abridged History*, printed at Philadelphia, by A. S. Barnes & Co., 1844, she says: ". . . this was Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa, born in 1447," which would have made him fifty-nine.

In another edition of her *History of the United States or Republic of America*, published by A. S. Barnes & Co., at Philadelphia, 1845, Mrs. Willard remarks: ". . ." this was Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa, born in 1437,"—which would have made him sixty-nine.

In an edition of her *Universal History in Perspective*, published by A. S. Barnes & Co., New York, 1854, she says, in a bracketed note on the margin of the page: "The date of his birth uncertain."

<sup>2</sup> This subscription and following passages are quoted from the Italian

this instant a hair which is not grey: my body debilitated and physically ruined."

In the third line of the same folio we read:

"*Sette anni steti io in corte di U. M. che a quanti di questa impresa si parlaua tutti ad vna noce diceano che eran cianze: & pataraggie.*"

"Seven years did I remain in the Court of Your Majesties, when those to whom I spoke of this enterprize declared with one voice that it was chimerical and foolish."

Now, it is not unreasonable to ask that, so far as possible, critics shall be consistent. The year 1492 was well advanced before this period of seven years ended. We must deduct seven from 1492, and we obtain the year 1485, when, according to this relation in the *Lettera*, Columbus began to serve their Majesties. We then deduct twenty-eight more years, the age the *Lettera* gives him when he came to the Court, and we have, according to the manner of Peschel's reckoning, 1457 and not 1456 as the year of his birth. Peschel counts the seven years as completed before the year 1492 begins. He accepts the Arabic numeral figures 28 without inquiring if an error might not have been made in reading the manuscript of Columbus.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The letter dated from Jamaica, July 7, 1503, as published in Spanish by Navarrete (vol. i., p. 313), is said by him to have been printed from a manuscript made in the middle of the sixteenth century, or many years after the publication of this *Lettera*, which, as we have seen, was put into the light more than a year before Columbus died. Navarrete does not say if the manuscript, which, when he collated it on October 12, 1807, was then in the Royal Library at Madrid, and which had been formerly in the College of Cuenca in Salamanca, was made from another manuscript, or translated from the Italian imprint of 1505. Ferdinand Columbus declares that his father had sent this letter to their Catholic Majesties by the hand of Diego Mendez, and that it was printed.

In any event, this manuscript, or at least Navarrete's reproduction of it, perpetuates this, the "28 years" in writing them *viente y ocho años*.



## CHAPTER XXXV

### 1446 THE PROBABLE DATE

WE retrace our steps to discuss the date of 1446, which we believe to be approximately the year in which Christopher Columbus first saw light in the seaport city of Genoa. The reader will recall the notarial document already given, dated at Genoa May 25, 1471, in which Susanna Fontanarossa consented to a sale of the little estate of Ginestrato, which her husband had sold to Julianus and Stampinus de Caprili. Susanna had a supposed legal interest in this estate, and her near relatives to the number of twelve were, according to Genoese law,<sup>1</sup> summoned by the notary Francesco Camogli to consent or object to the alienation of Susanna's interest. Surely no relatives could have been nearer or more interested than the children of Susanna, and yet not one was cited to appear. We may infer a reason: while her sons, four in number, were at this date agnates, they were not yet of the legal age of five and twenty. So long as they were minors, says HARRISSE, they came after those who had guardianship or care over the mother. Of course, as Domenico and Susanna were already living in Savona, and as the act was made at Genoa,

<sup>1</sup> The Genoese statute required that there should be summoned relatives and neighbours, *propinqui et vicini*. It is probable that this provision was meant to be interpreted, relatives, if any, or if in sufficient strength; if not, then neighbours. Thus, when in the act of January 26, 1501, the notary found that Christopher, Bartolomeo, and Giacomo were "all absent in Spain," he summoned a shoemaker and a weaver of the neighbourhood to act in the case.

The Genoese law followed quite strictly the ancient Roman law, while the laws of the neighbouring Lombardy appear to have been influenced and somewhat softened by the German interpretations. The reader may consult the Berlin edition of the *Institutes* of Titius Caius, published in 1824. These were first printed in Paris in 1525, although a portion or summary had appeared in the *Codex Theodosianus*, published by P. Ægidius at Antwerp in 1517. There was also a French translation in 1828.

it may have been that they did not summon their two elder sons even if they were at their majority, as the Genoese statute permitted relatives who were farther away than twelve miles to disobey the summons, in which case others were appointed to assist or act for them. Savona is more than twice that distance from Genoa. Or it may have been that Columbus and his brother next in age were away on voyages. However, we have seen in the act made at Savona, August 7, 1473, when Susanna ratified the sale of the house in the Gate Olivella, when it was sold by Domenico, Christopher and Giovanni Pelegrinus, sons of Domenico and Susanna, are brought in as consenting parties, although it is true that they come *cum auctoritate et consensu dictorum parentum suorum presentium, consententium & auctoritatem eorum præstantium*. The force of this parental consent is still controlling them, notwithstanding they have apparently arrived at their majority. The consent of the parents could not bring them in as interested parties *before* they were at their majority, but *after* their majority, it was still a matter of form, if not of necessity, to record the consent of the parents. The inference, then, is that two of the sons of Domenico and Susanna, Christopher and Giovanni, were arrived at their majority between May 25, 1471, and August 7, 1473. This legal majority was then twenty-five years. As Christopher is named first in the act, it is natural to assume that he was the elder of the two. Again, it is natural to assume that there were ten or twelve months of difference in their ages. If, then, both had reached the age of twenty-five years, both were born between May 25, 1446, and August 7, 1447. If Giovanni, the younger of the two, was born on or before August 7, 1447, it is natural to suppose that Christopher, the elder of the two, was born on or before October 7, 1446.

Las Casas quotes from the *Journal* of the Admiral, under date of August 9, 1492, but not using the Admiral's own words:

"Dice el Almirante que juraban muchos hombres honrados Españoles, que en la Gomera estaban con Doña Ines Peraza, madre de Guillen Peraza, que despues fue el primer Conde de la Gomera, que eran vecinos de la isla de Hierro, que cada año vian tierra al Oueste de las Canarias, que es el Poniente; y otros de la Gomera afirmaban otro tanto con juramento. Dice aquí el Almirante que se acuerda que *estando in Portugal el año de 1484* vino uno de la isla de la Madera al Rey á le pedir una carabela para ir á esta tierra que via, el cual juraba que cada año la via, y siempre de una manera: y

tambien dice que se acuerda que lo mismo decian en las islas de los Azores, y todos estos en una derrota, y en una manera de señal, y en una grandeza."

"The Admiral says that many honourable Spaniards, inhabitants of the Island of Hierro, swore that they were on Gomera with Dona Inez Peraza, mother of Guillen Peraza, who was afterward the first Count of Gomera, and that each year they saw land to the west of the Canaries, which is to the West: and others from Gomera affirmed the same thing under oath.<sup>1</sup> The Admiral says here that he remembers that *being in Portugal in the year 1484*, a man came from the Island of Madeira 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: and he also says he remembers that the same was said in the Azores Islands, and that all were agreed as to the route, the appearance, and size."

If the man from Madeira was Fernando Dominiguez de Arco, his letters patent to the possession of the imaginary isle were granted him by Juan II., the son of Alfonso V., under date of June 30, 1484. The books of the Royal Treasurer of Spain, Francisco Gonzales, under date of May 5, 1487, mention Columbus for the first time:

"En dicho dia [May 5, 1487] dí á Cristobal Colomo, extrangero, tres mil maravedis, que está aquí haciendo algunas cosas complideras al servicio de sus Altezas, por cédula de Alonso de Quintanilla, con mandamiento del Obispo [of Palencia]."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Navarrete, vol. i, p. 5.

Fernan Peraza was Lord of the Canaries, and on his death in 1452, the islands passed to his daughter, Lady Inez, who was married to Diego de Herrera, her rights being confirmed September 28, 1454. It was common report for many years before Columbus ever saw the Canaries that the people of Gomera and Ferro reported seeing to the distant west a strange land, and that frequent excursions were made in that direction in ever fruitless search. Some said this land was the Isle of Antilia. Others said it was the Isle of St. Brandon that they saw. On the globe constructed in 1492 by Martin Behaim, at Nuremberg, both Antilia and the island of St. Brandon are shown, the latter being the farther west of the two. While these wild reports were rightly judged by Columbus to be based on fancies and to be like pictures in the clouds, they nevertheless produced some effect on his mind, and we have often thought that not Toscanelli's advice alone determined him to take his course westerly from the Canaries, but also the possibility of his finding the islands so long dreamed of by the people of Gomero and Ferro.

The reference to the man from Madeira who went to the King for a ship that he might find this strange land was doubtless intended to refer to Fernando Dominiguez de Arco, who obtained from King John II. the governorship of the island of St. Brandon, to rule over a land he was never to see, because it was not.

<sup>2</sup> Navarrete says this is the Bishop of Palencia, but if he means the friend and protector of Columbus, Diego de Deza, we think he must be mistaken. The good man was a theological professor at Salamanca, and was chosen Bishop of Zamora a little subsequent to the year 1486, and in 1493 was made Bishop of Salamanca; from there he was transferred to the Bishop's chair at Jaen, and in 1499 he was made Bishop of Palencia.

## Christopher Columbus

"On this day, gave to Christopher Columbus, foreigner, three thousand maravedis, who is here doing certain things connected with the service of their Highnesses, by warrant of Alonso de Quintanilla, on the order of the Bishop."

It is, then, between these two dates that Columbus went into Spain from Portugal. When was it? Ferdinand Columbus begins chapter xii. of his *Historie* thus:

"Lascierò hora di raccontar ciò, che Bartolomeo Colon haueua negociato in Inghilterra, & tornerò all' Ammiraglio, il qual nel *fine del' anno MCCCC-LXXXVIII* col suo figliuolo Don Diego si parti segretamente di portogallo. . . ."

"I will cease now to relate what Bartolomeo Colon had done in England and will return to the Admiral, who at the end of the year 1484 with his little son, Don Diego, secretly departed from Portugal."

We have already seen in the letter written from Jamaica, July 7, 1503, that Columbus declares he tarried seven years in the Court of Spain awaiting the realisation of his project. Las Casas gives the following passage from the Admiral's *Journal*, under the date of January 4, 1493, quoting the very words of the Admiral:

"y han seido causa que la corona Real de Vuestras Altezas no tenga cien cuentos de renta mas de la que tiene despues que yo viné á les servir, que son siete años agora á 20 dias de Enero este mismo mes, y mas lo que acrecentado seria de aquí en adelante. Mas aquel poderoso Dios remediarà todo."

"And they<sup>1</sup> have been the cause that the Royal crown of your Highnesses does not possess one hundred millions more revenue than it has since I came to serve them, which is now seven years ago the 20th day of January, this very month, and furthermore the accumulation which would have been the natural increase. But that powerful God will remedy everything."

We think we may safely take this date, January 20, 1486, as fixing the time when Columbus entered the service of the Spanish Sovereigns, but it is not likely that, immediately upon reaching Spain, he, an unknown man, a foreigner, coming with a project which any one might call wild and chimerical, could have at once entered the service of the King and Queen. He began his

<sup>1</sup> Either the persons who were opposed to him—and Columbus says all were opposed to him save God and their Highnesses, the King and Queen—or the adverse circumstances against which he struggled up to the time he left Castile,—we cannot tell which from the subject of the coming verb.

service January 20, 1486, a glorious date, marking the exact point in his career when the encouragement was given him that he might at least hope. It was the first fuel added by other hands to the fires of his own soul, and he never, after that, quite lost the assurance of final triumph, unless it was in the dark hours just before the dawn, when, turning his face away from that Court he set out for another, and when he found at La Rabida the helpful priest who was to lead him back again to Court.

In the year 1485 the Spanish Sovereigns were engaged in earnestly fighting the Moors. In January of that year King Ferdinand took the field in person, thinking to surprise the city of Loja, south-west of Granada, a design he soon abandoned. In the spring of 1485, Ferdinand was besieging the castle guarding Ronda, a fortified town west of Malaga, and forty-two miles north of Gibraltar, and which surrendered on May 23, 1485. During all these days Queen Isabella was with the King. In the summer of 1485, King Ferdinand, Queen Isabella, and the Court were at Cordova. On the 1st of September, 1485, they moved to Alcala la Real, on the north side of the Granada Mountains, and thirty miles south of the city of Jaen. The 23d of September, 1485, beheld the Spaniards under the King and Queen, entering the surrendered castles of Cambil and Albahar on the frontier near Jaen. With this success the army was sent into winter quarters, and the King and Queen set out for Alcala de Henares, a walled city seventeen miles north-east of Madrid, and where, on December 16, 1485, Queen Isabella gave birth to Catherine, afterwards the unhappy wife of England's King Henry VIII. When Columbus left Lisbon toward the end of the year 1485, he departed secretly, and with his little son Diego in his charge, he could not have made rapid progress. It seems to us not necessary to allow a long period of time for this man to have travelled from the capital of Portugal to the Spanish Court.

On May 19, 1506, the Admiral executed at Valladolid a last will and testament. He had prepared in his own hand a certain memorandum which became a sort of codicil, and was incorporated in the final document. The last item of this reads:

"Á Baptista Espindola, ó á sus herederos, si es muerto, veinte ducados. Este Baptista Espindola es yerno del sobredicho Luis Centurion, era hijo de

## Christopher Columbus

Micer Nicolao Espindola de Locoli de Ronco, y por señas él fue estante en Lisboa el año de mil quatrocientos ochenta y dos."

"To Baptista Espindola, or to his heirs if he is dead, twenty ducats. This Baptista Espindola is the son-in-law of the aforesaid Luis Centurion and was the son of Mr. Nicolai Espindola of Locoli de Ronco, and apparently was living in Lisbon in the year 1482."

The inference is that Columbus saw this Genoese gentleman in Lisbon at some time during the year 1482, although he does not say so. In the *Historic* we read:

"Jo stetti nella fortezza di San Giorgio della Mina del Re di Portogallo, che giace sotto l'equinoctiale."

"I was at the fortress of St. George of the Mine belonging to the King of Portugal, which lies below the equinoctial line."

When King Juan II. succeeded his father, Alfonso V., he resolved to build a new fortress in the centre of the gold traffic, and selected San Jorge de Mina for that purpose. The stones for the fort were cut and squared in the stone-yards of Portugal, the brick and wood and all needed material were gathered there, and loaded in ten large caravels, and with two smaller ships and provisions for six hundred men, the fleet, under command of Diogo de Azambuja, set sail on December 11, 1481, and reached La Mina on January 19, 1482. This fortress was soon in a condition for defence, but its final completion was in the year 1484, according to a date set in the stone over the portal, and seen by Olivier Daffer in the middle of the seventeenth century, where it still stood, recalling the enterprise and undertaking of the Portuguese nation. Columbus speaks of visiting the fortress, and nowhere indicates that he went in the expedition having in charge its building. He was in Portugal in 1482 and in 1484, and while there was nothing to have prevented his having made a short expedition to this fortress during the course of either of these years, it is more than likely his voyage was an extensive one made for discovery and exploration, and therefore requiring a lengthened period for its performance. The year 1483 affords us a date when we have no other tidings of him, and in which he may have made this voyage. Columbus was much occupied in the years 1484 and 1485, and it was at the end of this last year that he departed from Portugal for Spain, where he resided for some seven years, passed in soliciting aid for his projects. We

may then take the year 1483 as ending the period of voyaging upon the sea. How much time had been spent in these maritime excursions?

Las Casas,<sup>1</sup> in the *Journal* of Columbus, under date of December 21, 1492, quotes the very words of the Admiral:

"y he andado *veinte y tres años en la Mar*, sin salir della tiempo que se haya de contar, y vi todo el Levante y Poniente, que dice por ir al camino de Septentrion, que es Inglaterra, y ha andado la Guinea. . . ."

"And I have been twenty-three years upon the sea without quitting it for any time long enough to be counted, and I saw all the East and West, as it is called in going to the North, which is England, and I have travelled to Guinea. . . ."

Ferdinand Columbus in his *Historic*<sup>2</sup> writes:

"Et in vn' altro luogo dice: 'Jo sono andato per mar *ventitre anni* senza uscirne per alcun tempo, che debba scontarsi: & vidi tutto il Leuante & tutto il Poniente, che si dice per andare verso il Settentrione, cioè l'Inghilterra: & ho caminato per la Guinea.'"

"And in another place he says: 'I have been on the sea twenty-three years without leaving it at any time which can be counted: and I saw all the East and all the West, as it is called in going towards the North, that is say England: and I have travelled to Guinea.'"

We have now a further and substantial period of twenty-three years, in which he was more or less upon the sea, to deduct from the year 1483, the point of time at which, as we reckon, his maritime excursions ceased, at least for several years. This subtraction of twenty-three from 1483 leaves us at the year 1460 as the date when he first took to the sea.

In this same *Historic*<sup>3</sup> Ferdinand Columbus writes:

"Et più oltre dice, '*Che cominciò a nauigar di quatordecì anni*, & che sempre seguì il mare.'"

And a little further along he says:

"I commenced to navigate at fourteen years and I have always followed the sea.'"

Again in the *Historic*<sup>4</sup> Ferdinand writes:

"Ma in vna lettera, che egli scrisse l'anno MDI à serenissimi Re' Catolici, à quali non haurebbe hauuto ardire di scriuer piu di quel, che la verità

<sup>1</sup> Navarrete, vol. i., p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> *Historic*, cap. iv., verso folio 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Historic*, verso folio 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, recto folio 8.

ricercaua, dice le seguenti parole: 'Serenissimi Principi, *di età molto tenera io entrai in mare nauigando, & vi ho continouato fin' hoggi: & l'istessa arte inclina a chi la segue a desiderar di sapere i secreti di questo mondo: & hoggimai passano quaranta anni, che io uso per tutte quelle parti, che fin' hoggi si nauigano.*'"

"But in a letter which he wrote in the year 1501 to the Most Serene Catholic Sovereigns, to whom he would not have dared to write more than the truth required, he says the following words: 'Most Serene Princes, at a very tender age I began sailing on the sea and I have continued there until to-day: and the self same calling inclines those who follow it to desire to learn the secrets of this world: and now, having passed forty years, which I spent in all those places to which navigations are made at the present time.'

With this age stated by his son as the point in his life when Christopher Columbus went to sea, we have a starting-place to approximately calculate the years of his life:

Age when he went to sea.....	14	years
Years spent in navigating before departing from Portugal.....	23	"
Years spent in Portugal before his departure.....	2	"
Years spent in service of the Sovereigns until 1492.....	7	"
Years further consumed in his four voyages.....	12	"
Years from his final return in 1504 until his death in 1506.....	2	"
<hr/>		
Total.....	60	years

If, then, he was sixty years of age on May 20, 1506, he was born during the year 1446. Moreover, in this same letter to their Highnesses, quoted by Ferdinand Columbus, is the passage *E hoggimai passano quaranta anni—and now having passed forty years.* This letter is said by Ferdinand to have been written in the year 1501, and, since he had passed his fortieth year and was then in his forty-first year of active life, we may deduct forty-one from 1501, and we will find him entering that active life in the year 1460. He was then at the tender age of fourteen, and deducting fourteen from 1460, we again find the year of his birth to be the year 1446.

The question of age may be determined somewhat by the manner of life. There seems to be a general law governing living organisms, teaching us that the sooner maturity is reached, the shorter the duration of life. This law applies to the individual. Embarking on a sea-going life at fourteen, truly a tender age, as Columbus himself says, the boy developed early. The tendency



of early development is toward early deterioration. The ascent soon made, the mountain soon climbed, the descent begins. The master tissues of the body are poorly fed when the nerves are exhausted. The mental temperature, while it creates, also consumes. We know that Columbus was of a ruddy complexion, with hair in youth that was red. These physical traits are associated with a nervous vitality that eats itself. At thirty this red hair had whitened like the frost. A farm labourer may live to be a hundred, but a little bread and a little warmth bound his world. We know of no other instance where a great purpose was carried about by a man for so many years, loading his life with deferred hopes and only yielding him fruition when he was a little the sunny side of fifty. It is wonderful to see this wool-carder's son, this Genoese sailor, holding steadfastly to his design, until six and forty years had passed. If we are asked to watch him still arguing for his projects at the age of six and fifty, still eager to take an unknown journey out into the Sea of Darkness, the mystery of his powers becomes more unfathomable. His family may have been long of life. They were workers of wool. The wool of sheep was spun into thread, and the thread was woven into cloth, honestly woven, skilfully woven. But employment at this labour for half a hundred years would not have exhausted the body as three and twenty years of navigation on stormy seas, or as seven long years of waiting near a cold and unkind Court.

We cannot tell with absolute certainty when our Columbus was born. We do not know positively the hour, the day, the year when there was sent into the world a man intrusted with the second greatest mission. All we can say is, that a study of documentary evidence, a comparison of dates and events, a consideration of the credible and the probable, unite in the selection of one date. Awaiting the discovery of authoritative testimony to the contrary, we believe the birth of Christopher Columbus was in the city of Genoa and in the year of our Lord 1446.

## CHAPTER XXXVI

### THE YOUTH OF COLUMBUS

It does not seem that any opportunity to acquire an academic education offered Columbus after the year 1460, when he had arrived at the age of fourteen. An attempt has been made to carry the youthful hero through the halls of the University of Pavia. Ferdinand Columbus, in his *Historie*,<sup>1</sup> declares that his father had studied at Pavia. Ferdinand quotes a letter written by Columbus to the Catholic Sovereigns in 1501, in which he speaks of the knowledge he had acquired:

“& i miei trafichi, & conuerfatione fono ftati con gente fauia, cofi ecclefiaftici, come fecolari, & Latini, & Greci, Indiani, & Mori, & con molti altri di altre fette. Et a quefto mio defiderio trouai il noftro Signore molto propitio; & perciò hebbi da lui fpirito d'intelligenza. Della Nauigatione mi fece molto intendente: d'Aftrologia mi diede quel, che baftaua; & cofi di Geometria, e d'Aritmetica, l'animo mi donò ingegnofo, & le mani atte a difegnar quefta ffera, & in effa le città, i monti, & i fiumi, l'ifole, e i porti tutti nel loro conueneuol fito. In quefto tempo io ho veduto, & meffo ftudio in vedere tutti i libri di Cofmografia, d'Historia, & di Filofofia, & d'altre fcienze.”

“And my intercourse and conversation have been with learned persons, ecclesiastical as well as secular, & Latins, & Greeks, Indians, & Moors, &

<sup>1</sup> “Dico adunque, che nella fua picciola età imparò lettere, & ftudiò in Pavia tanto, che gli baftaua per intendere i cofmografi, alla cui lettione fu molto affettionato, per lo qual rifpetto ancora si diede all' Aftrologia, & alla Geometria: percioche quefte fcienze fono in tal maniera concatenate, che l'una non può ftar fenza l'altra: & ancora perche Tolomeo nel principio della fua Cofmografia dice, che niuno può effer buon Cofmografo, fe ancora non fara pittore.” (*Historie*, verso folio 7.)

“I say therefore, that in his youth he learned letters and studied in Pavia enough to understand Cosmography, the teachings of which science greatly delighted him: and on account of which he also studied Astrology and Geometry, since these sciences are so related to each other, that one cannot be understood without the other: and also because Ptolemy in the beginning of his Cosmography says that no one can be a good cosmographer if he is not also a good painter [maker of charts].”

with many others of other sects. And to this, my desire, our Lord was very propitious; and therefore I had from Him a spirit of intelligence. In regard to Navigation He made me very intelligent: of Astrology He gave me what was sufficient: and also of Geometry and Arithmetic. He gave me an ingenious mind and hands apt in designing this sphere, and upon it the cities, mountains, and the rivers, the islands and harbours, all in their proper place. In this time I saw and studied diligently all the books of Cosmography, of History, & of Philosophy, & of other sciences."

The lad could not have served two masters. He could not have sat long at the feet of philosophy in Pavia, and acquired the art of weaving and carding in Genoa. That he had knowledge no one can deny. That it was academically taught does not seem so clear. Harrisse notices that of all the writings we have of Columbus, there are none in Italian, his mother-tongue. When he wrote to the Pope in Rome, he used neither Latin nor Italian, but Spanish. Pope Alexander VI. was a Spaniard, a native of Valencia, but he had lived in Italy, in Rome, and Venice since long before the time when Columbus went to either Portugal or Spain. Certainly Columbus did not know him, and in addressing the Head of the Church he should have written in the language of the Church or in the language of Rome. When he sent his letter to the Bank of St. George at Genoa, he wrote in Spanish.<sup>1</sup> He evidently made use of the tongue he knew best, and that was the language of his adopted country, Spain. There is one feature of the character of Columbus which may give us a clue to the source from whence came what learning he had, and that was his piety. This virtue ran through all his life, attended him on every occasion, cheered him in his trials, comforted him in his bodily afflictions, illumined the vision he caught of the world's redemption, and closed his eyes in final faith. He never learned piety at the loom or amid foreign shipping at the Genoese wharfs; nor yet again in his sailings in different seas. We conjecture he acquired it from some good and learned priest who had passed from the university to the cloister, and who, if he told the young boy of the sacrifice on the Cross, also told him of the Moslem's control of the Holy Sepulchre and recited the tales of the nine

<sup>1</sup> When Columbus wrote to Paolo Toscanelli, he is said by Ferdinand (*Historic*, verso folio 15) to have prepared his letter by the aid of Lorenzo Girardus, a Florentine, then in Lisbon. And when the reply came, Ferdinand says it was in Latin, which indicates that the letter written by Columbus and his Florentine friend was not in Latin, and was probably in Italian.

Crusades. The Crusaders' spirit had been sleeping for two hundred years, but it was somehow breathed into the soul of Columbus, and was in his mind throughout all the days of his life. He dreamed of his revenues from the New World providing for a new Crusade and for the control of the Holy Land by the Church and Christian sovereigns. His *Book of the Prophecies* discloses a knowledge of the Scriptures and the writings of the fathers of the Church and the more modern religious writers like Gerson. From such a teacher he might have received his knowledge of the classics, of mathematics, of astrology, of history, of philosophy, and cosmography. And by such a teacher he might have had his mind directed and developed at odd hours borrowed from the days of his apprenticeship.

In his journals, letters, and writings, the Admiral shows he was familiar with the works of Aristotle, Julius Cæsar, the poet Seneca, Pliny, Ptolemy, Solinus, Capitolinus, the Roman historian; Ahmed-Ben-Kothair, the Arabic astronomer, and Ibn-Rochid, the Arabian philosopher; Rabi Samuel de Israel, the Jew who is spoken of in the *Book of the Prophecies*; Isidorus, the Spanish chronicler; Beda, Sacrobosco, and Duns Scotus of the Northern Isles; Wolfridus Strabo, the German Benedictine poet, as well as his older namesake, the geographer; Joachim of Calabria, the Abbot of Fiore; Petrus Aliacus (whose *Imago Mundi* was largely made up of the thoughts of others); Gerson, the Chancellor of the Paris University; Nicolaus de Lira and Æneas Sylvius (Pope Pius II.); Johannes Mülser, *alias* Regiomontanus, whose *Almanac* was probably with the Admiral on his fourth voyage, as we shall afterward show. The wise reader already knows of the correspondence between Columbus and Toscanelli, the Florentine, and a copy of the map the latter made was certainly in the hands of the Admiral on his first eventful voyage.

The weavers of Genoa were united in an association perhaps like the guilds of London, and from a document quoted by HARRISSE it appears that they established schools in the quarter of St. Stephen in which was the home of Domenico Columbus. There the young weaver may have learned the rudiments, but we still think his growing mind received the attention of some special, dominating spirit, guiding it in circles wider than those of a common school. Columbus was by nature a student. He owed much of his knowledge to his powers of observation. The

foundation stones of his scientific knowledge were laid by some careful teacher and by the study of some valuable books, but there was still lacking that training of a mind which can consistently classify and arrange what it analyses and discovers. Humboldt was struck with the views of physical geography disclosed by the Admiral in his *Journal*, and declares that, to his mind, the projects of Columbus owe their success not more to the energy of character which executed them than to the intelligence which first conceived them and then deliberately planned them. The new road to the West and the New World at its end were full of interest to him, and he studied the phenomena as a naturalist would study a new species. He coolly speculated as to its cause when he beheld the variation of the declination of the needle, so terrifying to others. He could determine his position west of the Canaries by observing the differences of the right ascension of the stars. If he could not actually calculate eclipses himself, he knew where to find his knowledge, and how to use it for the safety of himself and his followers.<sup>1</sup> Humboldt also points out that Columbus could, within certain limits, find the longitude of his vessel by availing himself of the declination of the magnetic needle.

<sup>1</sup> The account of this eclipse of the moon and the manner in which Columbus foretold it is interesting. It is found in the relation preceding his will, made by Diego Mendez, and as that relation supplements and completes the last voyage of Columbus, it will be inserted in full in the portion of our Work treating of that voyage. It will suffice to state here that there were several books printed in the fifteenth century, giving the dates for the lunar eclipses and the exact time of their duration, for a quarter of a century or more beyond the time of their issuing from the press, and therefore the performance of the Admiral was memorable rather than his feat wonderful.













