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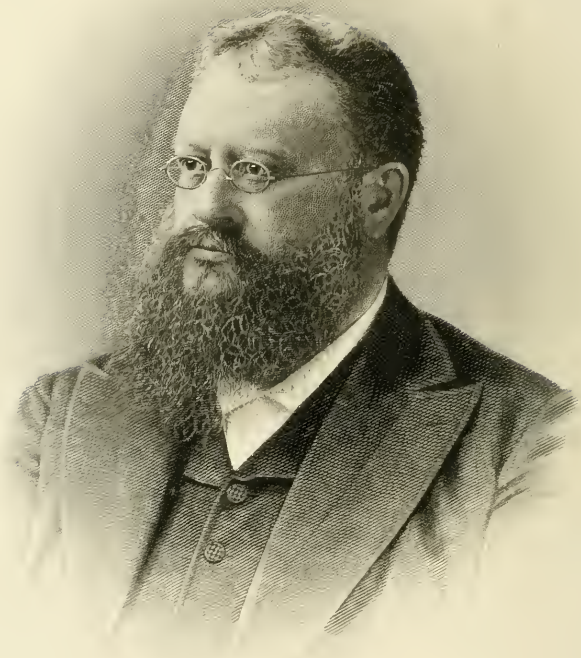
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John Fiske.

THE
DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

*WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF ANCIENT AMERICA
AND THE SPANISH CONQUEST*

BY

JOHN FISKE

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

Then I unbar the doors; my paths lead out
The exodus of nations; I disperse
Men to all shores that front the hoary main.

I too have arts and sorceries;
Illusion dwells forever with the wave.
I make some coast alluring, some lone isle
To distant men, who must go there or die.

EMERSON



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1854

TO

EDWARD AUGUSTUS FREEMAN,

A SCHOLAR WHO INHERITS THE GIFT OF MIDAS, AND
TURNS INTO GOLD WHATEVER SUBJECT HE
TOUCHES, I DEDICATE THIS BOOK, WITH
GRATITUDE FOR ALL THAT HE
HAS TAUGHT ME

PREFACE.

THE present work is the outcome of two lines of study pursued, with more or less interruption from other studies, for about thirty years. It will be observed that the book has two themes, as different in character as the themes for voice and piano in Schubert's "Frühlingsglaube," and yet so closely related that the one is needful for an adequate comprehension of the other. In order to view in their true perspective the series of events comprised in the Discovery of America, one needs to form a mental picture of that strange world of savagery and barbarism to which civilized Europeans were for the first time introduced in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in their voyages along the African coast, into the Indian and Pacific oceans, and across the Atlantic. Nothing that Europeans discovered during that stirring period was so remarkable as these antique phases of human society, the mere existence of which had scarcely been suspected, and the real character of which it has been left for the present generation to begin to understand. Nowhere was

this ancient society so full of instructive lessons as in aboriginal America, which had pursued its own course of development, cut off and isolated from the Old World, for probably more than fifty thousand years. The imperishable interest of those episodes in the Discovery of America known as the conquests of Mexico and Peru consists chiefly in the glimpses they afford us of this primitive world. It was not an uninhabited continent that the Spaniards found, and in order to comprehend the course of events it is necessary to know something about those social features that formed a large part of the burden of the letters of Columbus and Vespuceius, and excited even more intense and general interest in Europe than the purely geographical questions suggested by the voyages of those great sailors. The descriptions of ancient America, therefore, which form a kind of background to the present work, need no apology.

It was the study of prehistoric Europe and of early Aryan institutions that led me by a natural sequence to the study of aboriginal America. In 1869, after sketching the plan of a book on our Aryan forefathers, I was turned aside for five years by writing "Cosmic Philosophy." During that interval I also wrote "Myths and Myth-Makers" as a side-work to the projected book on the Aryans, and as soon as the excursion into the field of general philosophy was ended, in 1874, the work on

that book was resumed. Fortunately it was not then carried to completion, for it would have been sadly antiquated by this time. The revolution in theory concerning the Aryans has been as remarkable as the revolution in chemical theory which some years ago introduced the New Chemistry. It is becoming eminently probable that the centre of diffusion of Aryan speech was much nearer to Lithuania than to any part of Central Asia, and it has for some time been quite clear that the state of society revealed in Homer and the Vedas is not at all like primitive society, but very far from it. By 1876 I had become convinced that there was no use in going on without widening the field of study. The conclusions of the Aryan school needed to be supplemented, and often seriously modified, by the study of the barbaric world, and it soon became manifest that for the study of barbarism there is no other field that for fruitfulness can be compared with aboriginal America.

This is because the progress of society was much slower in the western hemisphere than in the eastern, and in the days of Columbus and Cortes it had nowhere "caught up" to the points reached by the Egyptians of the Old Empire or by the builders of Mycenæ and Tiryns. In aboriginal America we therefore find states of society preserved in stages of development similar to those of our ancestral societies in the Old World long ages

before Homer and the Vedas. Many of the social phenomena of ancient Europe are also found in aboriginal America, but always in a more primitive condition. The clan, phratry, and tribe among the Iroquois help us in many respects to get back to the original conceptions of the gens, curia, and tribe among the Romans. We can better understand the growth of kingship of the Agamemnon type when we have studied the less developed type in Montezuma. The house-communities of the southern Slavs are full of interest for the student of the early phases of social evolution, but the Mandan round-house and the Zuñi pueblo carry us much deeper into the past. Aboriginal American institutions thus afford one of the richest fields in the world for the application of the comparative method, and the red Indian, viewed in this light, becomes one of the most interesting of men; for in studying him intelligently, one gets down into the stone age of human thought. No time should be lost in gathering whatever can be learned of his ideas and institutions, before their character has been wholly lost under the influence of white men. Under that influence many Indians have been quite transformed, while others have been as yet but little affected. Some extremely ancient types of society, still preserved on this continent in something like purity, are among the most instructive monuments of the past that can now be

found in the world. Such a type is that of the Moquis of northeastern Arizona. I have heard a rumour, which it is to be hoped is ill-founded, that there are persons who wish the United States government to interfere with this peaceful and self-respecting people, break up their pueblo life, scatter them in farmsteads, and otherwise compel them, against their own wishes, to change their habits and customs. If such a cruel and stupid thing were ever to be done, we might justly be said to have equalled or surpassed the folly of those Spaniards who used to make bonfires of Mexican hieroglyphics. It is hoped that the present book, in which of course it is impossible to do more than sketch the outlines and indicate the bearings of so vast a subject, will serve to awaken readers to the interest and importance of American archæology for the general study of the evolution of human society.

So much for the first and subsidiary theme. As for my principal theme, the Discovery of America, I was first drawn to it through its close relations with a subject which for some time chiefly occupied my mind, the history of the contact between the Aryan and Semitic worlds, and more particularly between Christians and Mussulmans about the shores of the Mediterranean. It is also interesting as part of the history of science, and furthermore as connected with the beginnings of

one of the most momentous events in the career of mankind, the colonization of the barbaric world by Europeans. Moreover, the discovery of America has its full share of the romantic fascination that belongs to most of the work of the Renaissance period. I have sought to exhibit these different aspects of the subject.

The present book is in all its parts written from the original sources of information. The work of modern scholars has of course been freely used, but never without full acknowledgment in text or notes, and seldom without independent verification from the original sources. Acknowledgments are chiefly due to Humboldt, Morgan, Bandelier, Major, Varnhagen, Markham, Helps, and HARRISSE. To the last-named scholar I owe an especial debt of gratitude, in common with all who have studied this subject since his arduous researches were begun. Some of the most valuable parts of his work have consisted in the discovery, reproduction, and collation of documents; and to some extent his pages are practically equivalent to the original sources inspected by him in the course of years of search through European archives, public and private. In the present book I must have expressed dissent from his conclusions at least as often as agreement with them, but whether one agrees with him or not, one always finds him helpful and stimulating. Though he has in some sort made

himself a Frenchman in the course of his labours, it is pleasant to recall the fact that M. Harrisse is by birth our fellow-countryman; and there are surely few Americans of our time whom students of history have more reason for holding in honour.

I have not seen Mr. Winsor's "Christopher Columbus" in time to make any use of it. Within the last few days, while my final chapter is going to press, I have received the sheets of it, a few days in advance of publication. I do not find in it any references to sources of information which I have not already fully considered, so that our differences of opinion on sundry points may serve to show what diverse conclusions may be drawn from the same data. The most conspicuous difference is that which concerns the personal character of Columbus. Mr. Winsor writes in a spirit of energetic (not to say violent) reaction against the absurdities of Roselly de Lorgues and others who have tried to make a saint of Columbus; and under the influence of this reaction he offers us a picture of the great navigator that serves to raise a pertinent question. No one can deny that Las Casas was a keen judge of men, or that his standard of right and wrong was quite as lofty as any one has reached in our own time. He had a much more intimate knowledge of Columbus than any modern historian can ever hope to acquire, and he

always speaks of him with warm admiration and respect. But how could Las Casas ever have respected the feeble, mean-spirited driveller whose portrait Mr. Winsor asks us to accept as that of the Discoverer of America?

If, however, instead of his biographical estimate of Columbus, we consider Mr. Winsor's contributions toward a correct statement of the difficult geographical questions connected with the subject, we recognize at once the work of an acknowledged master in his chosen field. It is work, too, of the first order of importance. It would be hard to mention a subject on which so many reams of direful nonsense have been written as on the discovery of America; and the prolific source of so much folly has generally been what Mr. Freeman fitly calls "bondage to the modern map." In order to understand what the great mariners of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were trying to do, and what people supposed them to have done, one must begin by resolutely banishing the modern map from one's mind. The ancient map must take its place, but this must not be the ridiculous "*Orbis Veteribus Notus*," to be found in the ordinary classical atlas, *which simply copies the outlines of countries with modern accuracy from the modern map, and then scatters ancient names over them!* Such maps are worse than useless. In dealing with the discovery of America one must steadily keep before

one's mind the quaint notions of ancient geographers, especially Ptolemy and Mela, as portrayed upon such maps as are reproduced in the present volume. It was just these distorted and hazy notions that swayed the minds and guided the movements of the great discoverers, and went on reproducing themselves upon newly-made maps for a century or more after the time of Columbus. Without constant reference to these old maps one cannot begin to understand the circumstances of the discovery of America.

In no way can one get at the heart of the matter more completely than by threading the labyrinth of causes and effects through which the western hemisphere came slowly and gradually to be known by the name AMERICA. The reader will not fail to observe the pains which I have taken to elucidate this subject, not from any peculiar regard for Americus Vesputius, but because the quintessence of the whole geographical problem of the discovery of the New World is in one way or another involved in the discussion. I can think of no finer instance of the queer complications that can come to surround and mystify an increase of knowledge too great and rapid to be comprehended by a single generation of men.

In the solution of the problem as to the first Vesputius voyage I follow the lead of Varnhagen, but always independently and with the documen-

tary evidence fully in sight. For some years I vainly tried to pursue Humboldt's clues to some intelligible conclusion, and felt inhospitably inclined toward Varnhagen's views as altogether too plausible; he seemed to settle too many difficulties at once. But after becoming convinced of the spuriousness of the Bandini letter (see below, vol. ii. p. 94); and observing how the air at once was cleared in some directions, it seemed that further work in textual criticism would be well bestowed. I made a careful study of the diction of the letter from Vespuccius to Soderini in its two principal texts:—1. the Latin version of 1507, the original of which is in the library of Harvard University, appended to Waldseemüller's "Cosmographiæ Introductio"; 2. the Italian text reproduced severally by Bandini, Canovai, and Varnhagen, from the excessively rare original, of which only five copies are now known to be in existence. It is this text that Varnhagen regards as the original from which the Latin version of 1507 was made, through an intermediate French version now lost. In this opinion Varnhagen does not stand alone, as Mr. Winsor seems to think ("Christopher Columbus," p. 540, line 5 from bottom), for HARRISSE and AVEZAC have expressed themselves plainly to the same effect (see below, vol. ii. p. 42). A minute study of this text, with all its quaint interpolations of Spanish and

Portuguese idioms and seafaring phrases into the Italian ground-work of its diction, long ago convinced me that it never was a *translation* from anything in heaven or earth or the waters under the earth. Nobody would ever have translated a document *into* such an extremely peculiar and individual jargon. It is most assuredly an original text, and its author was either Vespuccius or the Old Nick. It was by starting from this text as primitive that Varnhagen started correctly in his interpretation of the statements in the letter, and it was for that reason that he was able to dispose of so many difficulties at one blow. When he showed that the landfall of Vespuccius on his first voyage was near Cape Honduras and had nothing whatever to do with the Pearl Coast, he began to follow the right trail, and so the facts which had puzzled everybody began at once to fall into the right places. This is all made clear in the seventh chapter of the present work, where the general argument of Varnhagen is in many points strongly reinforced. The evidence here set forth in connection with the Cantino map is especially significant.

It is interesting on many accounts to see the first voyage of Vespuccius thus elucidated, though it had no connection with the application of his name by Waldseemüller to an entirely different region from any that was visited upon that voyage.

The real significance of the third voyage of Vespuccius, in connection with the naming of America, is now set forth, I believe, for the first time in the light thrown upon the subject by the opinions of Ptolemy and Mela. Neither Humboldt nor Major nor HARRISSE nor VARNHAGEN seems to have had a firm grasp of what was in Waldseemüller's mind when he wrote the passage photographed below in vol. ii. p. 136 of this work. It is only when we keep the Greek and Roman theories in the foreground and unflinchingly bar out that intrusive modern atlas, that we realize what the Freiburg geographer meant and why Ferdinand Columbus was not in the least shocked or surprised.

I have at various times given lectures on the discovery of America and questions connected therewith, more especially at University College, London, in 1879, at the Philosophical Institution in Edinburgh, in 1880, at the Lowell Institute in Boston, in 1890, and in the course of my work as professor in the Washington University at St. Louis; but the present work is in no sense whatever a reproduction of such lectures.

Acknowledgments are due to Mr. Winsor for his cordial permission to make use of a number of reproductions of old maps and facsimiles already used by him in the "Narrative and Critical History of America;" they are mentioned in the lists

of illustrations. I have also to thank Dr. Brinton for allowing me to reproduce a page of old Mexican music, and the Hakluyt Society for permission to use the Zeno and Catalan maps and the view of Kakortok church. Dr. Fewkes has very kindly favoured me with a sight of proof-sheets of some recent monographs by Bandelier. And for courteous assistance at various libraries I have most particularly to thank Mr. Kiernan of Harvard University, Mr. Appleton Griffin of the Boston Public Library, and Mr. Uhler of the Peabody Institute in Baltimore.

There is one thing which I feel obliged, though with extreme hesitation and reluctance, to say to my readers in this place, because the time has come when something ought to be said, and there seems to be no other place available for saying it. For many years letters — often in a high degree interesting and pleasant to receive — have been coming to me from persons with whom I am not acquainted, and I have always done my best to answer them. It is a long time since such letters came to form the larger part of a voluminous mass of correspondence. The physical fact has assumed dimensions with which it is no longer possible to cope. If I were to answer all the letters which arrive by every mail, I should never be able to do another day's work. It is becoming impossible

even to *read* them all ; and there is scarcely time for giving due attention to one in ten. Kind friends and readers will thus understand that if their queries seem to be neglected, it is by no means from any want of good will, but simply from the lamentable fact that the day contains only four-and-twenty hours.

CAMBRIDGE, *October 25, 1891.*

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THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

ANCIENT AMERICA.

WHEN the civilized people of Europe first became acquainted with the continents of North and South America, they found them inhabited by a race of men quite unlike any of the races with which they were familiar in the Old World. Between the various tribes of this aboriginal American race, except in the sub-arctic region, there is now seen to be a general physical likeness, such as to constitute an American type of mankind as clearly recognizable as those types which we call Mongolian and Malay, though far less pronounced than such types as the Australian or the negro. The most obvious characteristics possessed in common by the American aborigines are the copper-coloured or rather the cinnamon-coloured complexion, along with the high cheek-bones and small deepset eyes, the straight black hair and absence or scantiness of beard. With regard to stature, length of limbs, massiveness of frame, and shape of skull, considerable

divergencies may be noticed among the various American tribes, as indeed is also the case among the members of the white race in Europe, and of other races. With regard to culture the differences have been considerable, although, with two or three apparent but not real exceptions, there was nothing in pre-Columbian America that could properly be called civilization; the general condition of the people ranged all the way from savagery to barbarism of a high type.

Soon after America was proved not to be part of Asia, a puzzling question arose. Whence came these "Indians," and in what manner did they find their way to the western hemisphere. Since the beginning of the present century discoveries in geology have entirely altered our mental attitude toward this question. It was formerly argued upon the two assumptions that the geographical relations of land and water had been always pretty much the same as we now find them, and that all the racial differences among men have arisen since the date of the "Noachian Deluge," which was generally placed somewhere between two and three thousand years before the Christian era. Hence inasmuch as European tradition knows nothing of any such race as the Indians, it was supposed that at some time within the historic period they must have moved eastward from Asia into America; and thus "there was felt to be a sort of speculative necessity for discovering points of resemblance between American languages, myths, and social observances and those of the Oriental world. Now the abori-

Question as to
their origin.

gines of this Continent were made out to be Kamtchatkans, and now Chinamen, and again they were shown, with quaint erudition, to be remnants of the ten tribes of Israel. Perhaps none of these theories have been exactly disproved, but they have all been superseded and laid on the shelf.”¹

¹ See my *Excursions of an Evolutionist*, p. 148. A good succinct account of these various theories, monuments of wasted ingenuity, is given in Short's *North Americans of Antiquity*, chap. iii. The most elaborate statement of the theory of an Israelite colonization of America is to be found in the ponderous tomes of Lord Kingsborough, *Mexican Antiquities*, London, 1831-48, 9 vols. elephant-folio. Such a theory was entertained by the author of that curious piece of literary imposture, *The Book of Mormon*. In this book we are told that, when the tongues were confounded at Babel, the Lord selected a certain Jared, with his family and friends, and instructed them to build eight ships, in which, after a voyage of 344 days, they were brought to America, where they “did build many mighty cities,” and “prosper exceedingly.” But after some centuries they perished because of their iniquities. In the reign of Zedekiah, when calamity was impending over Judah, two brothers, Nephi and Laman, under divine guidance led a colony to America. There, says the veracious chronicler, their descendants became great nations, and worked in *iron*, and had stuffs of *silk*, besides keeping plenty of *oxen* and *sheep*. (*Ether*, ix. 18, 19; x. 23, 24.) Christ appeared and wrought many wonderful works; people spake with tongues, and the dead were raised. (3 *Nephi*, xxvi. 14, 15.) But about the close of the fourth century of our era, a terrible war between Lamanites and Nephites ended in the destruction of the latter. Some two million warriors, with their wives and children, having been slaughtered, the prophet Mormon escaped, with his son Moroni, to the “hill Cumorah,” hard by the “waters of Ripliancum,” or Lake Ontario. (*Ether*, xv. 2, 8, 11.) There they hid the sacred tablets, which remained concealed until they were miraculously discovered and translated by Joseph Smith in 1827. There is, of course, no element of tradition in this story. It is all pure fiction, and of a very clumsy sort, such as might easily be devised by an ignorant man accustomed to the language of the Bible; and of course it was suggested by the old notion of the Israelitish origin of the red men. The references are to *The Book of Mormon*, Salt-Lake City: Deseret News Co., 1885.

The tendency of modern discovery is indeed toward agreement with the time-honoured tradition which makes the Old World, and perhaps Asia, the earliest dwelling-place of mankind. Competition has been far more active in the fauna of the eastern hemisphere than in that of the western, natural selection has accordingly resulted in the evolution of higher forms, and it is there that we find both extinct and surviving species of man's nearest collateral relatives, those tailless half-human apes, the gorilla, chimpanzee, orang, and gibbon. It is altogether probable that the people whom the Spaniards found in America came by migration from the Old World. But it is by no means probable that their migration occurred within so short a period as five or six thousand years. A series of observations and discoveries kept up for the last half-century seem to show that North America has been continuously inhabited by human beings since the earliest Pleistocene times, if not earlier.

The first group of these observations and discoveries relate to "middens" or shell-heaps. On the banks of the Damariscotta river in Maine are some of the most remarkable shell-heaps in the world. With an average thickness of six or seven feet, they rise in places to a height of twenty-five feet. They consist almost entirely of huge oyster-shells often ten inches in length and sometimes much longer. The shells belong to a salt-water species. In some places "there is an appearance of stratification covered by an alternation of shells and earth, as if the

Antiquity of
man in
America.

Shell-mounds.

deposition of shells had been from time to time interrupted, and a vegetable mould had covered the surface." In these heaps have been found fragments of pottery and of the bones of such edible animals as the moose and deer. "At the very foundation of one of the highest heaps," in a situation which must for long ages have been undisturbed, Mr. Edward Morse "found the remains of an ancient fire-place, where he exhumed charcoal, bones, and pottery."¹ The significant circumstance is that "at the present time oysters are only found in very small numbers, too small to make it an object to gather them," and so far as memory and tradition can reach, such seems to have been the case. The great size of the heap, coupled with the notable change in the distribution of this mollusk since the heap was abandoned, implies a very considerable lapse of time since the vestiges of human occupation were first left here. Similar conclusions have been drawn from the banks or mounds of shells on the St. John's river in Florida,² on the Alabama river, at Grand Lake on the lower Mississippi, and at San Pablo in the bay of San Francisco. Thus at various points from Maine to California, and in connection with one particular kind of memorial, we find records of the presence of man at a period undoubtedly prehistoric, but not necessarily many thousands of years old.

¹ *Second Annual Report of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology, etc.*, p. 18.

² Visited in 1866-74 by Professor Jeffries Wyman, and described in his *Fresh-Water Shell Mounds of the St. John's River, Cambridge*, 1875.

The second group of discoveries carries us back much farther, even into the earlier stages of that widespread glaciation which was the most remarkable feature of the Pleistocene period. At the periods of greatest cold "the continent of North America was deeply swathed in ice as far south as the latitude of Philadelphia, while glaciers descended into North Carolina."¹ The valleys of the Rocky Mountains also supported enormous glaciers, and a similar state of things existed at the same time in Europe. These periods of intense cold were alternated with long interglacial periods during which the climate was warmer than it is to-day. Concerning the antiquity of the Pleistocene age, which was characterized by such extraordinary vicissitudes of heat and cold, there has been, as in all questions relating to geological time, much conflict of opinion. Twenty years ago geologists often argued as if there were an unlimited fund of past time upon which to draw; but since Sir William Thomson and other physicists emphasized the point that in an antiquity very far from infinite this earth must have been a molten mass, there has been a reaction. In many instances further study has shown that less time was needed in order to effect a given change than had formerly been supposed; and so there has grown up a tendency to shorten the time assigned to geological periods. Here, as in so many other cases, the truth is doubtless to be sought within the extremes. If we adopt the magnificent argument of Dr. Croll, which seems

The Glacial
Period.

¹ *Excursions of an Evolutionist*, p. 39.

to me still to hold its ground against all adverse criticism,¹ and regard the Glacial epoch as coincident with the last period of high eccentricity of the earth's orbit, we obtain a result that is moderate and probable. That astronomical period began about 240,000 years ago and came to an end about 80,000 years ago. During this period the eccentricity was seldom less than .04, and at one time rose to .0569. At the present time the eccentricity is .0168, and nearly 800,000 years will pass before it attains such a point as it reached during the Glacial epoch. For the last 50,000 years the departure of the earth's orbit from a circular form has been exceptionally small.

Now the traces of the existence of men in North America during the Glacial epoch have in recent years been discovered in abundance, as for example, the palæolithic quartzite implements found in the drift near the city of St. Paul, which date from toward the close of the Glacial epoch;² the fragment of a human jaw found in the red clay deposited in Minnesota during an earlier part of

¹ Croll, *Climate and Time in their Geological Relations*, New York, 1875; *Discussions on Climate and Cosmology*, New York, 1886; Archibald Geikie, *Text Book of Geology*, pp. 23-29, 883-909, London, 1882; James Geikie, *The Great Ice Age*, pp. 94-136, New York, 1874; *Prehistoric Europe*, pp. 558-562, London, 1881; Wallace, *Island Life*, pp. 101-225, New York, 1881. Some objections to Croll's theory may be found in Wright's *Ice Age in North America*, pp. 405-505, 585-595, New York, 1889. I have given a brief account of the theory in my *Excursions of an Evolutionist*, pp. 57-76.

² See Miss F. E. Babbitt, "Vestiges of Glacial Man in Minnesota," in *Proceedings of the American Association*, vol. xxxii., 1883.

that epoch;¹ the noble collection of palæoliths found by Dr. C. C. Abbott in the Trenton gravels in New Jersey; and the more recent discoveries of Dr. Metz and Mr. H. T. Cresson.

The year 1873 marks an era in American archæology as memorable as the year 1841 in the investigation of the antiquity of man in Europe. With reference to these problems Dr. Abbott occupies a position similar to that of Boucher de Perthes in the Old World, and the Trenton valley is coming to be classic ground, like the valley of the Somme. In April, 1873, Dr. Abbott published his description of three rude implements which he had found some sixteen feet below the surface of the ground "in the gravels of a bluff overlooking the Delaware river." The implements were in place in an undisturbed deposit, and could not have found their way thither in any recent time; Dr. Abbott assigned them to the age of the Glacial drift. This was the beginning of a long series of investigations, in which Dr. Abbott's work was assisted and supplemented by Messrs. Whitney, Carr, Putnam, Shaler, Lewis, Wright, Haynes, Dawkins, and other eminent geologists and archæologists. By 1888 Dr. Abbott had obtained not less than 60 implements from various recorded depths in the gravel, while many others were found at depths not recorded or in the talus of the banks.² Three human skulls and other bones, along with the tusk

Discoveries in
the Trenton
gravel.

¹ See N. H. Winchell, *Annual Report of the State Geologist of Minnesota*, 1877, p. 60.

² Wright's *Ice Age in North America*, p. 516.

of a mastodon, have been discovered in the same gravel. Careful studies have been made of the conditions under which the gravel-banks were deposited and their probable age; and it is generally agreed that they date from the later portion of the Glacial period, or about the time of the final recession of the ice-sheet from this region. At that time, in its climate and general aspect, New York harbour must have been much like a Greenland fiord of the present day. In 1883 Professor Wright of Oberlin, after a careful study of the Trenton deposits and their relations to the terrace and gravel deposits to the westward, predicted that similar palæolithic implements would be found in Ohio. Two years afterward, the prediction was verified by Dr. Metz, who found a true palæolith of black flint at Madisonville, in the Little Miami valley, eight feet below the surface. Since then further discoveries have been made in the same neighbourhood by Dr. Metz, and in Jackson county, Indiana, by Mr. H. T. Cresson; and the existence of man in that part of America toward the close of the

Discoveries in
Ohio, Indiana,
and Minne-
sota;

Glacial period may be regarded as definitely established. The discoveries of Miss Babbitt and Professor Winchell, in Minnesota, carry the conclusion still farther, and add to the probability of the existence of a human population all the way from the Atlantic coast to the upper Mississippi valley at that remote antiquity.

A still more remarkable discovery was made by Mr. Cresson in July, 1887, at Claymont, in the north of Delaware. In a deep cut of the Balti-

more and Ohio Railroad, in a stratum of Philadelphia red gravel and brick clay, Mr. Cresson obtained an unquestionable palæolith, and a few months afterward his diligent search was rewarded with another.¹ This formation dates from far back in the Glacial period. If we accept Dr. Croll's method of reckoning, we can hardly assign to it an antiquity less than 150,000 years.

¹ The chipped implements discovered by Messrs. Abbott, Metz, and Cresson, and by Miss Babbitt, are all on exhibition at the Peabody Museum in Cambridge, whither it is necessary to go if one would get a comprehensive view of the relics of interglacial man in North America. The collection of implements made by Dr. Abbott includes much more than the palæoliths already referred to. It is one of the most important collections in the world, and is worth a long journey to see. Containing more than 20,000 implements, all found within a very limited area in New Jersey, "as now arranged, the collection exhibits at one and the same time the sequence of peoples and phases of development in the valley of the Delaware, from palæolithic man, through the intermediate period, to the recent Indians, and the relative numerical proportion of the many forms of their implements, each in its time. . . . It is doubtful whether any similar collection exists from which a student can gather so much information at sight as in this, where the natural pebbles from the gravel begin the series, and the beautifully chipped points of chert, jasper, and quartz terminate it in one direction, and the polished celts and grooved stone axes in the other." There are three principal groups, — first, the interglacial palæoliths, secondly, the argillite points and flakes, and thirdly, the arrow-heads, knives, mortars and pestles, axes and hoes, ornamental stones, etc., of Indians of the recent period. Dr. Abbott's *Primitive Industry*, published in 1881, is a useful manual for studying this collection; and an account of his discoveries in the glacial gravels is given in *Reports of the Peabody Museum*, vol. ii. pp. 30-48, 225-258; see also vol. iii. p. 492. A succinct and judicious account of the whole subject is given by H. W. Haynes, "The Prehistoric Archæology of North America," in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. i. pp. 329-368.

But according to Professor Josiah Whitney there is reason for supposing that man existed in California at a still more remote period. He holds that the famous skull discovered in 1866, in the gold-bearing gravels of Calaveras county, belongs to the Pliocene age.¹ If this be so, it seems to suggest an antiquity not less than twice as great as that just mentioned. The question as to the antiquity of the Calaveras skull is still hotly disputed among the foremost palæontologists, but as one reads the arguments one cannot help feeling that theoretical difficulties have put the objectors into a somewhat inhospitable attitude toward the evidence so ably presented by Professor Whitney. It has been too hastily assumed that, from the point of view of evolution, the existence of Pliocene man is improbable. Upon general considerations, however, we have strong reason for believing that human beings must have inhabited some portions of the earth throughout the whole duration of the Pliocene period, and it need not surprise us if their remains are presently discovered in more places than one.²

¹ J. D. Whitney, "The Auriferous Gravels of the Sierra Nevada," *Memoirs of the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy at Harvard College*, Cambridge, 1880, vol. vi.

² In an essay published in 1882 on "Europe before the Arrival of Man" (*Excursions of an Evolutionist*, pp. 1-40), I argued that if we are to find traces of the "missing link," or primordial stock of primates from which man has been derived, we must undoubtedly look for it in the Miocene (p. 36). I am pleased at finding the same opinion lately expressed by one of the highest living authorities. The case is thus stated by Alfred Russel Wallace: "The evidence we now possess of the exact nature of the

Whatever may be the final outcome of the Calaveras controversy, there can be no doubt as to the existence of man in North America far back in early Pleistocene times. The men of the River-drift, who long dwelt in western Europe during

resemblance of man to the various species of anthropoid apes, shows us that he has little special affinity for any one rather than another species, while he differs from them all in several important characters in which they agree with each other. The conclusion to be drawn from these facts is, that his points of affinity connect him with the whole group while his special peculiarities equally separate him from the whole group, and that he must, therefore, have diverged from the common ancestral form before the existing types of anthropoid apes had diverged from each other. Now this divergence almost certainly took place as early as the Miocene period, because in the Upper Miocene deposits of western Europe remains of two species of ape have been found allied to the gibbons, one of them, *Dryopithecus*, nearly as large as a man, and believed by M. Lartet to have approached man in its dentition more than the existing apes. We seem hardly, therefore, to have reached in the Upper Miocene the epoch of the common ancestor of man and the anthropoids." (*Darwinism*, p. 455, London, 1889.) Mr. Wallace goes on to answer the objection of Professor Boyd Dawkins, "that man did not probably exist in Pliocene times, because almost all the known mammalia of that epoch are distinct species from those now living on the earth, and that the same changes of the environment which led to the modification of other mammalian species would also have led to a change in man." This argument, at first sight apparently formidable, quite overlooks the fact that in the evolution of man there came a point after which variations in his intelligence were seized upon more and more exclusively by natural selection, to the comparative neglect of physical variations. After that point man changed but little in physical characteristics, except in size and complexity of brain. This is the theorem first propounded by Mr. Wallace in the *Anthropological Review*, May, 1864; restated in his *Contributions to Natural Selection*, chap. ix., in 1870; and further extended and developed by me in connection with the theory of man's origin first suggested in my lectures at Harvard in 1871, and worked out in *Cosmic Philosophy*, part ii., chapters xvi., xxi., xxii.

the milder intervals of the Glacial period, but seem to have become extinct toward the end of it, are well known to palæontologists through their bones and their rude tools. Contemporaneously with these Europeans of the River-drift there certainly lived some kind of men, of a similar low grade of culture, in the Mississippi valley and on both the Atlantic and Pacific slopes of North America. Along with these ancient Americans lived some terrestrial mammals that still survive, such as the elk, reindeer, prairie wolf, bison, musk-ox, and beaver; and many that have long been extinct, such as the mylodon, megatherium, megalonyx, mastodon, Siberian elephant, mammoth, at least six or seven species of ancestral horse, a huge bear similar to the cave bear of ancient Europe, a lion similar to the European cave lion, and a tiger as large as the modern tiger of Bengal.

Pleistocene
men and mam-
mals.

Now while the general relative positions of those stupendous abysses that hold the oceans do not appear to have undergone any considerable change since an extremely remote geological period, their shallow marginal portions have been repeatedly raised so as to add extensive territories to the edges of continents, and in some cases to convert archipelagoes into continents, and to join continents previously separated. Such elevation is followed in turn by an era of subsidence, and almost everywhere either the one process or the other is slowly going on. If you look at a model in relief of the continents and ocean-floors, such as may be seen at the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy in Cambridge,

showing the results of a vast number of soundings in all parts of the world, you cannot fail to be struck with the shallowness of Bering Sea; it looks like a part of the continent rather than of the ocean, and indeed it is just that, — an area of submerged continent. So in the northern Atlantic there is a lofty ridge running from France to Greenland. The British islands, the Orkney, Shetland, and Færøe groups, and Iceland are the parts of this ridge high enough to remain out of water. The remainder of it is shallow sea. Again and again it has been raised, together with the floor of the German ocean, so as to become dry land. Both before and since the time when those stone tools were dropped into the red gravel from which Mr. Cresson took them the other day, the northwestern part of Europe has been solid continent for more than a hundred miles to the west of the French and Irish coasts, the Thames and Humber have been tributaries to the Rhine, which emptied into the Arctic ocean, and across the Atlantic ridge one might have walked to the New World dryshod.¹ In similar wise the northwestern corner of America has repeatedly been joined to Siberia through the elevation of Bering Sea.

There have therefore been abundant opportunities for men to get into America from the Old World without crossing salt water. Probably this was the case with the ancient inhabitants of the Delaware and Little Miami valleys; it is not at all

¹ See, for example, the map of Europe in early post-glacial times, in James Geikie's *Prehistoric Europe*

likely that men who used their kind of tools knew much about going on the sea in boats.

Whether the Indians are descended from this ancient population or not, is a question with which we have as yet no satisfactory method of dealing. It is not unlikely that these glacial men may have perished from off the face of the earth, having been crushed and supplanted by stronger races. There may have been several successive waves Waves of migration. of migration, of which the Indians were the latest.¹ There is time enough for a great many things to happen in a thousand centuries. It will doubtless be long before all the evidence can be brought in and ransacked, but of one thing we may feel pretty sure; the past is more full of changes than we are apt to realize. Our first theories are usually too simple, and have to be enlarged and twisted into all manner of shapes in order to cover the actual complication of facts.²

¹ "There are three human crania in the Museum, which were found in the gravel at Trenton, one several feet below the surface, the others near the surface. These skulls, which are of remarkable uniformity, are of small size and of oval shape, differing from all other skulls in the Museum. In fact they are of a distinct type, and hence of the greatest importance. So far as they go they indicate that palæolithic man was exterminated, or has become lost by admixture with others during the many thousand years which have passed since he inhabited the Delaware valley." F. W. Putnam, "The Peabody Museum," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 1889, New Series, vol. vi. p. 189.

² An excellent example of this is the expansion and modification undergone during the past twenty years by our theories of the Aryan settlement of Europe. See Benfey's preface to Fick's *Woerterbuch der Indogermanischen Grundsprache*, 1868; Geiger, *Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Menschheit*, 1871; Cuno, *Forschungen im Gebiete der alten Voelkerkunde*, 1871; Schmidt, *Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der Indogermanischen Sprachen*, 1872;

In this connection the history of the Eskimos introduces us to some interesting problems. Mention has been made of the River-drift men who lived in Europe during the milder intervals of the Glacial period. At such times they made their way into Germany and Britain, along with leopards, hyænas, and African elephants. But as the cold intervals came on and the edge of the polar ice-sheet crept southward and mountain glaciers filled up the valleys, these men and beasts retreated into Africa; and their place was taken by a sub-

The Cave men
of Europe in
the Glacial
period.

arctic race of men known as the Cave men, along with the reindeer and arctic fox and musk-sheep. More than once with the secular alternations of temperature did the River-drift men thus advance and retreat and advance again, and as they advanced the Cave men retreated, both races yielding to an enemy stronger than either,—to wit, the hostile climate. At length all traces of the River-drift men vanish, but what of the Cave men? They have left no representatives among the present populations of Europe, but the musk-sheep, which always went and came with the Cave men, is to-day found only in sub-

Poesche, *Die Arier*, 1878; Lindenschmit, *Handbuch der deutschen Alterthumskunde*, 1880; Penka, *Origines Ariacæ*, 1883, and *Die Herkunft der Arier*, 1886; Spiegel, *Die arische Periode und ihre Zustände*, 1887; Rendal, *Cradle of the Aryans*, 1889; Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, 1883, and second edition translated into English, with the title *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*, 1890. Schrader's is an epoch-making book. An attempt to defend the older and simpler views is made by Max Müller, *Biographies of Words and the Home of the Aryas*, 1888; see also Van den Gheyn, *L'origine européenne des Aryas*, 1889. The whole case is well summed up by Isaac Taylor, *Origin of the Aryans*, 1889.

arctic America among the Eskimos, and the fossilized bones of the musk-sheep lie in a regular trail across the eastern hemisphere, from the Pyrenees through Germany and Russia and all the vast length of Siberia. The stone arrow-heads, the sewing-needles, the necklaces and amulets of cut teeth, and the daggers made from antler, used by the Eskimos, resemble so minutely the implements of the Cave men, that if recent Eskimo remains were to be put into the Pleistocene caves of France and England they would be indistinguishable in appearance from the remains of the Cave men which are now found there.¹ There is another striking point of resemblance. The Eskimos have a talent for artistic sketching of men and beasts, and scenes in which men and beasts figure, which is absolutely unrivalled among rude peoples. One need but look at the sketches by common Eskimo fishermen which illustrate Dr. Henry Rink's fascinating book on Danish Greenland, to realize that this rude Eskimo art has a character as pronounced and unmistakable in its way as the much higher art of the Japanese. Now among the European remains of the Cave men are many sketches of mammoths, cave bears, and other animals now extinct, and hunting scenes so artfully and vividly portrayed as to bring distinctly before us many details of daily life in an antiquity so vast that in comparison with it the interval between the pyramids of Egypt and the Eiffel tower shrinks into a point. Such a talent is unique among savage peoples. It exists only among the living Eskimos and the ancient Cave men; and

The Eskimos are probably a remnant of the Cave men.

¹ See Dawkins, *Early Man in Britain*, pp. 233-245.

when considered in connection with so many other points of agreement, and with the indisputable fact that the Cave men were a sub-arctic race, it affords a strong presumption in favour of the opinion of that great palæontologist, Professor Boyd Dawkins, that the Eskimos of North America are to-day the sole survivors of the race that made their homes in the Pleistocene caves of western Europe.¹

¹ According to Dr. Rink the Eskimos formerly inhabited the central portions of North America, and have retreated or been driven northward; he would make the Eskimos of Siberia an offshoot from those of America, though he freely admits that there are grounds for entertaining the opposite view. Dr. Abbott is inclined to attribute an Eskimo origin to some of the palæoliths of the Trenton gravel. On the other hand, Mr. Clements Markham derives the American Eskimos from those of Siberia. It seems to me that these views may be comprehended and reconciled in a wider one. I would suggest that during the Glacial period the ancestral Eskimos may have gradually become adapted to arctic conditions of life; that in the mild interglacial intervals they migrated northward along with the musk-sheep; and that upon the return of the cold they migrated southward again, keeping always near the edge of the ice-sheet. Such a southward migration would naturally enough bring them in one continent down to the Pyrenees, in the other down to the Alleghanies; and naturally enough the modern inquirer has his attention first directed to the indications of their final retreat, both northward in America and northeastward from Europe through Siberia. This is like what happened with so many plants and animals. Compare Darwin's remarks on "Dispersal in the Glacial Period," *Origin of Species*, chap. xii.

The best books on the Eskimos are those of Dr. Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, Edinburgh, 1875; *Danish Greenland*, London, 1877; *The Eskimo Tribes, their Distribution and Characteristics, especially in regard to Language*, Copenhagen, 1887. See also Franz Boas, "The Central Eskimo," *Sixth Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington, 1888, pp. 399-669; W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, 1870; Markham, "Origin and Migrations of the Greenland Esquimaux," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1865; Cranz, *Historie von Groenland*, Leipsic,

If we have always been accustomed to think of races of men only as they are placed on modern maps, it at first seems strange to think of England and France as ever having been inhabited by Eskimos. Facts equally strange may be cited in abundance from zoölogy and botany. The camel is found to-day only in Arabia and Bactria; yet in all probability the camel originated in America,¹ and is an intruder into what we are accustomed to call his native deserts, just as the people of the United States are European intruders upon the soil of America. So the giant trees of Mariposa grove are now found only in California, but there was once a time when they were as common in Europe² as maple-trees to-day in a New England village.

Familiarity with innumerable facts of this sort, concerning the complicated migrations and distribution of plants and animals, has entirely altered our way of looking at the question as to the origin of the American Indians. As already observed, we can hardly be said to possess sufficient data for determining whether they are descended from the Pleistocene inhabitants of America, or have come in some later wave of migration from the Old World. Nor can we as yet determine whether

1765; Petiot, *Traditions indiennes du Canada nord-ouest*, Paris, 1886; Pilling's *Bibliography of the Eskimo Language*, Washington, 1887; Wells and Kelly, *English-Eskimo and Eskimo-English Vocabulary, with Ethnographical Memoranda concerning the Arctic Eskimos in Alaska and Siberia*, Washington, 1890; Carstensen's *Two Summers in Greenland*, London, 1890.

¹ Wallace, *Geographical Distribution of Animals*, vol. ii. p. 155.

² Asa Gray, "Sequoia and its History," in his *Darwiniana*, pp. 205-235.

they were earlier or later comers than the Eskimos. But since we have got rid of that feeling of speculative necessity above referred to, for bringing the red men from Asia within the historic period, it has become more and more clear that they have dwelt upon American soil for a very long time. The aboriginal American, as we know him, with his language and legends, his physical and mental peculiarities, his social observances and customs, is most emphatically a native and not an imported article. He belongs to the American continent as strictly as its opossums and armadillos, its maize and its golden-rod, or any members of its aboriginal fauna and flora belong to it. In all probability he came from the Old World at some ancient period, whether pre-glacial or post-glacial, when it was possible to come by land; and here in all probability, until the arrival of white men from Europe, he remained undisturbed by later comers, unless the Eskimos may have been such. There is not a particle of evidence to suggest any connection or intercourse between aboriginal America and Asia within any such period as the last twenty thousand years, except in so far as there may perhaps now and then have been slight surges of Eskimo tribes back and forth across Bering strait.

The Indians must surely be regarded as an entirely different stock from the Eskimos. On the other hand, the most competent American ethnologists are now pretty thoroughly agreed that all the aborigines south of the Eskimo region, all the way from Hudson's Bay to Cape Horn, belong

There was probably no connection or intercourse by water between ancient America and the Old World.

to one and the same race. It was formerly supposed that the higher culture of the Aztecs, Mayas, and Peruvians must indicate that they were of different race from the more barbarous Algonquins and Dakotas; and a speculative necessity was felt for proving that, whatever may have been the case with the other American peoples, this higher culture at any rate must have been introduced within the historic period from the Old World.¹ This feeling was caused partly by the fact that, owing to crude and loosely-framed conceptions of the real points of difference between civilization and barbarism, this Central American culture was absurdly exaggerated. As the further study of the uncivilized parts of the world has led to more accurate and precise conceptions, this kind of speculative necessity has ceased to be felt. There is an increasing disposition among scholars to agree that the warrior of Anahuac and the shepherd of the Andes were just simply Indians, and that their culture was no less indigenous than that of the Cherokees or Mohawks.

To prevent any possible misconception of my meaning, a further word of explanation may be needed at this point. The word "race" is used in such widely different senses that there is apt to be more or less vagueness about it. The difference is

There is one great American "red" race.

Different senses in which the word "race" is used.

¹ Illustrations may be found in plenty in the learned works of Brasseur de Bourbourg: — *Histoire des nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique centrale*, 4 vols., Paris, 1857-58; *Popol Vuh*, Paris, 1861; *Quatre lettres sur le Mexique*, Paris, 1868; *Le manuscrit Troano*, Paris, 1870, etc.

mainly in what logicians call extension ; sometimes the word covers very little ground, sometimes a great deal. We say that the people of England, of the United States, and of New South Wales belong to one and the same race ; and we say that an Englishman, a Frenchman, and a Greek belong to three different races. There is a sense in which both these statements are true. But there is also a sense in which we may say that the Englishman, the Frenchman, and the Greek belong to one and the same race ; and that is when we are contrasting them as white men with black men or yellow men. Now we may correctly say that a Shawnee, an Ojibwa, and a Kickapoo belong to one and the same Algonquin race ; that a Mohawk and a Tuscarora belong to one and the same Iroquois race ; but that an Algonquin differs from an Iroquois somewhat as an Englishman differs from a Frenchman. No doubt we may fairly say that the Mexicans encountered by Cortes differed in race from the Iroquois encountered by Champlain, as much as an Englishman differs from an Albanian or a Montenegrin. But when we are contrasting aboriginal Americans with white men or yellow men, it is right to say that Mexicans and Iroquois belong to the same great red race.

In some parts of the world two strongly contrasted races have become mingled together, or have existed side by side for centuries without intermingling. In Europe the big blonde Aryan-speaking race has mixed with the small brunette Iberian race, producing the endless varieties in

stature and complexion which may be seen in any drawing-room in London or New York. In Africa south of Sahara, on the other hand, we find, interspersed among negro tribes but kept perfectly distinct, that primitive dwarfish race with yellow skin and tufted hair to which belong the Hottentots and Bushmen, the Wambatti lately discovered by Mr. Stanley, and other tribes.¹ Now in America south of Hudson's Bay the case seems to have been quite otherwise, and more as it would have been in Europe if there had been only Aryans, or in Africa if there had been only blacks.²

The belief that the people of the Cordilleras must be of radically different race from other Indians was based upon the vague notion that grades of culture have some necessary connection with likenesses and differences of race.

There is no such necessary connection.³ Between the highly civilized Japanese and their barbarous Mandshu cousins the difference in culture is much greater

No necessary connection between differences in culture and differences in race.

¹ See Werner, "The African Pygmies," *Popular Science Monthly*, September, 1890, — a thoughtful and interesting article.

² This sort of illustration requires continual limitation and qualification. The case in ancient America was not *quite* as it would have been in Europe if there had been only Aryans there. The semi-civilized people of the Cordilleras were relatively brachycephalous as compared with the more barbarous Indians north and east of New Mexico. It is correct to call this a distinction of race if we mean thereby a distinction developed upon American soil, a differentiation within the limits of the red race, and not an intrusion from without. In this sense the Caribs also may be regarded as a distinct sub-race; and, in the same sense, we may call the Kafirs a distinct sub-race of African blacks. See, as to the latter, Tylor, *Anthropology*, p. 39.

³ As Sir John Lubbock well says, "Different races in similar

than the difference between Mohawks and Mexicans; and the same may be said of the people of Israel and Judah in contrast with the Arabs of the desert, or of the imperial Romans in comparison with their Teutonic kinsmen as described by Tacitus.

At this point, in order to prepare ourselves the more clearly to understand sundry facts with which we shall hereafter be obliged to deal, especially the wonderful experiences of the Spanish conquerors, it will be well to pause for a moment and do something toward defining the different grades of culture through which men have passed in attaining to the grade which can properly be called civilization. Unless we begin with clear ideas upon this head we cannot go far toward understanding the ancient America that was first visited and described for us by Spaniards. The various grades of culture need to be classified, and that most original and suggestive scholar, the late Lewis Morgan of Rochester, made a brilliant attempt in this direction, to which the reader's attention is now invited.

Below *Civilization* Mr. Morgan¹ distinguishes two principal grades or stages of culture, namely *Savagery* and *Barbarism*. There is much looseness and confusion in the popular use of these stages of development often present more features of resemblance to one another than the same race does to itself in different stages of its history." (*Origin of Civilization*, p. 11.) If every student of history and ethnology would begin by learning this lesson, the world would be spared a vast amount of unprofitable theorizing.

¹ See his great work on *Ancient Society*, New York, 1877.

terms, and this is liable to become a fruitful source of misapprehension in the case of any statement involving either of them. When popular usage discriminates between them it discriminates in the right direction; there is a vague but not uncertain feeling that savagery is a lower stage than barbarism. But ordinarily the discrimination is not made and the two terms are carelessly employed as if interchangeable. Scientific writers long since recognized a general difference between savagery and barbarism, but Mr. Morgan was the first to suggest a really useful criterion for distinguishing between them. His criterion is the making of pottery; and his reason for selecting it is that the making of pottery is something that presupposes village life and more or less progress in the simpler arts. The earlier methods of boiling food were either putting it into holes in the ground lined with skins and then using heated stones, or else putting it into baskets coated with clay to be supported over a fire. The clay served the double purpose of preventing liquids from escaping and protecting the basket against the flame. It was probably observed that the clay was hardened by the fire, and thus in course of time it was found that the clay would answer the purpose without the basket.¹ Whoever first made this ingenious discovery led the way from savagery to barbarism. Throughout the present work

Distinction between Savagery and Barbarism.

Origin of pottery.

¹ See the evidence in Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, pp. 269-272; cf. Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, p. 573; and see Cushing's masterly "Study of Pueblo Pottery," etc., *Reports of Bureau of Ethnology*, iv., 473-521.

we shall apply the name "savages" only to uncivilized people who do not make pottery.

But within each of these two stages Mr. Morgan distinguishes three subordinate stages, or Ethnic Periods, which may be called either lower, middle, and upper status, or older, middle, and later periods. The lower status of savagery was that wholly prehistoric stage when men lived in their original restricted habitat and subsisted on fruit and nuts. To this period must be assigned the beginning of articulate speech. All existing races of men had passed beyond it at an unknown antiquity.

Men began to pass beyond it when they discovered how to catch fish and how to use fire. They could then begin (following coasts and rivers) to spread over the earth. The middle status of savagery, thus introduced, ends with the invention of that compound weapon, the bow and arrow. The natives of Australia, who do not know this weapon, are still in the middle status of savagery.¹

The invention of the bow and arrow, which marks the upper status of savagery, was not only a great advance in military art, but it also vastly increased men's supply of food by increasing their power of killing wild game. The lowest tribes in America, such as those upon the Columbia river, the Athabaskans of Hudson's Bay, the Fuegians and some other South American tribes, are in the upper status of savagery.

¹ Lumholtz, *Among Cannibals*, London, 1889, gives a vivid picture of aboriginal life in Australia.

The transition from this status to the lower status of barbarism was marked, as before observed, by the invention of pottery. The end of the lower status of barbarism was marked in the Old World by the domestication of animals other than the dog, which was probably domesticated at a much earlier period as an aid to the hunter. The domestication of horses and asses, oxen and sheep, goats and pigs, marks of course an immense advance. Along with it goes considerable development of agriculture, thus enabling a small territory to support many people. It takes a wide range of country to support hunters. In the New World, except in Peru, the only domesticated animal was the dog. Horses, oxen, and the other animals mentioned did not exist in America, during the historic period, until they were brought over from Europe by the Spaniards. In ancient American society there was no such thing as a pastoral stage of development,¹ and the absence of domesticable animals from the western hemisphere may well be reckoned as very important among the causes which retarded the progress of mankind in this part of the world.

Lower status of barbarism : it ended differently in the two hemispheres.

On the other hand the ancient Americans had a cereal plant peculiar to the New World, which made comparatively small demands upon the intelligence and industry of the cultivator. Maize or "Indian corn" has played a most important

¹ The case of Peru, which forms an apparent but not real exception to this general statement, will be considered below in chap. ix.

part in the history of the New World, as regards both the red men and the white men. It could be planted without clearing or ploughing the soil. It was only necessary to girdle the trees with a stone hatchet, so as to destroy their leaves and let in the sunshine. A few scratches and digs were made in the ground with a stone digger, and the seed once dropped in took care of itself. The ears could hang for weeks after ripening, and could be picked off without meddling with the stalk; there was no need of threshing and winnowing. None of the Old World cereals can be cultivated without much more industry and intelligence. At the same time, when Indian corn is sown in tilled land it yields with little labour more than twice as much food per acre as any other kind of grain. This was of incalculable advantage to the English settlers of New England, who would have found it much harder to gain a secure foothold upon the soil if they had had to begin by preparing it for wheat and rye without the aid of the beautiful and beneficent American plant.¹ The Indians of the Atlantic coast of North America for the most part lived in stockaded villages, and cultivated their corn along with beans, pumpkins, squashes, and tobacco; but their cultivation was of the rudest sort,² and population was too sparse for much progress toward civiliza-

¹ See Shaler, "Physiography of North America," in Winsor's *Narr. and Crit. Hist.* vol. iv. p. xiii.

² "No manure was used," says Mr. Parkman, speaking of the Hurons, "but at intervals of from ten to twenty years, when the soil was exhausted and firewood distant, the village was abandoned and a new one built." *Jesuits in North America*, p. xxx.

tion. But Indian corn, when sown in carefully tilled and irrigated land, had much to do with the denser population, the increasing organization of labour, and the higher development in the arts, which characterized the confederacies of Mexico and Central America and all the pueblo Indians of the southwest. The potato played a somewhat similar part in Peru. Hence it seems proper to take the regular employment of tillage with irrigation as marking the end of the lower period of barbarism in the New World. To this Mr. Morgan adds the use of adobe-brick and stone in architecture, which also distinguished the Mexicans and their neighbours from the ruder tribes of North and South America. All these ruder tribes, except the few already mentioned as in the upper period of savagery, were somewhere within the lower period of barbarism. Thus the Algonquins and Iroquois, the Creeks, the Dakotas, etc., when first seen by white men, were within this period; but some had made much further progress within it than others. For example, the Algonquin tribe of Ojibwas had little more than emerged from savagery, while the Creeks and Cherokees had made considerable advance toward the middle status of barbarism.

Let us now observe some characteristics of this extremely interesting middle period. It began, we see, in the eastern hemisphere with the domestication of other animals than Middle status of barbarism. the dog, and in the western hemisphere with cultivation by irrigation and the use of adobe-brick and stone for building. It also possessed another

feature which distinguished it from earlier periods, in the materials of which its tools were made. In the periods of savagery hatchets and spear-heads were made of rudely chipped stones. In the lower period of barbarism the chipping became more and more skilful until it gave place to polishing. In the middle period tools were greatly multiplied, improved polishing gave sharp and accurate points and edges, and at last metals began to be used as materials preferable to stone. In America the metal used was copper, and in some spots where it was very accessible there were instances of its use by tribes not in other respects above the lower status of barbarism, — as for example, the “mound-builders.” In the Old World the metal used was the alloy of copper and tin familiarly known as bronze, and in its working it called for a higher degree of intelligence than copper.

Toward the close of the middle period of barbarism the working of metals became the most important element of progress, and the period may be regarded as ending with the invention of the process of smelting iron ore. According to this principle of division, the inhabitants of the lake villages of ancient Switzerland, who kept horses and oxen, pigs and sheep, raised wheat and ground it into flour, and spun and wove linen garments, but knew nothing of iron, were in the middle status of barbarism. The same was true of the ancient Britons before they learned the use of iron from their neighbours in Gaul. In the New World the representatives of

Working of
metals.

the middle status of barbarism were such peoples as the Zuñis, the Aztecs, the Mayas, and the Peruvians.

The upper status of barbarism, in so far as it implies a knowledge of smelting iron, was never reached in aboriginal America. In the Old World it is the stage which had been reached by the Greeks of the Homeric poems¹ and the Germans in the time of Cæsar. The en^d

Upper status
of barbarism.

¹ In the interesting architectural remains unearthed by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ and Tiryns, there have been found at the former place a few iron keys and knives, at the latter one iron lance-head; but the form and workmanship of these objects mark them as not older than the beginning of the fifth century B. C., or the time of the Persian wars. With these exceptions the weapons and tools found in these cities, as also in Troy, were of bronze and stone. Bronze was in common use, but obsidian knives and arrow-heads of fine workmanship abound in the ruins. According to Professor Sayce, these ruins must date from 2000 to 1700 B. C. The Greeks of that time would accordingly be placed in the middle status of barbarism. (See Schliemann's *Mycenæ*, pp. 75, 364; *Tiryns*, p. 171.) In the state of society described in the Homeric poems the smelting of iron was well known, but the process seems to have been costly, so that bronze weapons were still commonly used. (Tylor, *Anthropology*, p. 279.) The Romans of the regal period were ignorant of iron. (Lanciani, *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, Boston, 1888, pp. 39-48.) The upper period of barbarism was shortened for Greece and Rome through the circumstance that they learned the working of iron from Egypt and the use of the alphabet from Phœnicia. Such copying, of course, affects the symmetry of such schemes as Mr. Morgan's, and allowances have to be made for it. It is curious that both Greeks and Romans seem to have preserved some tradition of the Bronze Age: —

τοῖς δ' ἦν χάλκεα μὲν τεύχεα, χάλκεοι δέ τε οἴκοι,
χαλκῷ δ' εἰργάζοντο· μέλας δ' οὐκ ἔσκε σίδηρος.

Hesiod, *Opp. Di.* 134.

Arma antiqua manus ungues dentesque fuerunt
Et lapides et item silvarum fragmina rami,

of this period and the beginning of true civilization is marked by the invention of a phonetic alphabet and the production of written records. This brings within the pale of civilization such people as the ancient Phœnicians, the Hebrews after the exodus, the ruling classes at Beginning of civilization. Nineveh and Babylon, the Aryans of Persia and India, and the Japanese. But clearly it will not do to insist too narrowly upon the phonetic character of the alphabet. Where people acquainted with iron have enshrined in hieroglyphics so much matter of historic record and literary interest as the Chinese and the ancient Egyptians, they too must be classed as civilized; and this Mr. Morgan by implication admits.

This brilliant classification of the stages of early culture will be found very helpful if we only keep in mind the fact that in all wide generalizations of this sort the case is liable to be somewhat unduly simplified. The story of human progress is really not quite so easy to decipher as such descriptions would make it appear, and when we have laid down rules of this sort we need not be surprised if we now and then come upon facts that will not exactly fit into them. In such an

Et flamma atque ignes, postquam sunt cognita primum.

Posterius ferri vis est, ærisque reperta.

Et prior æris erat, quam ferri cognitus usus, etc.

Lucretius, v. 1283.

Perhaps, as Munro suggests, Lucretius was thinking of Hesiod; but it does not seem improbable that in both cases there may have been a genuine tradition that their ancestors used bronze tools and weapons before iron, since the change was comparatively recent, and sundry religious observances tended to perpetuate the memory of it.

event it is best not to try to squeeze or distort the unruly facts, but to look and see if our rules will not bear some little qualification. The faculty for generalizing is a good servant but a bad master. If we observe this caution we shall find Mr. Morgan's work to be of great value. It will be observed that, with one exception, his restrictions leave the area of civilization as wide as that which we are accustomed to assign to it in our ordinary speaking and thinking. That exception is the case of Mexico, Central America, and Peru. We have so long been accustomed to gorgeous accounts of the civilization of these countries at the time of their discovery by the Spaniards that it may at first shock our preconceived notions to see them set down as in the "middle status of barbarism," one stage higher than Mohawks, and one stage lower than the warriors of the Iliad. This does indeed mark a change since Dr. Draper expressed the opinion that the Mexicans and Peruvians were morally and intellectually superior to the Europeans of the sixteenth century.¹ The reaction from the state of opinion in which such an extravagant remark was even possible has been attended with some controversy; but on the whole Mr. Morgan's main position has been steadily and rapidly gaining ground, and it is becoming more and more clear that if we are to use language correctly when we speak of the civilizations of Mexico and Peru we really mean civilizations of an extremely archaic type, considerably

"Civilizations" of Mexico and Peru.

¹ See his *Intellectual Development of Europe*, New York, 1863, pp. 448, 464.

more archaic than that of Egypt in the time of the Pharaohs. A "civilization" like that of the Aztecs, without domestic animals or iron tools, with trade still in the primitive stage of barter, with human sacrifices, and with cannibalism, has certainly some of the most vivid features of barbarism. Along with these primitive features, however, there seem to have been — after making all due allowances — some features of luxury and splendour such as we are wont to associate with civilization. The Aztecs, moreover, though doubtless a full ethnical period behind the ancient Egyptians in general advancement, had worked out a system of hieroglyphic writing, and had begun to put it to some literary use. It would seem that a people may in certain special points reach a level of attainment higher than the level which they occupy in other points. The Cave men of the Glacial period were ignorant of pottery, and thus had not risen above the upper status of savagery; but their artistic talent, upon which we have remarked, was not such as we are wont to associate with savagery. Other instances will occur to us in the proper place.

The difficulty which people usually find in realizing the true position of the ancient Mexican culture arises partly from the misconceptions which have until recently distorted the facts, and partly from the loose employment of terms above noticed.

Loose use of the words "savagery" and "civilization." It is quite correct to speak of the Australian blackfellows as "savages," but nothing is more common than to hear the same epithet employed to characterize Shaw-

nees and Mohawks; and to call those Indians "savages" is quite misleading. So on the other hand the term "civilization" is often so loosely used as to cover a large territory belonging to "barbarism." One does not look for scientific precision in newspapers, but they are apt to reflect popular habits of thought quite faithfully, and for that reason it is proper here to quote from one. In a newspaper account of Mr. Cushing's recent discoveries of buried towns, works of irrigation, etc., in Arizona, we are first told that these are the remains of a "splendid prehistoric civilization," and the next moment we are told, in entire unconsciousness of the contradiction, that the people who constructed these works had only stone tools. Now to call a people "civilized" who have only stone tools is utterly misleading. Nothing but confusion of ideas and darkening of counsel can come from such a misuse of words. Such a people may be in a high degree interesting and entitled to credit for what they have achieved, but the grade of culture which they have reached is not "civilization."

With "savagery" thus encroaching upon its area of meaning on the one side, and "civilization" encroaching on the other, the word "barbarism," as popularly apprehended, is left in a vague and unsatisfactory plight. If we speak of Montezuma's people as barbarians one stage further advanced than Mohawks, we are liable to be charged with calling them "savages." Yet the term "barbarism" is a very useful one; indispensable, indeed, in the history of human progress. There is no other word which

Value and
importance of
the term
"barbarism."

can serve in its stead as a designation of the enormous interval which begins with the invention of pottery and ends with the invention of the alphabet. The popular usage of the word is likely to become more definite as it comes to be more generally realized how prodigious that interval has been. When we think what a considerable portion of man's past existence has been comprised within it, and what a marvellous transformation in human knowledge and human faculty has been gradually wrought between its beginning and its end, the period of barbarism becomes invested with most thrilling interest, and its name ceases to appear otherwise than respectable. It is Mr. Morgan's chief title to fame that he has so thoroughly explored this period and described its features with such masterly skill.

It is worth while to observe that Mr. Morgan's view of the successive stages of culture is one which could not well have been marked out in all its parts except by a student of American archæology. Aboriginal America is the richest field in the world for the study of barbarism. Its people present every gradation in social life during three ethnical periods — the upper period of savagery and the lower and middle periods of barbarism — so that the process of development may be most systematically and instructively studied. Until we have become familiar with ancient American society, and so long as our view is confined to the phases of progress in the Old World, the demarcation between civilized and uncivilized life

The status of barbarism is most completely exemplified in ancient America.

seems too abrupt and sudden ; we do not get a correct measure of it. The oldest European tradition reaches back only through the upper period of barbarism.¹ The middle and lower periods have lapsed into utter oblivion, and it is only modern archaeological research that is beginning to recover the traces of them. But among the red men of America the social life of ages more remote than that of the lake villages of Switzerland is in many particulars preserved for us to-day, and when we study it we begin to realize as never before the continuity of human development, its enormous duration, and the almost infinite accumulation of slow efforts by which progress has been achieved. Ancient America is further instructive in presenting the middle status of barbarism in a different form from that which it assumed in the eastern hemisphere. Its most conspicuous outward manifestations, instead of tents and herds, were strange and imposing edifices of stone, so that it was quite natural that observers interpreting it from a basis of European experience should mistake it for civilization. Certain aspects of that middle period may be studied to-day in New Mexico and Arizona, as phases of the older periods may still be found among the wilder tribes, even after all the contact they have had with white men. These survivals from antiquity will not permanently outlive that contact, and it is important that no time should be lost in gathering and put-

Survivals of
bygone epochs
of culture.

¹ Now and then, perhaps, but very rarely, it just touches the close of the middle period, as, e. g., in the lines from Hesiod and Lucretius above quoted.

ting on record all that can be learned of the speech and arts, the customs and beliefs, everything that goes to constitute the philology and anthropology of the red men. For the intelligent and vigorous work of this sort now conducted by the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution, under the direction of Major Powell, no praise can be too strong and no encouragement too hearty.

A brief enumeration of the principal groups of Indians will be helpful in enabling us to comprehend the social condition of ancient America. The groups are in great part defined by differences of language, which are perhaps a better criterion of racial affinity in the New World than in the Old, because there seems to have been little or nothing of that peculiar kind of conquest with incorporation resulting in complete change of speech which we sometimes find in the Old World; as, for example, when we see the Celto-Iberian population of Spain and the Belgic, Celtic, and Aquitanian populations of Gaul forgetting their native tongues, and adopting that of a confederacy of tribes in Latium. Except in the case of Peru there is no indication that anything of this sort went on, or that there

Tribal society
and multipli-
city of lan-
guages in ab-
original Amer-
ica.

was anything even superficially analogous to "empire," in ancient America. What strikes one most forcibly at first is the vast number of American languages. Adelung, in his "Mithridates," put the number at 1,264, and Ludewig, in his "Literature of the American Languages," put it roundly at 1,100. Squier, on the other hand, was content

with 400.¹ The discrepancy arises from the fact that where one scholar sees two or three distinct languages another sees two or three dialects of one language and counts them as one; it is like the difficulty which naturalists find in agreeing as to what are species and what are only varieties. The great number of languages and dialects spoken by a sparse population is one mark of the universal prevalence of a rude and primitive form of tribal society.²

The lowest tribes in North America were those that are still to be found in California, in the valley of the Columbia river, and on the shores of Puget Sound. The Athabaskans of Hudson's Bay were on about the same level of savagery. They made no pottery, knew nothing of horticulture, depended for subsistence entirely upon bread-roots, fish, and game, and thus had no village life. They were mere prowlers in the upper status of savagery.³ The Apaches of Arizona, preëminent even among red men for atrocious cruelty, are an offshoot from the Athabaskan stock. Very little better are the Shoshones and Bannocks that still wander

Tribes in the
upper status
of savagery.

¹ Winsor, "Bibliographical Notes on American Linguistics," in his *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, vol. i. pp. 420-428, gives an admirable survey of the subject. See also Pilling's bibliographical bulletins of Iroquoian, Siouan, and Muskhogean languages, published by the Bureau of Ethnology.

² *Excursions of an Evolutionist*, pp. 147-174.

³ For a good account of Indians in the upper status of savagery until modified by contact with civilization, see Myron Eells, "The Twana, Chemakum, and Klallam Indians of Washington Territory," *Smithsonian Report*, 1887, pp. 605-681.

among the lonely bare mountains and over the weird sage-brush plains of Idaho. The region west of the Rocky Mountains and north of New Mexico is thus the region of savagery.

Between the Rocky Mountains and the Atlantic coast the aborigines, at the time of the Discovery, might have been divided into six or seven groups, of which three were situated mainly to the east of the Mississippi river, the others mainly to the west of it. All were in the lower period of barbarism. Of the western groups, by far the most numerous were the Dakotas, comprising the Sioux, Poncas, Omahas, Iowas, Kaws, Otoes, and Missouris. From the headwaters of the Mississippi their territory extended westward on both sides of the Missouri for a thousand miles. One of their tribes, the Winnebagos, had crossed the Mississippi and pressed into the region between that river and Lake Michigan.

A second group, very small in numbers but extremely interesting to the student of ethnology, comprises the Minnitarees and Mandans on the upper Missouri.¹ The remnants of these tribes now live together in the same village, and in personal appearance, as well as in intelligence, they are described as superior to any other red men

¹ An excellent description of them, profusely illustrated with coloured pictures, may be found in Catlin's *North American Indians*, vol. i. pp. 66-207, 7th ed., London, 1848; the author was an accurate and trustworthy observer. Some writers have placed these tribes in the Dakota group because of the large number of Dakota words in their language; but these are probably borrowed words, like the numerous French words in English.

The Dakota
family of
tribes.

north of New Mexico. From their first discovery, by the brothers La Vérendrye in 1742, down to Mr. Catlin's visit nearly a century later, there was no change in their condition,¹ but shortly afterward, in 1838, the greater part of them were swept away by small-pox. The excellence of their horticulture, the framework of their houses, and their peculiar religious ceremonies early attracted attention. Upon Mr. Catlin they made such an impression that he fancied there must be an infusion of white blood in them; and after the fashion of those days he sought to account for it by a reference to the legend of Madoc, a Welsh prince who was dimly imagined to have sailed to America about 1170. He thought that Madoc's party might have sailed to the Mississippi and founded a colony which ascended that river and the Ohio, built the famous mounds of the Ohio valley, and finally migrated to the upper Missouri.² To this speculation was appended the inevitable list of words which happen to sound somewhat alike in Mandan and in Welsh. In the realm of free fancy everything is easy. That there was a Madoc who went somewhere in 1170 is quite possible, but as shrewd old John Smith said about it, "where this place was no history can show."³ But one

The Minn-
tarees and
Mandans.

¹ See Francis Parkman's paper, "The Discovery of the Rocky Mountains," *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1888. I hope the appearance of this article, two years ago, indicates that we have not much longer to wait for the next of that magnificent series of volumes on the history of the French in North America.

² *North American Indians*, vol. ii., Appendix A.

³ Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles*, p. 1, London, 1626.

part of Mr. Catlin's speculation may have hit somewhat nearer the truth. It is possible that the Minnitarees or the Mandans, or both, may be a remnant of some of those Mound-builders in the Mississippi valley concerning whom something will presently be said.

The third group in this western region consists of the Pawnees and Arikarees,¹ of the Pawnees, etc. Platte valley in Nebraska, with a few kindred tribes farther to the south.

Of the three groups eastward of the Mississippi we may first mention the Maskoki, or Muskhogeas, consisting of the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Maskoki fam- Seminoles, and others, with the Creek ily. confederacy.² These tribes were intelligent and powerful, with a culture well advanced toward the end of the lower period of barbarism.

The Algonquin family, bordering at its southern limits upon the Maskoki, had a vast range northeasterly along the Atlantic coast until it reached the confines of Labrador, and northwesterly through the region of the Great Lakes and as far as the Churchill river³ to the west of

¹ For the history and ethnology of these interesting tribes, see three learned papers by J. B. Dunbar, in *Magazine of American History*, vol. iv. pp. 241-281; vol. v. pp. 321-342; vol. viii. pp. 734-756; also Grinnell's *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk-Tales*, New York, 1889.

² These tribes of the Gulf region were formerly grouped, along with others not akin to them, as "Mobilians." The Cherokees were supposed to belong to the Maskoki family, but they have lately been declared an intrusive offshoot from the Iroquois stock. The remnants of another alien tribe, the once famous Natchez, were adopted into the Creek confederacy. For a full account of these tribes, see Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, vol. i., Philadelphia, 1884.

³ Howse, *Grammar of the Cree Language*, London, 1865, p. vii.

Hudson's Bay. In other words, the Algonquins were bounded on the south by the Maskoki,¹ on the west by the Dakotas, on the north-west by the Athabaskans, on the north-east by Eskimos, and on the east by the ocean. Between Lake Superior and the Red River of the North the Crees had their hunting grounds, and closely related to them were the Pottawatomies, Ojibwas, and Ottawas. One offshoot, including the Blackfeet, Cheyennes, and Arrapahos, roamed as far west as the Rocky Mountains. The great triangle between the upper Mississippi and the Ohio was occupied by the Menomonees and Kickapoos, the Sacs and Foxes, the Miamis and Illinois, and the Shawnees. Along the coast region the principal Algonquin tribes were the Powhatans of Virginia, the Lenape or Delawares, the Munsees or Minisinks of the mountains about the Susquehanna, the Mohegans on the Hudson, the Adirondacks between that river and the St. Lawrence, the Narragansetts and their congeners in New England, and finally the Micmacs and Wabenaki far down East, as the last name implies. There is a tradition, supported to some extent by linguistic evidence,² that the Mohegans, with their cousins the Pequots, were more closely related to the Shawnees than to the Delaware or coast group. While all the Algonquin tribes were in the lower period of barbarism, there was a noticeable gradation among them, the Crees

Algonquin
family of
tribes.

¹ Except in so far as the Cherokees and Tuscaroras, presently to be mentioned, were interposed.

² Brinton, *The Lenape and their Legends*, p. 30.

and Ojibwas of the far North standing lowest in culture, and the Shawnees, at their southernmost limits, standing highest.

We have observed the Dakota tribes pressing eastward against their neighbours and sending out an offshoot, the Winnebagos, across the Mississippi river. It has been supposed that the Huron-

Iroquois group of tribes was a more remote offshoot from the Dakotas. This is very doubtful; but in the thirteenth

or fourteenth century the general trend of the Huron-Iroquois movement seems to have been eastward, either in successive swarms, or in a single swarm, which became divided and scattered by segmentation, as was common with all Indian tribes. They seem early to have proved their superiority over the Algonquins in bravery and intelligence. Their line of invasion seems to have run eastward to Niagara, and thereabouts to have bifurcated, one line following the valley of the St. Lawrence, and the other that of the Susquehanna. The Hurons established themselves in the peninsula between the lake that bears their name and Lake Ontario. South of them and along the northern shore of Lake Erie were settled their kindred, afterward called the "Neutral Nation."¹ On the southern shore the Eries planted themselves, while the Susquehannocks pushed on in a direction sufficiently described by their name. Farthest

¹ Because they refused to take part in the strife between the Hurons and the Five Nations. Their Indian name was Attiwandarons. They were unsurpassed for ferocity. See Parkman, *Jesuits in North America*, p. xlv.

of all penetrated the Tuscaroras, even into the pine forests of North Carolina, where they maintained themselves in isolation from their kindred until 1715. These invasions resulted in some displacement of Algonquin tribes, and began to sap the strength of the confederacy or alliance in which the Delawares had held a foremost place.

But by far the most famous and important of the Huron-Iroquois were those that followed the northern shore of Lake Ontario into the valley of the St. Lawrence. In that direction their progress was checked by the Algonquin tribe of Adirondacks, but they succeeded in retaining a foothold in the country for a long time ; for in 1535 Jacques Cartier found on the site which he named Montreal an Iroquois village which had vanished before Champlain's arrival seventy years later. Those Iroquois who were thrust back in the struggle for the St. Lawrence valley, early in the fifteenth century, made their way across Lake Ontario and established themselves at the mouth of the Oswego river. They were then in three small tribes, — the Mohawks, Onondagas, and Senecas, — but as they grew in numbers and spread eastward to the Hudson and westward to the Genesee, the intermediate tribes of Oneidas and Cayugas were formed by segmentation.¹ About 1450 the five tribes — afterwards known as the Five Nations — were joined in a confederacy in pursu-
The Five Nations.
 ance of the wise counsel which Hayowentha, or Hiawatha,² according to the legend, whispered into

¹ Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 125.

² Whether there was ever such a person as Hiawatha is, to say

the ears of the Onondaga sachem, Daganoweda. This union of their resources combined, with their native bravery and cunning, and their occupation of the most commanding military position in eastern North America, to render them invincible among red men. They exterminated their old enemies the Adirondacks, and pushed the Mohegans over the mountains from the Hudson river to the Connecticut. When they first encountered white men in 1609 their name had become a terror in New England, insomuch that as soon as a single Mohawk was caught sight of by the Indians in that country, they would raise the cry from hill to hill, "A Mohawk! a Mohawk!" and forthwith would flee like sheep before wolves, never dreaming of resistance.¹

After the Five Nations had been supplied with firearms by the Dutch their power increased with portentous rapidity.² At first they sought to persuade their neighbours of kindred blood and speech, the Eries and others, to join their confederacy;

the least, doubtful. As a traditional culture-hero his attributes are those of Ioskeha, Michabo, Quetzalcoatl, Viracocha, and all that class of sky-gods to which I shall again have occasion to refer. See Brinton's *Myths of the New World*, p. 172. When the Indian speaks of Hiawatha whispering advice to Daganoweda, his meaning is probably the same as that of the ancient Greek when he attributed the wisdom of some mortal hero to whispered advice from Zeus or his messenger Hermes. Longfellow's famous poem is based upon Schoolcraft's book entitled *The Hiawatha Legends*, which is really a misnomer, for the book consists chiefly of Ojibwa stories about Manabozho, son of the West Wind. There was really no such legend of Hiawatha as that which the poet has immortalized. See Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, pp. 36, 180-183.

¹ Cadwallader Colden, *History of the Five Nations*, New York, 1727.

² Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 12.

and failing in this they went to war and exterminated them.¹ Then they overthrew one Algonquin tribe after another until in 1690 their career was checked by the French. By that time they had reduced to a tributary condition most of the Algonquin tribes, even to the Mississippi river. Some writers have spoken of the empire of the Iroquois, and it has been surmised that, if they had not been interfered with by white men, they might have played a part analogous to that of the Romans in the Old World; but there is no real similarity between the two cases. The Romans acquired their mighty strength by incorporating vanquished peoples into their own body politic.² No American aborigines ever had a glimmering of the process of state-building after the Roman fashion. No incorporation resulted from the victories of the Iroquois. Where their burnings and massacres stopped short of extermination, they simply took tribute, which was as far as state-craft had got in the lower period of barbarism. General Walker has summed up their military career in a single sentence: "They were the scourge of God upon the aborigines of the continent."³

The six groups here enumerated — Dakota, Mandan, Pawnee, Maskoki, Algonquin, Iroquois

¹ All except the distant Tuscaroras, who in 1715 migrated from North Carolina to New York, and joining the Iroquois league made it the Six Nations. All the rest of the outlying Huron-Iroquois stock was wiped out of existence before the end of the seventeenth century, except the remnant of Hurons since known as Wyandots.

² See my *Beginnings of New England*, chap. i.

³ F. A. Walker, "The Indian Question," *North American Review*, April, 1873, p. 370.

—made up the great body of the aborigines of North America who at the time of the Discovery lived in the lower status of barbarism. All made pottery of various degrees of rudeness. Their tools and weapons were of the Neolithic type,—stone either polished or accurately and artistically chipped. For the most part they lived in stockaded villages, and cultivated maize, beans, pumpkins, squashes, sunflowers, and tobacco. They depended for subsistence partly upon such vegetable products, partly upon hunting and fishing, the women generally attending to the horticulture, the men to the chase. *Horticulture* is an appropriate designation for this stage in which the ground is merely scratched with stone spades and hoes. It is incipient agriculture, but should be carefully distinguished from the *field agriculture* in which extensive pieces of land are subdued by the plough. The assistance of domestic animals is needed before such work can be carried far, and it does not appear that there was an approach to field agriculture in any part of pre-Columbian America except Peru, where men were harnessed to the plough, and perhaps occasionally llamas were used in the same way.¹ Where subsistence depended upon rude horticulture eked out by game and fish, it required a large territory to support a sparse population. The great diversity of languages contributed to maintain the isolation of tribes and prevent extensive confederation. Intertribal

Horticulture
must be distinguished
from field
agriculture.

¹ See Humboldt, *Ansichten der Natur*, 3d ed., Stuttgart, 1849, vol. i. p. 203.

warfare was perpetual, save now and then for truces of brief duration. Warfare was attended by wholesale massacre. As many prisoners as could be managed were taken home by their captors; in some cases they were adopted into the tribe of the latter as a means of increasing its fighting strength, otherwise they were put to death with lingering torments.¹ There was nothing which afforded the red men such exquisite delight as the spectacle of live human flesh lacerated with stone knives or hissing under the touch of firebrands, and for elaborate ingenuity in devising tortures they have never been equalled.²

¹ "Women and children joined in these fiendish atrocities, and when at length the victim yielded up his life, his heart, if he were brave, was ripped from his body, cut in pieces, broiled, and given to the young men, under the belief that it would increase their courage; they drank his blood, thinking it would make them more wary; and finally his body was divided limb from limb, roasted or thrown into the seething pot, and hands and feet, arms and legs, head and trunk, were all stewed into a horrid mess and eaten amidst yells, songs, and dances." Jeffries Wyman, in *Seventh Report of Peabody Museum*, p. 37. For details of the most appalling character, see Butterfield's *History of the Girtys*, pp. 176-182; Stone's *Life of Joseph Brant*, vol. ii. pp. 31, 32; Dodge's *Plains of the Great West*, p. 418, and *Our Wild Indians*, pp. 525-529; Parkman's *Jesuits in North America*, pp. 387-391; and many other places in Parkman's writings.

² One often hears it said that the cruelty of the Indians was not greater than that of mediæval Europeans, as exemplified in judicial torture and in the horrors of the Inquisition. But in such a judgment there is lack of due discrimination. In the practice of torture by civil and ecclesiastical tribunals in the Middle Ages, there was a definite moral purpose which, however lamentably mistaken or perverted, gave it a very different character from torture wantonly inflicted for amusement. The atrocities formerly attendant upon the sack of towns, as e. g. Beziers. Magdeburg, etc., might more properly be regarded as an illustra-

Cannibalism was quite commonly practised.¹ The

tion of the survival of a spirit fit only for the lowest barbarism : and the Spanish conquerors of the New World themselves often exhibited cruelty such as even Indians seldom surpass. See below, vol. ii. p. 444. In spite of such cases, however, it must be held that for artistic skill in inflicting the greatest possible intensity of excruciating pain upon every nerve in the body, the Spaniard was a bungler and a novice as compared with the Indian. See Dodge's *Our Wild Indians*, pp. 536-538. Colonel Dodge was in familiar contact with Indians for more than thirty years, and writes with fairness and discrimination.

In truth the question as to comparative cruelty is not so much one of race as of occupation, except in so far as race is moulded by long occupation. The "old Adam," i. e. the inheritance from our brute ancestors, is very strong in the human race. Callousness to the suffering of others than self is part of this brute-inheritance, and under the influence of certain habits and occupations this germ of callousness may be developed to almost any height of devilish cruelty. In the lower stages of culture the lack of political aggregation on a large scale is attended with incessant warfare in the shape in which it comes home to everybody's door. This state of things keeps alive the passion of revenge and stimulates cruelty to the highest degree. As long as such a state of things endures, as it did in Europe to a limited extent throughout the Middle Ages, there is sure to be a dreadful amount of cruelty. The change in the conditions of modern warfare has been a very important factor in the rapidly increasing mildness and humanity of modern times. See my *Beginnings of New England*, pp. 226-229. Something more will be said hereafter with reference to the special causes concerned in the cruelty and brutality of the Spaniards in America. Meanwhile it may be observed in the present connection, that the Spanish taskmasters who mutilated and burned their slaves were not representative types of their own race to anything like the same extent as the Indians who tortured Brébeuf or Crawford. If the fiendish Pedrarias was a Spaniard, so too was the saintly Las Casas. The latter type would be as impossible among barbarians as an Aristotle or a Beethoven. Indeed, though there are writers who would like to prove the contrary, it may be doubted whether that type has ever attained to perfection except under the influence of Christianity.

¹ See the evidence collected by Jeffries Wyman, in *Seventh Re-*

scalps of slain enemies were always taken, and until they had attained such trophies the young men were not likely to find favour in the eyes of women. The Indian's notions of morality were those that belong to that state of society in which the tribe is the largest well-established political aggregate. Murder without the tribe was meritorious unless it entailed risk of war at an obvious disadvantage; murder within the tribe was either revenged by blood-feud or compounded by a present given to the victim's kinsmen. Such rudimentary *wergild* was often reckoned in wampum, or strings of beads made of a kind of mussel shell, and put to divers uses, as personal ornament, mnemonic record, and finally money. Religious thought was in the fetishistic or animistic stage,¹ while many tribes had risen to a vague conception of tutelary deities embodied in human or animal forms. Myth-tales abounded, and the folk-lore of the red men is found to be extremely interesting and instructive.² Their religion consisted mainly

port of Peabody Museum, pp. 27-37; cf. Wake, *Evolution of Morality*, vol. i. p. 243. Many illustrations are given by Mr. Parkman. In this connection it may be observed that the name "Mohawk" means "Cannibal." It is an Algonquin word, applied to this Iroquois tribe by their enemies in the Connecticut valley and about the lower Hudson. The name by which the Mohawks called themselves was "Caniengas," or "People-at-the-Flint." See Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, p. 173.

¹ For accounts and explanations of animism see Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, London, 1871, 2 vols.; Caspari, *Urgeschichte der Menschheit*, Leipsic, 1877, 2 vols.; Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, part i.; and my *Myths and Mythmakers*, chap. vii.

² No time should be lost in gathering and recording every scrap of this folk-lore that can be found. The American Folk-Lore Society, founded chiefly through the exertions of my friend

in a devout belief in witchcraft. No well-defined priestly class had been evolved; the so-called "medicine men" were mere conjurers, though possessed of considerable influence.

But none of the characteristics of barbarous society above specified will carry us so far toward realizing the gulf which divides it from civilized society as the imperfect development of its domestic relations. The importance of this subject is such as to call for a few words of special elucidation.

Thirty years ago, when Sir Henry Maine published that magnificent treatise on Ancient Law, which, when considered in all its potency of suggestiveness, has perhaps done more than any other single book of our century toward placing the study of history upon a scientific basis, he began by showing that in primitive society the individual is nothing and the state nothing, while the family-group is everything, and that the progress of civilization politically has

Ancient Law.

Mr. W. W. Newell, and organized January 4, 1888, is already doing excellent work and promises to become a valuable aid, within its field, to the work of the Bureau of Ethnology. Of the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, published for the society by Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., nine numbers have appeared, and the reader will find them full of valuable information. One may also profitably consult Knortz's *Mährchen und Sagen der nordamerikanischen Indianer*, Jena, 1871; Brinton's *Myths of the New World*, N. Y., 1868, and his *American Hero-Myths*, Phila., 1882; Leland's *Algonquin Legends of New England*, Boston, 1884; Mrs. Emerson's *Indian Myths*, Boston, 1884. Some brief reflections and criticisms of much value, in relation to aboriginal American folk-lore, may be found in Curtin's *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland*, pp. 12-27.

consisted on the one hand in the aggregation and building up of family-groups through intermediate tribal organizations into states, and on the other hand in the disentanglement of individuals from the family thralldom. In other words, we began by having no political communities larger than clans, and no bond of political union except blood relationship, and in this state of things the individual, as to his rights and obligations, was submerged in the clan. We at length come to have great nations like the English or the French, in which blood-relationship as a bond of political union is no longer indispensable or even much thought of, and in which the individual citizen is the possessor of legal rights and subject to legal obligations. No one in our time can forget how beautifully Sir Henry Maine, with his profound knowledge of early Aryan law and custom, from Ireland to Hindustan, delineated the slow growth of individual ownership of property and individual responsibility for delict and crime out of an earlier stage in which ownership and responsibility belonged only to family-groups or clans.

In all these brilliant studies Sir Henry Maine started with the patriarchal family as we find it at the dawn of history among all peoples of Aryan and Semitic speech, — the patriarchal family of the ancient Roman and the ancient Jew, the family in which kin-
The patri-
 archal family
 not primitive.
 ship is reckoned through males, and in which all authority centres in the eldest male, and descends to his eldest son. Maine treated this patriarchal family as primitive ; but his great book had hardly

appeared when other scholars, more familiar than he with races in savagery or in the lower status of barbarism, showed that his view was too restricted. We do not get back to primitive society by studying Greeks, Romans, and Jews, peoples who had nearly emerged from the later period of barbarism when we first know them.¹ Their patriarchal family was perfected in shape during the later period of barbarism, and it was preceded by a much ruder and less definite form of family-group in which kinship was reckoned only through the mother, and the headship never descended from father to son. As so often happens, this discovery was made almost simultaneously by two investigators, each working in ignorance of what the other was doing. In 1861, the same year in which "Ancient Law" was published, Professor Bachofen, of Basel, published his famous book, "Das Mutterrecht," of which his co-discoverer and rival, after taking exception to some of his statements, thus cordially writes: "It remains, how-

"Mother-right."

¹ Until lately our acquaintance with human history was derived almost exclusively from literary memorials, among which the Bible, the Homeric poems, and the Vedas, carried us back about as far as literature could take us. It was natural, therefore, to suppose that the society of the times of Abraham or Agamemnon was "primitive," and the wisest scholars reasoned upon such an assumption. With vision thus restricted to civilized man and his ideas and works, people felt free to speculate about uncivilized races (generally grouped together indiscriminately as "savages") according to any *à priori* whim that might happen to captivate their fancy. But the discoveries of the last half-century have opened such stupendous vistas of the past that the age of Abraham seems but as yesterday. The state of society described in the book of Genesis had five entire ethnical periods, and the greater part of a sixth, behind it; and its institutions were, comparatively speaking, modern.

ever, after all qualifications and deductions, that Bachofen, before any one else, discovered the fact that a system of kinship through mothers only, had anciently everywhere prevailed before the tie of blood between father and child had found a place in systems of relationships. And the honour of that discovery, the importance of which, as affording a new starting-point for all history, cannot be overestimated, must without stint or qualification be assigned to him.”¹ Such are the generous words of the late John Ferguson McLennan, who had no knowledge of Bachofen’s work when his own treatise on “Primitive Marriage” was published in 1865. Since he was so modest in urging his own claims, it is due to the Scotch lawyer’s memory to say that, while he was inferior in point of erudition to the Swiss professor, his book is characterized by greater sagacity, goes more directly to the mark, and is less encumbered by visionary speculations of doubtful value.² Mr. McLennan proved, from evidence collected chiefly from Australians and South Sea Islanders, and sundry non-Aryan tribes of Hindustan and Thibet, that systems of kinship in which the father is ignored exist to-day, and he furthermore discovered unmistakable and very significant traces of the former existence of such a state of things among the Mongols, the Greeks and Phœnicians, and the ancient Hebrews. By those who were inclined to

¹ McLennan’s *Studies in Ancient History, comprising a reprint of Primitive Marriage*, etc. London, 1876, p. 421.

² There is much that is unsound in it, however, as is often inevitably the case with books that strike boldly into a new field of inquiry.

regard Sir Henry Maine's views as final, it was argued that Mr. McLennan's facts were of a sporadic and exceptional character. But when the evidence from this vast archaic world of America began to be gathered in and interpreted by Mr. Morgan, this argument fell to the ground, and as to the point chiefly in contention, Mr. McLennan was proved to be right. Throughout aboriginal America, with one or two exceptions, kinship was reckoned through females only, and in the exceptional instances the vestiges of that system were so prominent as to make it clear that the change had been but recently effected. During the past fifteen years, evidence has accumulated from various parts of the world, until it is beginning to appear as if it were the patriarchal system that is exceptional, having been reached only by the highest races.¹ Sir Henry Maine's work has lost none of

The system of reckoning kinship through females only.

¹ A general view of the subject may be obtained from the following works: Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht*, Stuttgart, 1871, and *Die Sage von Tanaquil*, Heidelberg, 1870; McLennan's *Studies in Ancient History*, London, 1876, and *The Patriarchal Theory*, London, 1884; Morgan's *Systems of Consanguinity* (Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, vol. xvii.), Washington, 1871, and *Ancient Society*, New York, 1877; Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, Cambridge, Eng., 1885; Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, 5th ed., London, 1889; Giraud-Teulon, *La Mère chez certains peuples de l'antiquité*, Paris, 1867, and *Les Origines de la Famille*, Geneva, 1874; Starcke (of Copenhagen), *The Primitive Family*, London, 1889. Some criticisms upon McLennan and Morgan may be found in Maine's later works, *Early History of Institutions*, London, 1875, and *Early Law and Custom*, London, 1883. By far the ablest critical survey of the whole field is that in Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, vol. I. pp. 621-797.

its value, only, like all human work, it is not final; it needs to be supplemented by the further study of savagery as best exemplified in Australia and some parts of Polynesia, and of barbarism as best exemplified in America. The subject is, moreover, one of great and complicated difficulty, and leads incidentally to many questions for solving which the data at our command are still inadequate. It is enough for us now to observe in general that while there are plenty of instances of change from the system of reckoning kinship only through females, to the system of reckoning through males, there do not appear to have been any instances of change in the reverse direction; and that in ancient America the earlier system was prevalent.

If now we ask the reason for such a system of reckoning kinship and inheritance, so strange according to all our modern notions, the true answer doubtless is that which was given by prudent (πεπνυμένος) Telemachus to the goddess Athene when she asked him to tell her truly if he was the son of Odysseus: — “My mother says I am his son, for my part, I don’t know; one never knows of one’s self who one’s father is.”¹ Already, no doubt, in Homer’s time

Original reason for the system.

¹ Ἄλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἶπε καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον,
εἰ δὴ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τόσος παῖς εἴς Ὀδυσῆος.
αἰνῶς γὰρ κεφαλὴν τε καὶ ὄμματα καλὰ ἔοικας
κείνῳ, ἐπεὶ θαμὰ τοῖον ἐμισγόμεθ' ἀλλήλοισιν,
πρὶν γε τὸν ἐς Τροίην ἀναβήμεναι, ἔνθα περ ἄλλοι
Ἄργείων οἱ ἄριστοι ἔβαν κοίλῃς ἐπὶ νηυσίν·
ἐκ τοῦ δ' οὗτ' Ὀδυσῆα ἐγὼν ἴδον οὗτ' ἐμὲ κείνος.
Τὴν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἤδδα

there was a gleam of satire about this answer, such as it would show on a modern page; but in more primitive times it was a very serious affair. From what we know of the ideas and practices of uncivilized tribes all over the world, it is evident that the sacredness of the family based upon indissoluble marriage is a thing of comparatively modern growth. If the sexual relations of the Australians, as observed to-day,¹ are an improvement upon an antecedent state of things, that antecedent state must have been sheer promiscuity. There is ample warrant for supposing, with Mr. McLennan, that at the beginning of the lower status of savagery, long since everywhere extinct, the family had not made itself distinctly visible, but men lived in a horde very much like gregarious brutes.² I have shown that

The primeval
human horde.

τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τοι, ξεῖνε, μάλ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύσω.
μήτηρ μὲν τ' ἐμέ φησι τοῦ ἔμμεναι, αὐτὰρ ἔγωγε
οὐκ οἶδ'· οὐ γάρ πώ τις ἐδν γόνον αὐτὸς ἀνέγνων.

Odyssey, i. 206.

¹ Lumholtz, *Among Cannibals*, p. 213; Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, p. 107; Morgan, *Ancient Society*, part iii., chap. iii. "After battle it frequently happens among the native tribes of Australia that the wives of the conquered, of their own free-will, go over to the victors; reminding us of the lioness which, quietly watching the fight between two lions, goes off with the conqueror." Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, vol. i. p. 632.

² The notion of the descent of the human race from a single "pair," or of different races from different "pairs," is a curious instance of transferring modern institutions into times primeval. Of course the idea is absurd. When the elder Agassiz so emphatically declared that "pines have originated in forests, heaths in heaths, grasses in prairies, bees in hives, herrings in shoals, buffaloes in herds, men in nations" (*Essay on Classification*, London, 1859, p. 58), he made, indeed, a mistake of the same sort,

the essential difference between this primeval human horde and a mere herd of brutes consisted in the fact that the gradual but very great prolongation of infancy had produced two effects: the lengthening of the care of children tended to differentiate the horde into family-groups, and the lengthening of the period of youthful mental plasticity made it more possible for a new generation to improve upon the ideas and customs of its predecessors.¹ In these two concomitant processes — the development of the family and the increase of mental plasticity, or ability to adopt new methods and strike out into new paths of thought — lies the whole explanation of the moral and intellectual superiority of men over dumb animals. But in each case the change was very gradual.² The true savage is only a little less unteachable than the beasts of the field. The savage family is at first barely discernible amid the primitive social chaos

so far as concerns the origin of Man, for the nation is a still more modern institution than the family; but in the other items of his statement he was right, and as regards the human race he was thinking in the right direction when he placed *multitude* instead of *duality* at the beginning. If instead of that extremely complex and highly organized multitude called "nation" (in the plural), he had started with the extremely simple and almost unorganized multitude called "horde" (in the singular), the statement for Man would have been correct. Such views were hardly within the reach of science thirty years ago.

¹ *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy*, part ii., chaps. xvi., xxi., xxii.; *Excursions of an Evolutionist*, pp. 306-319; *Darwinism, and other Essays*, pp. 40-49; *The Destiny of Man*, §§ iii.-ix.

² The slowness of the development has apparently been such as befits the transcendent value of the result. Though the question is confessedly beyond the reach of science, may we not hold that civilized man, the creature of an infinite past, is the child of eternity, maturing for an inheritance of immortal life?

in which it had its origin. Along with polyandry and polygyny in various degrees and forms, instances of exclusive pairing, of at least a temporary character, are to be found among the lowest existing savages, and there are reasons for supposing that such may have been the case even in primeval times. But it was impossible for strict monogamy to flourish in the ruder stages of social development; and the kind of family-group that was first clearly and permanently differentiated from the primeval horde was not at all like what civilized people would recognize as a family. It was the *gens* or *clan*, as we find it exemplified in all stages from the middle period of savagery to the middle period of barbarism. The *gens* or *clan* was simply — to define it by a third synonym — the *kin*; it was originally a group of males and females who were traditionally aware of their common descent reckoned in the female line. At this stage of development there was quite generally though not universally prevalent the custom of “exogamy,” by which a man was forbidden to marry a woman of his own clan. Among such Australian tribes as have been studied, this primitive restriction upon promiscuity seems to be about the only one.

Throughout all the earlier stages of culture, and even into the civilized period, we find society organized with the clan for its ultimate unit, although in course of time its character becomes greatly altered by the substitution of kinship in the paternal, for that in the maternal line. By

Earliest family-group: the clan.

“Exogamy.”

long-continued growth and repeated segmentation the primitive clan was developed into a more complex structure, in which a ^{Phratry and} _{tribe.} group of clans constituted a *phratry* or brotherhood, and a group of phratries constituted a *tribe*. This threefold grouping is found so commonly in all parts of the world as to afford good ground for the belief that it has been universal. It was long ago familiar to historians in the case of Greece and Rome, and of our Teutonic forefathers,¹ but it also existed generally in ancient America, and many obscure points connected with the history of the Greek and Roman groups have been elucidated through the study of Iroquois and Algonquin institutions. Along with the likenesses, however, there are numerous unlikenesses, due to the change of kinship, among the European groups, from the female line to the male.

This change, as it occurred among Aryan and Semitic peoples, marked one of the most momentous revolutions in the history of mankind. It probably occurred early in the upper period of barbarism, or late in the middle period, after the long-continued domestication of animals had resulted in the acquisition of private property (*pecus, peculium, pecunia*) in large amounts by individuals. In primitive society there was very little personal property except in weapons, clothing (such as it was), and trinkets. Real estate was unknown. Land was simply *occupied* by the tribe. There was general communism and social equal-

Effect of pastoral life upon property and upon the family.

¹ The Teutonic *hundred* and Roman *curia* answered to the Greek *phratry*.

ity. In the Old World the earliest instance of extensive "adverse possession" on the part of individuals, as against other individuals in the clan-community, was the possession of flocks and herds. Distinctions in wealth and rank were thus inaugurated; slavery began to be profitable and personal retainers and adherents useful in new ways. As in earlier stages the community in marital relations had been part of the general community in possessions, so now the exclusive possession of a wife or wives was part of the system of private property that was coming into vogue. The man of many cattle, the man who could attach subordinates to him through motives of self-interest as well as personal deference, the man who could defend his property against robbers, could also have his separate household and maintain its sanctity. In this way, it is believed, indissoluble marriage, in its two forms of monogamy and polygamy, originated. That it had already existed sporadically is not denied, but it now acquired such stability and permanence that the older and looser forms of alliance, hitherto prevalent, fell into disfavour. A natural result of the growth of private wealth and the permanence of the marital relation was the change in reckoning kinship from the maternal to the paternal line. This change was probably favoured by the prevalence of polygamy among those who were coming to be distinguished as "upper classes," since a large family of children by different mothers could be held together only by reckoning the kinship through the father. Thus, we may suppose, originated the patriarchal

family. Even in its rudest form it was an immense improvement upon what had gone before, and to the stronger and higher social organization thus acquired we must largely ascribe the rise of the Aryan and Semitic peoples to the foremost rank of civilization.¹

It is not intended to imply that there is no other way in which the change to the male line may have been brought about among other peoples. The explanation just given applies very well to the Aryan and Semitic peoples, but it is inapplicable to the state of things which seems to have existed in Mexico at the time of the Discovery.² The subject is a difficult one, and sometimes confronts us with questions much easier to ask than to answer. The change has been observed among tribes in a lower stage than that just described.³ On the other hand, as old customs die hard, no doubt inheritance has in many places continued in the maternal line long after paternity is fully known. Symmetrical regularity in the development of human institutions has by no means been the rule, and there is often much difficulty in explaining particular cases, even when the direction of the general drift can be discerned.

¹ Fenton's *Early Hebrew Life*, London, 1880, is an interesting study of the upper period of barbarism; see also Spencer, *Princip. of Sociol.*, i. 724-737.

² See below, p. 122.

³ As among the Hervey Islanders; Gill, *Myths and Songs of the South Pacific*, p. 36. Sir John Lubbock would account for the curious and widely spread custom of the *Couvade* as a feature of this change. *Origin of Civilization*, pp. 14-17, 159; cf. Tylor, *Early Hist. of Mankind*, pp. 288, 297.

In aboriginal America, as already observed, kinship through females only was the rule, and exogamy was strictly enforced, — the wife must be taken from a different clan. Indissoluble marriage, whether monogamous or polygamous, seems to have been unknown. The marriage relation was terminable at the will of either party.¹ The abiding unit upon which the social structure was founded was not the family but the exogamous clan.

The exoga-
mous clan in
ancient Amer-
ica.

I have been at some pains to elucidate this point because the house-life of the American aborigines found visible, and in some instances very durable, expression in a remarkable style of house-architecture. The manner in which the Indians built their houses grew directly out of the requirements of their life. It was an unmistakably characteristic architecture, and while it ex-

¹ “There is no embarrassment growing out of problems respecting the woman’s future support, the division of property, or the adjustment of claims for the possession of the children. The independent self-support of every adult healthy Indian, male or female, and the gentile relationship, which is more wide-reaching and authoritative than that of marriage, have already disposed of these questions, which are usually so perplexing for the white man. So far as personal maintenance is concerned, a woman is, as a rule, just as well off without a husband as with one. What is hers, in the shape of property, remains her own whether she is married or not. In fact, marriage among these Indians seems to be but the natural mating of the sexes, to cease at the option of either of the interested parties.” Clay MacCanley, “The Seminole Indians of Florida,” in *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington, 1887, p. 497. For a graphic account of the state of things among the Cheyennes and Arrapahos, see Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, pp. 204–220.

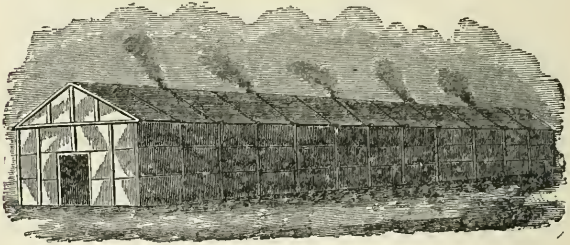
hibits manifold unlikenesses in detail, due to differences in intelligence as well as to the presence or absence of sundry materials, there is one underlying principle always manifest. That underlying principle is adaptation to a certain mode of communal living such as all American aborigines that have been carefully studied are known to have practised. Through many gradations, from the sty of the California savage up to the noble sculptured ruins of Uxmal and Chichen-Itza, the principle is always present. Taken in connection with evidence from other sources, it enables us to exhibit a gradation of stages of culture in aboriginal North America, with the savages of the Sacramento and Columbia valleys at the bottom, and the Mayas of Yucatan at the top; and while in going from one end to the other a very long interval was traversed, we feel that the progress of the aborigines in crossing that interval was made along similar lines.¹

Intimate connection of aboriginal architecture with social life.

The principle was first studied and explained by Mr. Morgan in the case of the famous "long houses" of the Iroquois. "The long house . . . was from fifty to eighty and sometimes one hundred feet long. It consisted of a strong frame of upright poles set in the ground, which was strengthened with horizontal poles attached with withes, and surmounted with a triangular, and in some cases with a round roof. It was covered over,

¹ See Morgan's *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines*, Washington, 1881, an epoch-making book of rare and absorbing interest.

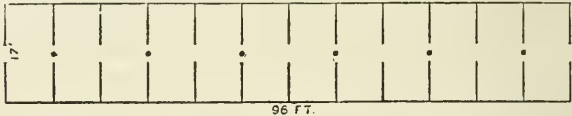
both sides and roof, with long strips of elm bark tied to the frame with strings or splints. An ex-



Seneca-Iroquois long house.

ternal frame of poles for the sides and of rafters for the roof were then adjusted to hold the bark shingles between them, the two frames being tied together. The interior of the house was comparted¹ at intervals

The long houses of the Iroquois.



Ground-plan of long house.

of six or eight feet, leaving each chamber entirely open like a stall upon the passageway which passed through the centre of the house from end to end. At each end was a doorway covered with suspended skins. Between each four apartments, two on a side, was a fire-pit in the centre of the hall, used in common by their occupants. Thus a house with five fires would contain twenty apart-

¹ This verb of Mr. Morgan's at first struck me as odd, but though rarely used, it is supported by good authority; see *Century Dictionary*, s. v.

ments and accommodate twenty families, unless some apartments were reserved for storage. They were warm, roomy, and tidily-kept habitations. Raised bunks were constructed around the walls of each apartment for beds. From the roof-poles were suspended their strings of corn in the ear, braided by the husks, also strings of dried squashes and pumpkins. Spaces were contrived here and there to store away their accumulations of provisions. Each house, as a rule, was occupied by related families, the mothers and their children belonging to the same gens, while their husbands and the fathers of these children belonged to other gentes; consequently the gens or clan of the mother largely predominated in the household. Whatever was taken in the hunt or raised by cultivation by any member of the household . . . was for the common benefit. Provisions were made a common stock within the household.”¹

“Over every such household a matron presided, whose duty it was to supervise its domestic economy. After the single daily meal had been cooked at the different fires within the house, it was her province to divide the food from the kettle to the several families according to their respective needs. What remained was placed in the custody of another person until she again required it.”²

¹ The Iroquois ceased to build such houses before the beginning of the present century. I quote Mr. Morgan's description at length, because his book is out of print and hard to obtain. It ought to be republished, and in octavo, like his *Ancient Society*, of which it is a continuation.

² Lucien Carr, “On the Social and Political Position of Woman among the Huron-Iroquois Tribes,” *Reports of Peabody Museum*, vol. iii. p. 215.

Not only the food was common property, but many chattels, including the children, belonged to the gens or clan. When a young woman got married she brought her husband home with her. Though thenceforth an inmate of this household he remained an alien to her clan. "If he proved lazy and failed to do his share of the providing, woe be to him. No matter how many children, or whatever goods he might have in the house, he might at any time be ordered to pick up his blanket and budge; and after such orders it would not be healthful for him to disobey; the house would be too hot for him; and unless saved by the intercession of some aunt or grandmother [of his wife] he must retreat to his own clan, or, as was often done, go and start a new matrimonial alliance in some other. . . . The female portion ruled the house."¹

Summary
divorce.

Though there was but one freshly-cooked meal, taken about the middle of the day, any member of the household when hungry could be helped from the common stock. Hospitality was universal. If a person from one of the other communal households, or a stranger from another tribe (in time of peace), were to visit the house, the women would immediately offer him food, and it was a breach of etiquette to decline to eat it. This custom was strictly observed all over the continent and in the West India Islands, and was often remarked upon by the early discoverers, in

Hospitality.

¹ This was not incompatible with the subjection of women to extreme drudgery and ill-treatment. For an instructive comparison with the case among the tribes of the Far West, see Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, chap. xvi.

whose minds it was apt to implant idyllic notions that were afterward rudely disturbed. The prevalence of hospitality among uncivilized races has long been noted by travellers, and is probably in most cases, as it certainly was in ancient America, closely connected with communism in living.

The clan, which practised this communism, had its definite organization, officers, rights, and duties. Its official head was the "sachem," whose functions were of a civil nature. The sachem was elected by the clan and must be a member of it, so that a son could not be chosen to succeed his father, but a sachem could be succeeded by his uterine brother or by his sister's son, and in this way customary lines of succession could and often did tend to become established. The clan also elected its "chiefs," whose functions were military; the number of chiefs was proportionate to that of the people composing the clan, usually one chief to every fifty or sixty persons. The clan could depose its sachem or any of its chiefs. Personal property, such as weapons, or trophies, or rights of user in the garden-plots, was inheritable in the female line, and thus stayed within the clan. The members were reciprocally bound to help, defend, and avenge one another. The clan had the right of adopting strangers to strengthen itself. It had the right of naming its members, and these names were always obviously significant, like Little Turtle, Yellow Wolf, etc.; of names like our Richard or William, with the meaning lost, or obvious only to scholars, no trace is to be found in aboriginal America. The clan

Structure of
the clan.

itself, too, always had a name, which was usually that of some animal, — as Wolf, Eagle, or Salmon, and a rude drawing or pictograph of the creature served as a “totem” or primitive heraldic device. A mythological meaning was attached to this emblem. The clan had its own common religious rites and common burial place. There was a clan-council, of which women might be members; there were instances, indeed, of its being composed entirely of women, whose position was one of much more dignity and influence than has commonly been supposed. Instances of squaw sachems were not so very rare.¹

The number of clans in a tribe naturally bore some proportion to the populousness of the tribe, varying from three, in the case of the Delawares, to twenty or more, as in the case of the Ojibwas and Creeks. There were usually eight or ten, and these were usually grouped into two or three phratries. The phratry seems to have originated in the segmentation of the overgrown clan, for in some cases exogamy was originally practised as between the phratries and afterward the custom died out while it was retained as between their constituent clans.² The

Origin and structure of the phratry.

¹ Among the Wyandots there is in each clan a council composed of four squaws, and this council elects the male sachem who is its head. Therefore the tribal council, which is the aggregate of the clan-councils, consists one fifth of men and four fifths of women. See Powell, “Wyandot Government: a Short Study of Tribal Society,” in *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington, 1881, pp. 59–69; and also Mr. Carr’s interesting essay above cited.

² H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. i. p. 109.

system of naming often indicates this origin of the phratry, though seldom quite so forcibly as in the case of the Mohegan tribe, which was thus composed :¹ —

I. WOLF PHRATRY.

Clans : 1. Wolf, 2. Bear, 3. Dog, 4. Opossum.

II. TURTLE PHRATRY.

Clans : 5. Little Turtle, 6. Mud Turtle, 7. Great Turtle, 8. Yellow Eel.

III. TURKEY PHRATRY.

Clans : 9. Turkey, 10. Crane, 11. Chicken.

Here the senior clan in the phratry tends to keep the original clan-name, while the junior clans have been guided by a sense of kinship in choosing their new names. This origin of the phratry is further indicated by the fact that the phratry does not always occur; sometimes the clans are organized directly into the tribe. The phratry was not so much a governmental as a religious and social organization. Its most important function seems to have been supplementing or reinforcing the action of the single clan in exacting compensation for murder; and this point is full of interest because it helps us to understand how among our Teutonic forefathers the "hundred" (the equivalent of the phratry) became charged with the duty of prosecuting criminals. The Greek phratry had a precisely analogous function.²

¹ Morgan, *Houses and House-Life*, p. 16.

² See Freeman, *Comparative Politics*, p. 117; Stubbs, *Const.*

The Indian tribe was a group of people distinguished by the exclusive possession of a dialect in common. It possessed a tribal name and occupied a more or less clearly defined territory; there were also tribal religious rites. Its supreme government was vested in the council of its clan-chiefs and sachems; and as these were thus officers of the tribe as well as of the clan, the tribe exercised the right of investing them with office, amid appropriate solemnities, after their election by their respective clans. The tribal-council had also the right to depose chiefs and sachems. In some instances, not always, there was a head chief or military commander for the tribes, elected by the tribal council. Such was the origin of the office which, in most societies of the Old World, gradually multiplied its functions and accumulated power until it developed into true kingship. Nowhere in ancient North America did it quite reach such a stage.

Among the greater part of the aborigines no higher form of social structure was attained than the tribe. There were, however, several instances of permanent confederation, of which the two most interesting and most highly developed were the League of the Iroquois, mentioned above, and the Mexican Confederacy, presently to be considered. The principles upon which the Iroquois league

Structure of
the tribe.

Cross-relations
between
clans and
tribes: the
Iroquois Con-
federacy.

Hist., vol. i. pp. 98-104; Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iii. pp. 74, 88. It is interesting to compare Grote's description with Morgan's (*Anc. Soc.*, pp. 71, 94) and note both the closeness of the general parallelism and the character of the specific variations.

was founded have been thoroughly and minutely explained by Mr. Morgan.¹ It originated in a union of five tribes composed of clans in common, and speaking five dialects of a common language. These tribes had themselves arisen through the segmentation of a single overgrown tribe, so that portions of the original clans survived in them all. The Wolf, Bear, and Turtle clan were common to all the five tribes; three other clans were common to three of the five. "All the members of the same gens [clan], whether Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, or Senecas, were brothers and sisters to each other in virtue of their descent from the same common [female] ancestor, and they recognized each other as such with the fullest cordiality. When they met, the first inquiry was the name of each other's gens, and next the immediate pedigree of each other's sachers; after which they were able to find, under their peculiar system of consanguinity, the relationship in which they stood to each other. . . . This cross-relationship between persons of the same gens in the different tribes is still preserved and recognized among them in all its original force. It explains the tenacity with which the fragments of the old confederacy still cling together."² Acknowledged

¹ In his *League of the Iroquois*, Rochester, 1851, a book now out of print and excessively rare. A brief summary is given in his *Ancient Society*, chap. v., and in his *Houses and House-Life*, pp 23-41. Mr. Morgan was adopted into the Seneca tribe, and his life work was begun by a profound and exhaustive study of this interesting people.

² *Houses and House-Life*, p. 33. At the period of its greatest power, about 1675, the people of the confederacy were about 25,000 in number. In 1875, according to official statistics (see

consanguinity is to the barbarian a sound reason, and the only one conceivable, for permanent political union; and the very existence of such a confederacy as that of the Five Nations was rendered possible only through the permanence of the clans or communal households which were its ultimate units. We have here a clue to the policy of these Indians toward the kindred tribes who refused to join their league. These tribes, too, so far as is known, would seem to have contained the same clans. After a separation of at least four hundred years the Wyandots have still five of their eight clans in common with the Iroquois. When the Eries and other tribes would not join the league of their kindred, the refusal smacked of treason to the kin, and we can quite understand the deadly fury with which the latter turned upon them and butchered every man, woman, and child except such as they saw fit to adopt into their own clans.

table appended to Dodge's *Plains of the Great West*, pp. 441-448), there were in the state of New York 198 Oneidas, 203 Onondagas, 165 Cayugas, 3,043 Senecas, and 448 Tuscaroras, — in all 4,057. Besides these there were 1,279 Oneidas on a reservation in Wisconsin, and 207 Senecas in the Indian Territory. The Mohawks are not mentioned in the list. During the Revolutionary War, and just afterward, the Mohawks migrated into Upper Canada (Ontario), for an account of which the reader may consult the second volume of Stone's *Life of Brant*. Portions of the other tribes also went to Canada. In New York the Oneidas and Tuscaroras were converted to Christianity by Samuel Kirkland and withheld from alliance with the British during the Revolution; the others still retain their ancient religion. They are for the most part farmers and are now increasing in numbers. Their treatment by the state of New York has been honourably distinguished for justice and humanity.

Each of the Five Tribes retained its local self-government. The supreme government of the confederacy was vested in a General Council of fifty sachems, "equal in rank and authority." The fifty sachemships were created in perpetuity in certain clans of the several tribes; whenever a vacancy occurred, it was filled by the clan electing one of its own members; a sachem once thus elected could be deposed by the clan-council for good cause; "but the right to invest these sachems with office was reserved to the General Council." These fifty sachems of the confederacy were likewise sachems in their respective tribes, "and with the chiefs of these tribes formed the council of each, which was supreme over all matters pertaining to the tribe exclusively." The General Council could not convene itself, but could be convened by any one of the five tribal councils. The regular meeting was once a year in the autumn, in the valley of Onondaga, but in stirring times extra sessions were frequent. The proceedings were opened by an address from one of the sachems, "in the course of which he thanked the Great Spirit [i. e. Ioskeha, the sky-god] for sparing their lives and permitting them to meet together;" after this they were ready for business. It was proper for any orator from among the people to address the Council with arguments, and the debates were sometimes very long and elaborate. When it came to voting, the fifty sachems voted by tribes, each tribe counting as a unit, and unanimity was as imperative as in an English jury, so that one tribe could

Structure of
the confederacy.

block the proceedings. The confederacy had no head-sachem, or civil chief-magistrate; but a military commander was indispensable, and, curiously enough, without being taught by the experience of a Tarquin, the Iroquois made this a dual office, like the Roman consulship. There were two permanent chieftainships, one in the Wolf, the other in the Turtle clan, and both in the Seneca tribe, because the western border was the most exposed to attack.¹ The chiefs were elected by the clan, and inducted into office by the General Council; their tenure was during life or good behaviour. This office never encroached upon the others in its powers, but an able warrior in this position could wield great influence.

Such was the famous confederacy of the Iroquois. They called it the Long House, and by this name as commonly as any other it is known in history. The name by which they called themselves was Hodenosaunee, or "People of the Long House." The name was picturesquely descriptive of the long and narrow strip of villages with its western outlook toward the Niagara, and its eastern toward the Hudson, three hundred miles distant. But it was appropriate also for another and a deeper reason than this. We have seen that in its social and political

¹ Somewhat on the same principle that in mediæval Europe led an earl or count, commanding an exposed border district or *march* to rise in power and importance and become a "margrave" [*mark* + *graf* = *march-count*] or "marquis." Compare the increase of sovereignty accorded to the earls of Chester and bishops of Durham as rulers of the two principal march counties of England.

structure, from top to bottom and from end to end, the confederacy was based upon and held together by the gentes, clans, communal households, or "long houses," which were its component units. They may be compared to the hypothetical indestructible atoms of modern physics, whereof all material objects are composed. The whole institutional fabric was the outgrowth of the group of ideas and habits that belong to a state of society ignorant of and incapable of imagining any other form of organization than the clan held together by the tie of a common maternal ancestry. The house architecture was as much a constituent part of the fabric as the council of sachems. There is a transparency about the system that is very different from the obscurity we continually find in Europe and Asia, where different strata of ideas and institutions have been superimposed one upon another and crumpled and distorted with as little apparent significance or purpose as the porches and gables of a so-called "Queen Anne" house.¹ Conquest in the Old World has resulted in the commingling and manifold fusion of peoples in very different stages of development. In the New World there has been very little of that sort of thing. Conquest in ancient America was pretty much all of the Iroquois type, entailing in its milder form the imposition of tribute, in its more desperate form the extermination of a tribe with the adoption of its remnants into the similarly-

¹ For instance, the whole discussion in Gomme's *Village Community*, London, 1890, an excellent book, abounds with instances of this crumpling.

constituted tribe of the conquerors. There was therefore but little modification of the social structure while the people, gradually acquiring new arts, were passing through savagery and into a more or less advanced stage of barbarism. The symmetry of the structure and the relation of one institution to another is thus distinctly apparent.

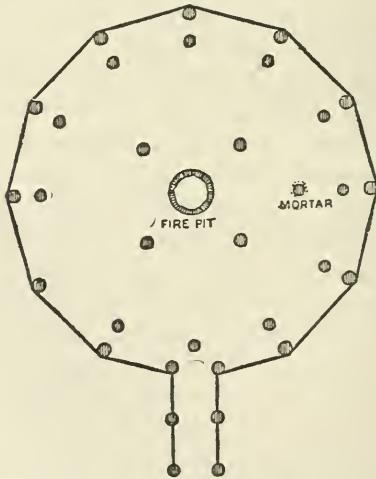
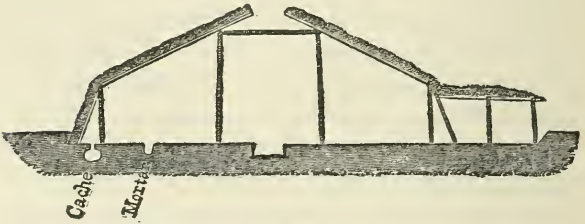
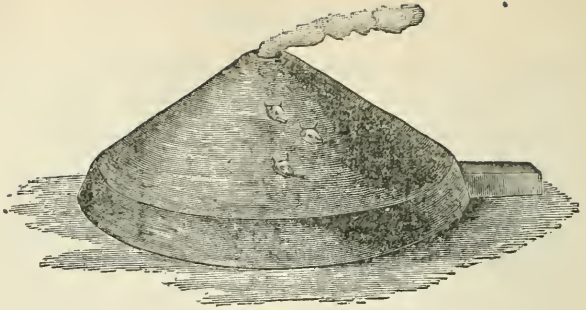
The communal household and the political structure built upon it, as above described in the case of the Iroquois, seem to have existed all over ancient North America, with agreement in fundamental characteristics and variation in details and degree of development. There are many corners as yet imperfectly explored, but hitherto, in so far as research has been rewarded with information, it all points in the same general direction. Among the tribes above enumerated as either in savagery or in the lower status of barbarism, so far as they have been studied, there seems to be a general agreement, as to the looseness of the marriage tie, the clan with descent in the female line, the phratry, the tribe, the officers and councils, the social equality, the community in goods (with exceptions already noted), and the wigwam or house adapted to communal living.

The extreme of variation consistent with adherence to the common principle was to be found in the shape and material of the houses. Those of the savage tribes were but sorry huts. The long house was used by the Powhatans and other Algonquin tribes. The other most highly developed type may be illustrated by the circular frame-

houses of the Mandans.¹ These houses were from forty to sixty feet in diameter. A dozen or more posts, each about eight inches in diameter, were set in the ground, “at equal distances in the circumference of a circle, and rising about six feet above the level of the floor.” The tops of the posts were connected by horizontal stringers; and outside each post a slanting wooden brace sunk in the ground about four feet distant served as a firm support to the structure. The spaces between these braces were filled by tall wooden slabs, set with the same slant and resting against the stringers. Thus the framework of the outer wall was completed. To support the roof four posts were set in the ground about ten feet apart in the form of a square, near the centre of the building. They were from twelve to fifteen feet in height, and were connected at the top by four stringers forming a square. The rafters rested upon these stringers and upon the top of the circular wall below. The rafters were covered with willow matting, and upon this was spread a layer of prairie grass. Then both wall and roof, from the ground up to the summit, were covered with earth, solid and hard, to a thickness of at least two feet. The rafters projected above the square framework at the summit, so as to leave a circular opening in the centre about four feet in diameter. This hole let in a little light, and let out some of the smoke from the fire which blazed underneath in a fire-pit lined with

Circular
houses of the
Mandans.

¹ Morgan, *Houses and House-Life*, pp. 126-129; Catlin's *North Amer. Indians*, i. 81 ff.



View, Cross-section, and Ground-plan of Mandan round house.

stone slabs set on edge. The only other aperture for light was the doorway, which was a kind of vestibule or passage some ten feet in length. Curtains of buffalo robes did duty instead of doors. The family compartments were triangles with base at the outer wall, and apex opening upon the central hearth; and the partitions were hanging mats or skins, which were tastefully fringed and ornamented with quill-work and pictographs.¹ In the lower Mandan village, visited by Catlin, there were about fifty such houses, each able to accommodate from thirty to forty persons. The village, situated upon a bold bluff at a bend of the Missouri river, and surrounded by a palisade of stout timbers more than ten feet in height, was very strong for defensive purposes. Indeed, it was virtually impregnable to Indian methods of attack, for the earth-covered houses could not be set on fire by blazing arrows, and just within the palisade ran a trench in which the defenders could securely skulk, while through the narrow chinks between the timbers they could shoot arrows fast enough to keep their assailants at a distance. This purpose was further secured by rude bastions, and considering the structure as a whole one cannot help admiring the ingenuity which it exhibits. It shows a marked superiority over the conceptions of military defence attained by the Iroquois or any other Indians north of New Mexico. Besides the communal houses the village contained its "medicine lodge," or council house, and an open area for games and ceremonies. In the spaces

¹ Catlin, i. 83.

between the houses were the scaffolds for drying maize, buffalo meat, etc., ascended by well-made portable ladders. Outside the village, at a short distance on the prairie, was a group of such scaffolds upon which the dead were left to moulder, somewhat after the fashion of the Parsees.¹

We are now prepared to understand some essential points in the life of the groups of Indians occupying the region of the Cordilleras, both north and south of the Isthmus of Darien, all the way from Zuñi to Quito. The principal groups are the Moquis and Zuñis of Arizona and New Mexico, the Nahuas or Nahuatlac tribes of Mexico, the Mayas, Quichés, and kindred peoples of Central America; and beyond the isthmus, the Chibchas of New Granada, and sundry peoples comprised within the domain of the Incas. With regard to the ethnic relationships of these various groups, opinion is still in a state of confusion; but it is not necessary for our present purpose that we should pause to discuss the numerous questions thus arising. Our business is to get a clear notion in outline of the character of the culture to which these peoples had attained at the time of the Discovery. Here we observe, on the part of all, a very considerable divergence from the average Indian level which we have thus far been describing.

This divergence increases as we go from Zuñi toward Cuzco, reaching its extreme, on the whole, among the Peruvians, though in some respects the

The Indians of the pueblos, — in the middle status of barbarism.

¹ Catlin, i. 90.

nearest approach to civilization was made by the Mayas. All these peoples were at least one full ethnical period nearer to true civilization than the Iroquois, — and a vast amount of change and improvement is involved in the conception of an entire ethnical period. According to Mr. Morgan, one more such period would have brought the average level of these Cordilleran peoples to as high a plane as that of the Greeks described in the *Odyssey*. Let us now observe the principal points involved in the change, bearing in mind that it implies a considerable lapse of time. While the date 1325, at which the city of Mexico was founded, is the earliest date in the history of that country which can be regarded as securely established, it was preceded by a long series of generations of migration and warfare, the confused and fragmentary record of which historians have tried — hitherto with scant success — to unravel. To develop such a culture as that of the Aztecs out of an antecedent culture similar to that of the Iroquois must of course have taken a long time.

It will be remembered that the most conspicuous distinctive marks of the grade of culture attained by the Cordilleran peoples were two, — the cultivation of maize in large quantities by irrigation, and the use of adobe-brick or stone in building. Probably there was at first, to some extent, a causal connection between the former and the latter. The region of the Moqui-Zuñi culture is a region in which arid plains become richly fertile when water from neighbouring cliffs or peaks is

Horticulture
with irriga-
tion, and ar-
chitecture
with adobe.

directed down upon them. It is mainly an affair of sluices, not of pump or well, which seem to have been alike beyond the ken of aboriginal Americans of whatever grade. The change of occupation involved in raising large crops of corn by the aid of sluices would facilitate an increase in density of population, and would encourage a preference for agricultural over predatory life. Such changes would be likely to favour the development of defensive military art. The Mohawk's surest defence lay in the terror which his prowess created hundreds of miles away. One can easily see how the forefathers of our Moquis and Zuñis may have come to prefer the security gained by living more closely together and building impregnable fortresses.

The earthen wall of the Mandan, supported on a framework of posts and slabs, seems to me curiously and strikingly suggestive of the incipient pottery made by surrounding a basket with a coating of clay.¹ When it was discovered how to make the earthen bowl or dish without the basket, a new era in progress was begun. So when it was discovered that an earthen wall could be fashioned to answer the requirements of house-builders without the need of a permanent wooden framework, another great step was taken. Again the consequences were great enough to make it mark the beginning of a new ethnical period. If we suppose the central portion of our continent, the Mississippi and Missouri valleys, to have been occupied at

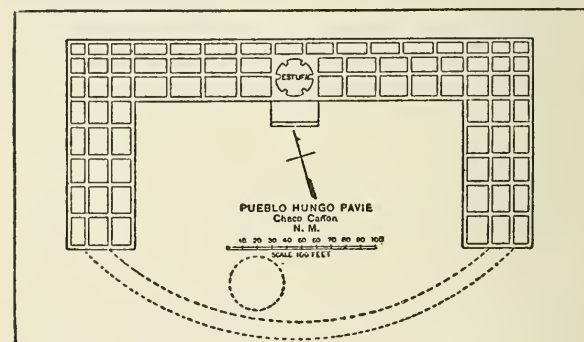
Possible origin
of adobe archi-
tecture.

¹ See above, p. 25.

some time by tribes familiar with the Mandan style of building; and if we further suppose a gradual extension or migration of this population, or some part of it, westward into the mountain region; that would be a movement into a region in which timber was scarce, while adobe clay was abundant. Under such circumstances the useful qualities of that peculiar clay could not fail to be soon discovered. The simple exposure to sunshine would quickly convert a Mandan house built with it into an adobe house; the coating of earth would become a coating of brick. It would not then take long to ascertain that with such adobe-brick could be built walls at once light and strong, erect and tall, such as could not be built with common clay. In some such way as this I think the discovery must have been made by the ancestors of the Zuñis, and others who have built pueblos. After the pueblo style of architecture, with its erect walls and terraced stories, had become developed, it was an easy step, when the occasion suggested it, to substitute for the adobe-brick coarse rubble-stones embedded in adobe. The final stage was reached in Mexico and Yucatan, when soft coral-line limestone was shaped into blocks with a flint chisel and laid in courses with adobe-mortar.

The pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona are among the most interesting structures in the world. Several are still inhabited by the descendants of the people who were living in them at the time of the Spanish Discovery, and their primitive customs and habits of thought have been preserved to the present day with but little

change. The long sojourn of Mr. Cushing, of the Bureau of Ethnology, in the Zuñi pueblo, has already thrown a flood of light upon many points in American archæology.¹ As in the case of American aborigines generally, the social life of these people is closely connected with their architecture, and the pueblos which are still inhabited seem to furnish us with the key to the interpretation of those that we find deserted or in ruins, whether in Arizona or in Guatemala.



In the architecture of the pueblos one typical form is reproduced with sundry variations in detail. The typical form is that of a solid block of buildings making three sides of an extensive rectangular en-

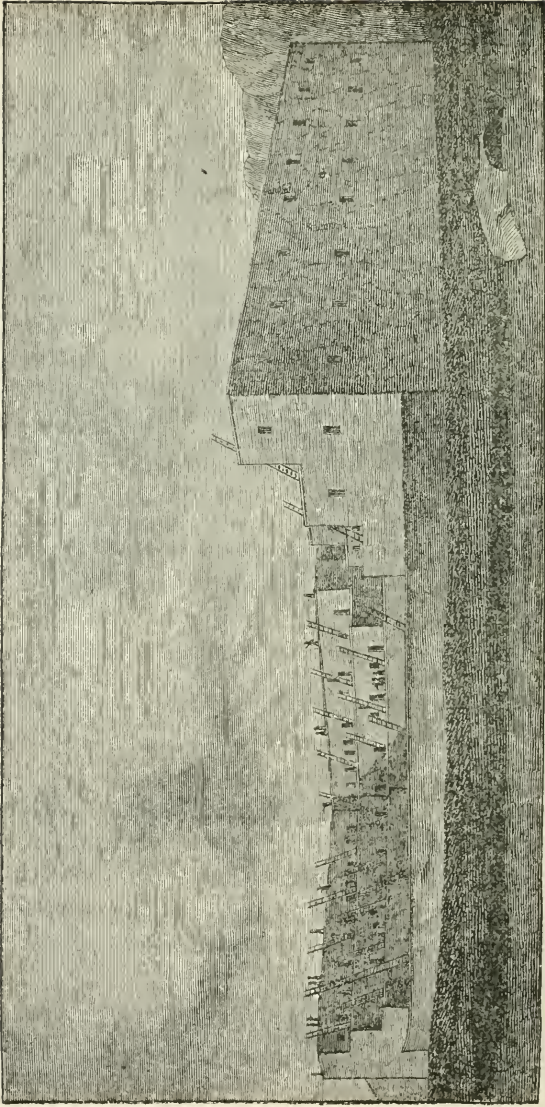
Typical structure of the pueblo.

¹ See his articles in the *Century Magazine*, Dec., 1882, Feb., 1883, May, 1883; and his papers on "Zuñi Fetiches," *Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology*, ii. 9-45; "A Study of Pueblo Pottery as Illustrative of Zuñi Culture Growth," id. iv. 473-521; see also Mrs. Stevenson's paper, "Religious Life of a Zuñi Child," id. v. 539-555; Sylvester Baxter, "An Aboriginal Pilgrimage," *Century Magazine*. Aug., 1882.

closure or courtyard. On the inside, facing upon the courtyard, the structure is but one story in height; on the outside, looking out upon the surrounding country, it rises to three, or perhaps even five or six stories. From inside to outside the flat roofs rise in a series of terraces, so that the floor of the second row is continuous with the roof of the first, the floor of the third row is continuous with the roof of the second, and so on. The fourth side of the rectangle is formed by a solid block of one-story apartments, usually with one or two narrow gateways overlooked by higher structures within the enclosure. Except these gateways there is no entrance from without; the only windows are frowning loop-holes, and access to the several apartments is gained through skylights reached by portable ladders. Such a structure is what our own forefathers would have naturally called a "burgh," or fortress; it is in one sense a house, yet in another sense a town;¹ its divisions are not so much houses as compartments; it is a joint-tenement affair, like the Iroquois long houses, but in a higher stage of development.

So far as they have been studied, the pueblo Indians are found to be organized in clans, with descent in the female line, as in the case of the ruder Indians above described. In the event of marriage the young husband goes to live with his wife, and she may turn him out of doors if he

¹ Cf. Greek *οἶκος*, "house," with Latin *vicus*, "street" or "village," Sanskrit *vesa*, "dwelling-place," English *wick*, "mansion" or "village."

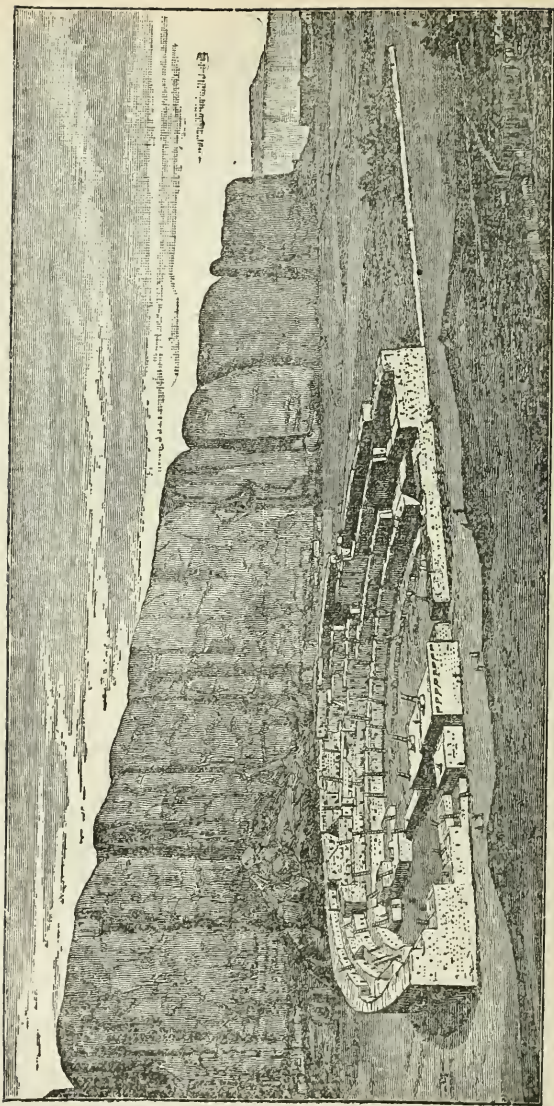


Restoration of Pueblo Hongo Pavie.

deserves it.¹ The ideas of property seem still limited to that of possessory right, with the ultimate title in the clan, except ^{Pueblo so-}ciety. that portable articles subject to individual ownership have become more numerous. In government the council of sachems reappears with a principal sachem, or cacique, called by the Spaniards "gobernador." There is an organized priesthood, with distinct orders, and a ceremonial more elaborate than those of the ruder Indians. In every pueblo there is to be found at least one "estufa," or council-house, for governmental or religious transactions. Usually there are two or three or more such estufas. In mythology, in what we may call pictography or rudimentary hieroglyphics, as well as in ordinary handicrafts, there is a marked advance beyond the Indians of the lower status of barbarism, after making due allowances for such things as the people of the pueblos have learned from white men.²

¹ "With the woman rests the security of the marriage ties; and it must be said, in her high honour, that she rarely abuses the privilege; that is, never sends her husband 'to the home of his fathers,' unless he richly deserves it." But should not Mr. Cushing have said "home of his mothers," or perhaps, of "his sisters and his cousins and his aunts?" For a moment afterward he tells us, "To her belong all the children; and descent, including inheritance, is on her side." *Century Magazine*, May, 1883, p. 35.

² For example, since the arrival of the Spaniards some or perhaps all of the pueblos have introduced chimneys into their apartments; but when they were first visited by Coronado, he found the people wearing cotton garments, and Franciscan friars in 1581 remarked upon the superior quality of their shoes. In spinning and weaving, as well as in the grinding of meal, a notable advance had been made.



Restoration of Pueblo Bonito.

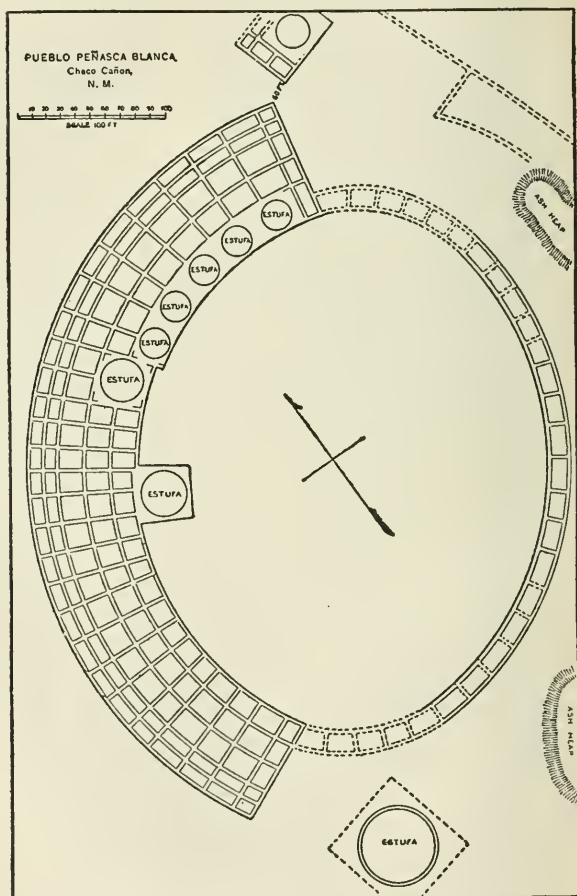
From the pueblos still existing, whether inhabited or in ruins, we may eventually get some sort of clue to the populations of ancient towns visited by the Spanish discoverers.¹ The pueblo of Zuñi seems to have had at one time a population of 5,000, but it has dwindled to less than 2,000. Of the ruined pueblos, built of stone with adobe mortar, in the valley of the Rio Chaco, the Pueblo Hungo Pavie contained 73 apartments in the first story, 53 in the second, and 29 in the third, with an average size of 18 feet by 13; and would have accommodated about 1,000 Indians. In the same valley Pueblo Bonito, with four stories, contained not less than 640 apartments, with room enough for a population of 3,000; within a third of a mile from this huge structure stood Pueblo Chetro Kettle, with 506 apartments. The most common variation from the rectangular shape was that in which a terraced semicircle was substituted for the three terraced sides, as in Pueblo Bonito, or the whole rectangular design was converted into an ellipse, as in Pueblo Peñasca Blanca. There are indications that these fortresses were not in all cases built at one time, but that, at least in some cases, they grew by gradual accretions.² The smallness of the distances between those in the Chaco valley suggests that their inhabitants must have been united in a confederation; and one can easily see that an actual juxtaposition or partial coalescence

Wonderful ancient pueblos in the Chaco valley.

¹ At least a better one than Mr. Prescott had when he naively reckoned five persons to a household, *Conquest of Mexico*, ii. 97.

² Morgan, *Houses and House-Life*, chap. vii

of such communities would have made a city of very imposing appearance. The pueblos are al-



ways found situated near a river, and their gardens, lying outside, are easily accessible to sluices

from neighbouring cliffs or mesas. But in some cases, as the Wolpi pueblo of the Mo-
 quis, the whole stronghold is built upon The Moqui pueblos.
 the summit of the cliff; there is a coalescence of communal structures, each enclosing a courtyard, in which there is a spring for the water-supply; and the irrigated gardens are built in terrace-form just below on the bluff, and protected by solid walls. From this curious pueblo another transition takes us to the extraordinary cliff-houses found in the Chelly, Mancos, and McElmo cañons, and elsewhere, — veritable human eyries perched in crevices or clefts of the perpendicular rock, accessible only by dint of a The cliff pueblos.
 toilsome and perilous climb; places of refuge, perhaps for fragments of tribes overwhelmed by more barbarous invaders, yet showing in their dwelling-rooms and estufas marks of careful building and tasteful adornment.¹

The pueblo of Zuñi is a more extensive and complex structure than the ruined pueblos on the Chaco river. It is not so much an enormous communal house as a small town formed of a number of such houses crowded together, with access from one to another along their roof-terraces. Pueblo of Zuñi.
 Some of the structures are of adobe brick, others of stone embedded in adobe mortar

¹ For careful descriptions of the ruined pueblos and cliff-houses, see Nadaillac's *Prehistoric America*, chap. v., and Short's *North Americans of Antiquity*, chap. vii. The latter sees in them the melancholy vestiges of a people gradually "succumbing to their unpropitious surroundings — a land which is fast becoming a howling wilderness, with its scourging sands and roaming savage Bedouin — the Apaches."

and covered with plaster. There are two open plazas or squares in the town, and several streets, some of which are covered ways passing beneath the upper stories of houses. The effect, though not splendid, must be very picturesque, and would doubtless astonish and bewilder visitors unprepared for such a sight. When Coronado's men discovered Zuñi in 1540, although that style of building was no longer a novelty to them, they compared the place to Granada.

Now it is worthy of note that Cortes made the same comparison in the case of Tlascala, one of the famous towns at which he stopped on his march from Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico. In his letter to the emperor Charles V., he compared Tlascala to Granada, "affirming that it was larger, stronger, and more populous than the Moorish capital at the time of the conquest, and quite as well built."¹ Upon this Mr. Prescott observes, "we shall be slow to believe that its edifices could have rivalled those monuments of Oriental magnificence, whose light aerial forms still survive after the lapse of ages, the admiration of every traveller of sensibility and taste. The truth is that Cortes, like Columbus, saw objects through the warm medium of his own fond imagination, giving them a higher tone of colouring and larger dimensions than were strictly warranted by the fact." Or, as Mr. Bandeliér puts

¹ "La qual ciudad . . . es muy mayor que Granada, y muy mas fuerte, y de tan buenos edificios, y de mucha mas gente, que Granada tenia al tiempo que se gaño." Cortes, *Relacion segunda al Emperador*, ap. Lorenzana, p. 58, cited in Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*, vol. i. p. 401 (7th ed., London, 1855).

it, when it comes to general statements about numbers and dimensions, "the descriptions of the conquerors cannot be taken as facts, only as the expression of feelings, honestly entertained but uncritical." From details given in various Spanish descriptions, including those of Cortes himself, it is evident that there could not have been much difference in size between Tlascala and its neighbour Cholula. The population of the latter town has often been given as from 150,000 to 200,000; but, from elaborate archæological investigations made on the spot in 1881, Mr. Bandelier concludes that it cannot have greatly exceeded 30,000, and this number really agrees with the estimates of two very important Spanish authorities, Las Casas and Torquemada, when correctly understood.¹ We may therefore suppose that the population of Tlascala was about 30,000. Now the population of the city of Granada, at the time of

¹ See Bandelier's *Archæological Tour in Mexico*, Boston, 1885, pp. 160-164. Torquemada's words, cited by Bandelier, are "Quando entraron los Españoles, dicen que tenia mas de quarenta mil vecinos esta ciudad." *Monarquía Indiana*, lib. iii. cap. xix. p. 281. A prolific source of error is the ambiguity in the word *vecinos*, which may mean either "inhabitants" or "householders." Where Torquemada meant 40,000 inhabitants, uncritical writers fond of the marvellous have understood him to mean 40,000 houses, and multiplying this figure by 5, the average number of persons in a modern family, have obtained the figure 200,000. But 40,000 houses peopled after the old Mexican fashion, with at least 200 persons in a house (to put it as low as possible), would make a city of 8,000,000 inhabitants! Las Casas, in his *Destrucción de las Indias*, vii., puts the population of Cholula at about 30,000. I observe that Llorente (in his *Œuvres de Las Casas*, tom. i. p. 38) translates the statement correctly. I shall recur to this point below, vol. ii p. 264.

its conquest by Ferdinand and Isabella, is said by the greatest of Spanish historians¹ to have been about 200,000. It would thus appear that Cortes sometimes let his feelings run away with him; and, all things considered, small blame to him if he did! In studying the story of the Spanish conquest of America, liberal allowance must often be made for inaccuracies of statement that were usually pardonable and sometimes inevitable.

But when Cortes described Tlascala as "quite as well built" as Granada, it is not at all likely that he was thinking about that exquisite Moorish architecture which in the mind of Mr. Prescott or any cultivated modern writer is the first thing to be suggested by the name. The Spaniards of those days did not admire the artistic work of "infidels;" they covered up beautiful arabesques with a wash of dirty plaster, and otherwise behaved very much like the Puritans who smashed the "idolatrous" statues in English cathedrals. When Cortes looked at Tlascala, and Coronado looked at Zuñi, and both soldiers were reminded of Granada, they were probably looking at those places with a professional eye as fortresses hard to capture; and from this point of view there was doubtless some justice in the comparison.

In the description of Tlascala by the Spaniards who first saw it, with its dark and narrow streets, its houses of adobe, or "the better sort" of stone laid in adobe mortar, and its flat and terraced roofs, one is irresistibly reminded of such a pueblo

¹ Mariana, *Historia de España*, Valencia, 1795, tom. viii. p. 317.

as Zuñi. Tlascala was a town of a type probably common in Mexico. In some respects, as will hereafter appear, the city of Mexico showed striking variations from the common type. Yet there too were to be seen the huge houses, with terraced roofs, built around a square courtyard; in one of them 450 Spaniards, with more than 1,000 Tlascalan allies, were accommodated; in another, called "Montezuma's palace," one of the conquerors, who came several times intending to see the whole of it, got so tired with wandering through the interminable succession of rooms that at length he gave it up and never saw them all.¹ This might have happened in such a building as Pueblo Bonito; and a suspicion is raised that Montezuma's city was really a vast composite pueblo, and that its so-called palaces were communal buildings in principle like the pueblos of the Chaco valley.

The ancient city of Mexico was a great composite pueblo.

Of course the Spanish discoverers could not be expected to understand the meaning of what they saw. It dazed and bewildered them. They knew little or nothing of any other kind of society than feudal monarchy, and if they made such mistakes as to call the head war-chief a "king" (i. e. feudal king) or "emperor," and the clan-chiefs "lords" or "noblemen," if they supposed that these huge fortresses

Natural mistake of the Spanish discoverers.

¹ "Et io entrai piu di quattro volte in una casa del gran Signor non por altro effetto che per vederla, et ogni volta vi camminauo tanto che mi stancauo, et mai la fini di vedere tutta." *Relatione fatta per un gentil' huomo del Signor Fernando Cortese, apud Ramusio, Navigazioni et Viaggi, Venice, 1556, tom. iii. fol. 309.*

were like feudal castles and palaces in Europe, they were quite excusable. Such misconceptions were common enough before barbarous societies had been much studied; and many a dusky warrior, without a tithé of the pomp and splendour about him that surrounded Montezuma, has figured in the pages of history as a mighty potentate girt with many of the trappings of feudalism.¹ Initial misconceptions that were natural enough, indeed unavoidable, found expression in an absurdly inappropriate nomenclature; and then the use of wrong names and titles bore fruit in what one cannot properly call a theory but rather an incoherent medley of notions about barbaric society. Nothing could be further from *feudalism*, in which the relation of landlord and tenant is a fundamental element, than the society of the American aborigines, in which that relation was utterly unknown and inconceivable. This more primitive form of society is not improperly called *gentilism*, inasmuch as it is based upon the gens or clan, with communism in

Contrast between feudalism and gentilism.

¹ When Pocahontas visited London in 1616 she was received at court as befitted a "king's daughter," and the old Virginia historian, William Stith (born in 1689), says it was a "constant tradition" in his day that James I. "became jealous, and was highly offended at Mr. Rolfe for marrying a princess." The notion was that "if Virginia descended to Pocahontas, as it might do at Powhatan's death, at her own death the kingdom would be vested in Mr. Rolfe's posterity." Esten Cooke's *Virginia*, p. 100. Powhatan (i. e. Wahunsunakok, chief of the Powhatan tribe) was often called "emperor" by the English settlers. To their intense bewilderment he told one of them that his office would descend to his [maternal] brothers, even though he had sons living. It was thought that this could not be true.

living, and with the conception of individual ownership of property undeveloped. It was gentilism that everywhere prevailed throughout the myriads of unrecorded centuries during which the foremost races of mankind struggled up through savagery and barbarism into civilization, while weaker and duller races lagged behind at various stages on the way. The change from "gentile" society to political society as we know it was in some respects the most important change that has occurred in human affairs since men became human. It might be roughly defined as the change from personal to territorial organization. It was accomplished when the stationary clan became converted into the township, and the stationary tribe into the small state;¹ when the conception of individual property in land was fully acquired; when the tie of physical kinship ceased to be indispensable as a bond for holding a society together; when the *clansman* became a *citizen*. This momentous change was accomplished among the Greeks during a period begin-

Change from
gentile society
to political
society.

¹ The small states into which tribes were at first transformed have in many cases survived to the present time as portions of great states or nations. The shires or counties of England, which have been reproduced in the United States, originated in this way, as I have briefly explained in my little book on *Civil Government in the United States*, p. 49. When you look on the map of England, and see the town of *Icklingham* in the county of *Suffolk*, it means that this place was once the "home" of the "Icklings" or "children of Ickel," a clan which formed part of the tribe of Angles known as "South folk." So the names of Gaulish tribes survived as names of French provinces, e. g. *Auvergne* from the *Arverni*, *Poitou* from the *Pictavi*, *Anjou* from the *Andecavi*, *Blarn* from the *Bigerrones*, etc.

ning shortly before the first Olympiad (B. C. 776), and ending with the reforms of Kleisthenes at Athens (B. C. 509); among the Romans it was accomplished by the series of legislative changes beginning with those ascribed to Servius Tullius (about B. C. 550), and perfected by the time of the first Punic War (B. C. 264-241). In each case about three centuries was required to work the change.¹ If now the reader, familiar with European history, will reflect upon the period of more than a thousand years which intervened between the date last named and the time when feudalism became thoroughly established, if he will recall to mind the vast and powerful complication of causes which operated to transform civil society from the aspect which it wore in the days of Regulus and the second Ptolemy to that which it had assumed in the times of Henry the Fowler or Fulk of Anjou, he will begin to realize how much "feudalism" implies, and what a wealth of experience it involves, above and beyond the change from "gentile" to "civil" society. It does not appear that any people in ancient America ever approached very near to this earlier change. None had fairly begun to emerge from gentilism; none had advanced so far as the Greeks of the first Olympiad or the Romans under the rule of the Tarquins.

The first eminent writer to express a serious

¹ "It was no easy task to accomplish such a fundamental change, however simple and obvious it may now seem. . . . Anterior to experience, a township, as the unit of a political system, was abstruse enough to tax the Greeks and Romans to the depths of their capacities before the conception was formed and set in practical operation." Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 218.

doubt as to the correctness of the earlier views of Mexican civilization was that sagacious Scotchman, William Robertson.¹ The illustrious statesman and philologist, Albert Gallatin, founder of the American Ethnological Society, published in the first volume of its "Transactions" an essay which recognized the danger of trusting the Spanish narratives without very careful and critical scrutiny.² It is to be observed that Mr. Gallatin approached the subject with somewhat more knowledge of aboriginal life in America than had been possessed by previous writers. A similar scepticism was expressed by Lewis Cass, who also knew a great deal about Indians.³ Next came Mr. Morgan,⁴ the man of path-breaking ideas, whose minute and profound acquaintance with Indian life was joined with a power of penetrating the hidden implications of facts so keen and so sure as to

Suspicious as to the erroneousness of the Spanish accounts.

¹ Robertson's *History of America*, 9th ed. vol. iii. pp. 274, 281.

² "Notes on the Semi-civilized Nations of Mexico, Yucatan, and Central America," *American Ethnological Society's Transactions*, vol. i., New York, 1852. There is a brief account of Mr. Gallatin's pioneer work in American philology and ethnology in Stevens's *Albert Gallatin*, pp. 386-396.

³ Cass, "Aboriginal Structures," *North Amer. Review*, Oct., 1840.

⁴ Mr. R. A. Wilson's *New History of the Conquest of Mexico*, Philadelphia, 1859, denounced the Spanish conquerors as wholesale liars, but as his book was ignorant, uncritical, and full of wild fancies, it produced little effect. It was demolished, with neatness and despatch, in two articles in the *Atlantic Monthly*, April and May, 1859, by the eminent historian John Foster Kirk, whose *History of Charles the Bold* is in many respects a worthy companion to the works of Prescott and Motley. Mr. Kirk had been Prescott's secretary.

amount to genius. Mr. Morgan saw the nature of the delusion under which the Spaniards laboured; he saw that what they mistook for feudal castles owned by great lords, and inhabited by dependent retainers, were really huge communal houses, owned and inhabited by clans, or rather by segments of overgrown clans. He saw this so vividly that it betrayed him now and then into a somewhat impatient and dogmatic manner of statement; but that was a slight fault, for what he saw was not the outcome of dreamy speculation but of scientific insight. His researches, which reduced "Montezuma's empire" to a confederacy of tribes dwelling in pueblos, governed by a council of chiefs, and collecting tribute from neighbouring pueblos, have been fully sustained by subsequent investigation.

The state of society which Cortes saw has, indeed, passed away, and its monuments and hieroglyphic records have been in great part destroyed. Nevertheless some monuments and some hieroglyphic records remain, and the people are still there. Tlascalans and Aztecs, descendants in the eleventh or twelfth generation from the men whose bitter feuds gave such a golden opportunity to Cortes, still dwell upon the soil of Mexico, and speak the language in which Montezuma made his last harangue to the furious people. There is, moreover, a great mass of literature in Spanish, besides more or less in Nahuatl, written during the century following the conquest, and the devoted missionaries and painstaking administrators, who wrote books about the country in which they were

Detection and explanation of the errors, by Lewis Morgan.

working, were not engaged in a wholesale conspiracy for deceiving mankind. From a really critical study of this literature, combined with archaeological investigation, much may be expected; and a noble beginning has already been made. A more extensive acquaintance with Mexican literature would at times have materially modified Mr. Morgan's conclusions, though without altering their general drift. At this point the work has been taken up by Mr. Adolf Bandelier, of Highland, Illinois, to whose rare sagacity and untiring industry as a field archæologist is joined such a thorough knowledge of Mexican literature as few men before him have possessed. Armed with such resources, Mr. Bandelier is doing for the ancient history of America work as significant as that which Mommsen has done for Rome, or Baur for the beginnings of Christianity. When a sufficient mass of facts and incidents have once been put upon record, it is hard for ignorant misconception to bury the truth in a pit so deep but that the delving genius of critical scholarship will sooner or later drag it forth into the light of day.¹

Adolf Bandelier's researches.

At this point in our exposition a very concise summary of Mr. Bandelier's results will suffice to

¹ A summary of Mr. Bandelier's principal results, with copious citation and discussion of original Spanish and Nahuatl sources, is contained in his three papers, "On the art of war and mode of warfare of the ancient Mexicans," — "On the distribution and tenure of land, and the customs with respect to inheritance, among the ancient Mexicans," — "On the social organization and mode of government of the ancient Mexicans," *Peabody Museum Reports*, vol. ii., 1876-79, pp. 95-161, 385-448, 557-699.

enable the reader to understand their import. What has been called the "empire of Montezuma" was in reality a confederacy of three tribes, the Aztecs, Tezcucans, and Tlacopans,¹ dwelling in three large composite pueblos situated very near together in one of the strongest defensive positions ever occupied by Indians. This Aztec confederacy extended its "sway" over a considerable portion of the Mexican peninsula, but that "sway" could not correctly be described as "empire," for it was in no sense a military occupation of the country. The confederacy did not have garrisons in subject pueblos or civil officials to administer their affairs for them. It simply sent some of its chiefs about from one pueblo to another to collect tribute. This tax consisted in great part of maize and other food, and each tributary pueblo reserved a certain portion of its tribal territory to be cultivated for the benefit of the domineering confederacy. If a pueblo proved delinquent or recalcitrant, Aztec warriors swooped down upon it in stealthy midnight assault, butchered its inhabitants and emptied its granaries, and when the paroxysm of rage had spent itself, went exulting homeward, carrying away women for concubines,

¹ In the Iroquois confederacy the Mohawks enjoyed a certain precedence or seniority, the Onondagas had the central council-fire, and the Senecas, who had the two head war-chiefs, were much the most numerous. In the Mexican confederacy the various points of superiority seem to have been more concentrated in the Aztecs; but spoils and tribute were divided into five portions, of which Mexico and Tezcuco each took two, and Tlacopan one.

men to be sacrificed, and such miscellaneous booty as could be conveyed without wagons or beasts to draw them.¹ If the sudden assault, with scaling ladders, happened to fail, the assailants were likely to be baffled, for there was no artillery, and so little food could be carried that a siege meant starvation for the besiegers.

The tributary pueblos were also liable to be summoned to furnish a contingent of warriors to the war-parties of the confederacy, under the same penalties for delinquency as in the case of refusal of tribute. In such cases it was quite common for the confederacy to issue a peremptory summons, followed by a declaration of war. When a pueblo was captured, the only way in which the vanquished people could stop the massacre was by holding out signals of submission; a parley then sometimes adjusted the affair, and the payment of a year's tribute in advance induced the conquerors to depart, but captives once taken could seldom if ever be ransomed. If the parties could not agree upon terms, the slaughter was renewed, and sometimes went on until the departing victors left nought behind them but ruined houses belching from loop-hole and doorway lurid clouds of smoke and flame upon narrow silent streets heaped up with mangled corpses.

The sway of the Aztec confederacy over the Mexican peninsula was thus essentially similar to the sway of the Iroquois confederacy over a great part of the tribes between the Connecticut river

¹ The wretched prisoners were ordinarily compelled to carry the booty.

and the Mississippi. It was simply the levying of tribute, — a system of plunder enforced by terror. The so-called empire was “only a partnership formed for the purpose of carrying on the business of warfare, and that intended, not for the extension of territorial ownership, but only for an increase of the means of subsistence.”¹ There was none of that coalescence and incorporation of peoples which occurs after the change from gentilism to civil society has been effected. Among the Mexicans, as elsewhere throughout North America, the tribe remained intact as the highest completed political integer.

The Aztec tribe was organized in clans and phratries, and the number of clans would indicate that the tribe was a very large one.² There were twenty clans, called in the Nahuatl language “calpullis.” We may fairly suppose that the average size of a clan was larger

Aztec clans.

¹ Bandelier, *op. cit.* p. 563.

² The notion of an immense population groaning under the lash of taskmasters, and building huge palaces for idle despots must be dismissed. The statements which refer to such a vast population are apt to be accompanied by incompatible statements. Mr. Morgan is right in throwing the burden of proof upon those who maintain that a people without domestic animals or field agriculture could have been so numerous (*Anc. Soc.*, p. 195). On the other hand, I believe Mr. Morgan makes a grave mistake in the opposite direction, in underestimating the numbers that could be supported upon Indian corn even under a system of horticulture without the use of the plough. Some pertinent remarks on the extraordinary reproductive power of maize in Mexico may be found in Humboldt, *Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne*, Paris, 1811, tom. iii. pp. 51–60; the great naturalist is of course speaking of the yield of maize in ploughed lands, but, after making due allowances, the yield under the ancient system must have been wellnigh unexampled in barbaric agriculture.

than the average tribe of Algonquins or Iroquois ; but owing to the compact "city" life, this increase of numbers did not result in segmentation and scattering, as among Indians in the lower status. Each Aztec clan seems to have occupied a number of adjacent communal houses, forming a kind of precinct, with its special house or houses for official purposes, corresponding to the *estufas* in the New Mexican pueblos. The houses were the common property of the clan, and so was the land which its members cultivated ; and such houses and land could not be sold or bartered away by the clan, or in anywise alienated. The idea of "real estate" had not been developed ; the clan simply exercised a right of occupancy, and — as among some ruder Indians — its individual members exercised certain limited rights of user in particular garden-plots.

The clan was governed by a clan council, consisting of chiefs (*tecuhтли*) elected by the clan, and inducted into office after a cruel religious ordeal, in which the candidate was bruised, tortured, and half starved. An executive department was more clearly differentiated from the Clan officers. council than among the Indians of the lower status. The clan (*calpulli*) had an official head, or sachem, called the *calpullec* ; and also a military commander called the *ahcacautin*, or "elder brother." The *ahcacautin* was also a kind of peace officer, or constable, for the precinct occupied by the clan, and carried about with him a staff of office ; a tuft of white feathers attached to this staff betokened that his errand was one of death.

The clan elected its *calpullec* and *ahcacautin*, and could depose them for cause.¹

The members of the clan were reciprocally bound to aid, defend, and avenge one another; but wergild was no longer accepted, and the penalty for murder was death. The clan exercised the right of naming its members. Such names were invariably significant (as *Nezahualcoyotl*, "Hungry Coyote," *Axayacatl*, "Face-in-the-Water," etc.), and more or less "medicine," or superstitious association, was attached to the name. The clans also had their significant names and totems. Each clan had its peculiar religious rites, its priests or medicine-men who were members of the clan council, and its temple or medicine-house. Instead of burying their dead the Mexican tribes practised cremation; there was, therefore, no common cemetery, but the funeral ceremonies were conducted by the clan.

The clans of the Aztecs, like those of many other Mexican tribes, were organized into four phratries; and this divided the city of Mexico, as the Spaniards at once remarked, into four quarters. The phratry had acquired more functions than it possessed in the lower status. Besides certain religious and social duties, and besides its connection with the punishment of criminals, the Mexican phratry was an organization for military purposes.² The four

Rights and duties of the clan.

Aztec phratries.

¹ Compare this description with that of the institutions of Indians in the lower status, above, p. 69.

² In this respect it seems to have had some resemblance to the Roman *centuria* and Teutonic *hundred*. So in prehistoric Greece

phratries were four divisions of the tribal host, each with its captain. In each of the quarters was an arsenal, or "dart-house," where weapons were stored, and from which they were handed out to war-parties about to start on an expedition.

The supreme government of the Aztecs was vested in the tribal council composed of twenty members, one for each clan. The tribal council.

The member, representing a clan, was not its *calpullec*, or "sachem;" he was one of the *tecuhтли*, or clan-chiefs, and was significantly called the "speaker" (*tlatocani*). The tribal council, thus composed of twenty speakers, was called the *tlatocan*, or "place of speech."¹ At least as often as once in ten days the council assembled at the *tecpan*, or official house of the tribe, but it could be convened whenever occasion required, and in cases of emergency was continually in session. Its powers and duties were similar to those of an ancient English shire-mote, in so far as they were partly directive and partly judicial. A large part of its business was settling disputes between the

we may perhaps infer from Nestor's advice to Agamemnon that a similar organization existed: —

κρίν' ἄνδρας κατὰ φύλα, κατὰ φρήτρας, Ἀγάμεμνον,
ὡς φρήτρη φρήρτηφιν ἀρήγη, φύλα δὲ φύλοισ.

Iliad, ii. 362.

But the phratry seems never to have reached so high a development among the Greeks as among the Romans and the early English.

¹ Compare *parliament* from *parler*. These twenty were the "grandees," "counsellors," and "captains" mentioned by Bernal Diaz as always in Montezuma's company; "y siempre á la continua estaban en su compañía veinte grandes señores y consejeros y capitanes," etc. *Historia verdadera*, ii. 95. See Bandelier, *op. cit.* p. 646.

clans. It superintended the ceremonies of investiture with which the chiefs and other officers of the clans were sworn into office. At intervals of eighty days there was an "extra session" of the *tlatocan*, attended also by the twenty "elder brothers," the four phratry-captains, the two executive chiefs of the tribe, and the leading priests, and at such times a reconsideration of an unpopular decision might be urged; but the authority of the *tlatocan* was supreme, and from its final decision there could be no appeal.¹

The executive chiefs of the tribe were two in number, as was commonly the case in ancient America. The tribal sachem, or civil executive, bore the grotesque title of *cihuacoatl*, or "snake-woman."² His relation to the tribe The "snake-woman." was in general like that of the *calpulec* to the clan. He executed the decrees of the tribal council, of which he was *ex officio* a member, and was responsible for the housing of tribute and its proper distribution among the clans. He was also chief judge, and he was lieutenant to the head war-chief in command of the tribal

¹ Mr. Bandelier's note on this point gives an especially apt illustration of the confusion of ideas and inconsistencies of statement amid which the early Spanish writers struggled to understand and describe this strange society: *op. cit.* p. 651.

² In Aztec mythology *Cihuacoatl* was wife of the supreme night deity, *Tezcatlipoca*. Squier, *Serpent Symbol in America*, pp. 159-166, 174-183. On the connection between serpent worship and human sacrifices, see Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pp. 3-5, 38-41. Much evidence as to American serpent worship is collected in J. G. Müller's *Geschichte der amerikanischen Urreligionen*, Basel, 1855. The hieroglyphic emblem of the Aztec tribal sachem was a female head surmounted by a snake.

host.¹ He was elected for life by the tribal council, which could depose him for misconduct.

The office of head war-chief was an instance of primitive royalty in a very interesting stage of development. The title of this officer was *tlacatecuhtli*, or "chief-of-men."² He was primarily head war-chief of the Aztec tribe, but about 1430 became supreme military commander of the three confederate tribes, so that his office was one of peculiar dignity and importance. When the Spaniards arrived upon the scene Montezuma was *tlacatecuhtli*, and they naturally called him "king." To understand precisely how far such an epithet could correctly be applied to him, and how far it was misleading, we must recall the manner in which early kingship arose in Europe. The Roman *rex* was an officer elected for life; the typical Greek *basileus* was a somewhat more fully developed king, inasmuch as his office was becoming practically hereditary; otherwise *rex* was about equivalent to *basileus*. Alike in Rome and in Greece the king had at least three great functions, and possibly four.³ He was, primarily, chief

The "chief-of men."

Evolution of kingship in Greece and Rome.

¹ Other tribes besides the Aztec had the "snake-woman." In the city of Mexico the Spaniards mistook him for a "second-king," or "royal lieutenant." In other towns they regarded him, somewhat more correctly, as "governor," and called him *gobernador*, — a title still applied to the tribal sachem of the pueblo Indians, as e. g. in Zúñi heretofore mentioned; see above p. 89.

² This title seems precisely equivalent to *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν*, commonly applied to Agamemnon, and sometimes to other chieftains, in the Iliad.

³ Ramsay's *Roman Antiquities*, p. 64; Hermann's *Political Antiquities of Greece*, p. 105; Morgan, *Anc. Soc.*, p. 248.

commander, secondly, chief priest, thirdly, chief judge ; whether he had reached the fourth stage and added the functions of chief civil executive, is matter of dispute. Kingship in Rome and in most Greek cities was overthrown at so early a date that some questions of this sort are difficult to settle. But in all probability the office grew up through the successive acquisition of ritual, judicial, and civil functions by the military commander. The paramount necessity of consulting the tutelary deities before fighting resulted in making the general a priest competent to perform sacrifices and interpret omens ;¹ he thus naturally became the most important among priests ; an increased sanctity invested his person and office ; and by and by he acquired control over the dispensation of justice, and finally over the whole civil administration. One step more was needed to develop the *basileus* into a despot, like the king of Persia, and that was to let him get into his hands the law-making power, involving complete control over taxation. When the Greeks and Romans became dissatisfied with the increasing powers of their kings, they destroyed the office. The

¹ Such would naturally result from the desirableness of securing unity of command. If Demosthenes had been in sole command of the Athenian armament in the harbour of Syracuse, and had been a *basileus*, with priestly authority, who can doubt that some such theory of the eclipse as that suggested by Philochorus would have been adopted, and thus one of the world's great tragedies averted ? See Grote, *Hist. Greece*, vol. vii. chap. lx. M. Fustel de Coulanges, in his admirable book *La Cité antique*, pp. 205-210, makes the priestly function of the king primitive, and the military function secondary ; which is entirely inconsistent with what we know of barbarous races.

Romans did not materially diminish its functions, but put them into commission, by entrusting them to two consuls of equal authority elected annually. The Greeks, on the other hand, divided the royal functions among different officers, as e. g. at Athens among the nine archons.¹

The typical kingship in mediæval Europe, after the full development of the feudal system, was very different indeed from the kingship in early Greece and Rome. In the Middle Ages ^{Mediæval} all priestly functions had passed into ^{kingship.} the hands of the Church.² A king like Charles VII. of France, or Edward III. of England, was military commander, civil magistrate, chief judge, and *supreme landlord*; the people were his tenants. That was the kind of king with which the Spanish discoverers of Mexico were familiar.

Now the Mexican *tlacatecuhtli*, or "chief-of-men," was much more like Agamemnon in point of kingship than like Edward III. He was not supreme landlord, for landlordship did not exist in Mexico. He was not chief judge or civil mag-

¹ It is worthy of note that the archon who retained the priestly function was called *basileus*, showing perhaps that at that time this had come to be most prominent among the royal functions, or more likely that it was the one with which reformers had some religious scruples about interfering. The Romans, too, retained part of the king's priestly function in an officer called *rex sacrorum*, whose duty was at times to offer a sacrifice in the forum, and then run away as fast as legs could carry him, — ἦν θύσας ὁ βασιλεὺς, κατὰ τάχος ἄπεισι φεύγων ἐξ ἀγορᾶς (!) Plutarch, *Quæst. Rom.* 63.

² Something of the priestly quality of "sanctity," however, surrounded the king's person; and the ceremony of anointing the king at his coronation was a survival of the ancient rite which invested the head war-chief with priestly attributes.

istrate; those functions belonged to the "snake-woman." Mr. Bandelier regards the "chief-of-men" as simply a military commander; but for reasons which I shall state hereafter,¹ it seems quite clear that he exercised certain very important priestly functions, although beside him there was a kind of high-priest or medicine-chief. If I am right in holding that Montezuma was a "priest-commander," then incipient royalty in Mexico had advanced at least one stage beyond the head war-chief of the Iroquois, and remained one stage behind the *basileus* of the Homeric Greeks.

The *tlacatecuhtli*, or "chief-of-men," was elected by an assembly consisting of the tribal council, the "elder brothers" of the several clans, and certain leading priests. Though the office was thus elective, the choice seems to have been practically limited to a particular clan, and in the eleven chiefs who were chosen from 1375 to 1520 a certain principle or custom of succession seems to be plainly indicated.² There was a further limit to the order of succession. Allusion has been made to the four phratry-captains commanding the quarters of the

Montezuma was a "priest-commander."

Mode of succession to the office.

¹ They can be most conveniently stated in connection with the story of the conquest of Mexico; see below, vol. ii. p. 278. When Mr. Bandelier completes his long-promised paper on the ancient Mexican religion, perhaps it will appear that he has taken these facts into the account.

² I cannot follow Mr. Bandelier in discrediting Clavigero's statement that the office of *tlacatecuhtli* "should always remain in the house of Acamapitzin," inasmuch as the eleven who were actually elected were all closely akin to one another. In point of fact it *did* remain "in the house of Acamapitzin."

city. Their cheerful titles were "man of the house of darts," "cutter of men," "bloodshedder," and "chief of the eagle and cactus." These captains were military chiefs of the phratries, and also magistrates charged with the duty of maintaining order and enforcing the decrees of the council in their respective quarters. The "chief of the eagle and cactus" was chief executioner, — Jack Ketch. He was not eligible for the office of "chief-of-men;" the three other phratry-captains were eligible. Then there was a member of the priesthood entitled "man of the dark house." This person, with the three eligible captains, made a quartette, and one of this privileged four *must* succeed to the office of "chief-of-men."

The eligibility of the "man of the dark house" may be cited here as positive proof that sometimes the "chief-of-men" could be a "priest-commander." That in all cases he acquired priestly functions after election, even when he did not possess them before, is indicated by the fact that at the ceremony of his induction into office he ascended to the summit of the pyramid sacred to the war-god Huitzilopochtli, where he was anointed by the high-priest with a black ointment, and sprinkled with sanctified water; having thus become consecrated he took a censer of live coals and a bag of copal, and as his first official act offered incense to the war-god.¹

¹ H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. ii. p. 145. Hence the accounts of the reverent demeanour of the people toward Montezuma, though perhaps overcoloured, are not so absurd as Mr. Morgan deemed them. Mr. Morgan was sometimes too anxious to reduce Montezuma to the level of an Iroquois war-chief.

As the "chief-of-men" was elected, so too he could be deposed for misbehaviour. He was *ex officio* a member of the tribal council, and he had his official residence in the *tecpan*, or tribal house, where the meetings of the council were held, and where the hospitalities of the tribe were extended to strangers. As an administrative officer, the "chief-of-men" had little to do within the limits of the tribe; that, as already observed, was the business of the "snake-woman." But outside of the confederacy the "chief-of-men" exercised administrative functions. He superintended the collection of tribute. Each of the three confederate tribes appointed, through its tribal council, agents to visit the subjected pueblos and gather in the tribute. These agents were expressively termed *calpixqui*, "crop-gatherers." As these men were obliged to spend considerable time in the vanquished pueblos in the double character of tax-collectors and spies, we can imagine how hateful their position was. Their security from injury depended upon the reputation of their tribes for ruthless ferocity.¹ The tiger-like confederacy was only too ready to take offence; in the lack of a decent pretext it often went to war without one, simply in order to get human victims for sacrifice.

Manner of collecting tribute.

Once appointed, the tax-gatherers were directed

¹ As I have elsewhere observed in a similar case: — "Each summer there came two Mohawk elders, secure in the dread that Iroquois prowess had everywhere inspired; and up and down the Connecticut valley they seized the tribute of weapons and wampum, and proclaimed the last harsh edict issued from the savage council at Onondaga." *Beginnings of New England*, p. 121.

by the "chief-of-men." The tribute was chiefly maize, but might be anything the conquerors chose to demand, — weapons, fine pottery or featherwork, gold ornaments, or female slaves. Sometimes the tributary pueblo, instead of sacrificing all its prisoners of war upon its own altars, sent some of them up to Mexico as part of its tribute. The ravening maw of the horrible deities was thus appeased, not by the pueblo that paid the blackmail, but by the power that extorted it, and thus the latter obtained a larger share of divine favour. Generally the unhappy prisoners were forced to carry the corn and other articles. They were convoyed by couriers who saw that everything was properly delivered at the *tecpan*, and also brought information by word of mouth and by picture-writing from the *calpixqui* to the "chief-of-men." When the newly-arrived Spaniards saw these couriers coming and going they fancied that they were "ambassadors." This system of tribute-taking made it necessary to build roads, and this in turn facilitated, not only military operations, but trade, which had already made some progress albeit of a simple sort. These "roads" might perhaps more properly be called Indian trails,¹ but they served their purpose.

The general similarity of the Aztec confederacy

¹ See Salmeron's letter of August 13, 1531, to the Council of the Indies, cited in Bandelier, *op. cit.* p. 696. The letter recommends that to increase the security of the Spanish hold upon the country the roads should be made practicable for beasts and wagons. They were narrow paths running straight ahead up hill and down dale, sometimes crossing narrow ravines upon heavy stone culverts.

to that of the Iroquois, in point of social structure, is thus clearly manifest. Along with this general similarity we have observed some points of higher development, such as one might expect to find in traversing the entire length of an ethnical period. Instead of stockaded villages, with houses of bark or of clay supported upon a wooden framework, we have pueblos of adobe-brick or stone, in various stages of evolution, the most advanced of which present the appearance of castellated cities. Along with the systematic irrigation and increased dependence upon horticulture, we find evidences of greater density of population; and we see in the victorious confederacy a more highly developed organization for adding to its stock of food and other desirable possessions by the systematic plunder of neighbouring weaker communities. Naturally such increase in numbers and organization entails some increase in the number of officers and some differentiation of their functions, as illustrated in the representation of the clans (*calpulli*) in the tribal council (*tlatocan*), by speakers (*tlatoani*) chosen for the purpose, and not by the official heads (*calpullec*) of the clan. Likewise in the military commander-in-chief (*tlacatecuhtli*) we observe a marked increase in dignity, and — as I have already suggested and hope to maintain — we find that his office has been clothed with sacerdotal powers, and has thus taken a decided step toward kingship of the ancient type, as depicted in the Homeric poems.

Aztec and Iro-
quois confed-
eracies con-
trasted.

No feature of the advance is more noteworthy

than the development of the medicine-men into an organized priesthood.¹ The presence of this priesthood and its ritual was proclaimed to the eyes of the traveller in ancient Mexico by the numerous tall truncated pyramids (*teocallis*), on the flat summits of which men, women, and children were sacrificed to the gods. This custom of human sacrifice seems to have been a characteristic of the middle period of barbarism, and to have survived, with diminishing frequency, into the upper period. There are abundant traces of its existence throughout the early Aryan world, from Britain to Hindustan, as well as among the ancient Hebrews and their kindred.² But among all these peoples, at the earliest times at which we can study them with trustworthy records, we find the custom of human sacrifice in an advanced stage of decline, and generally no longer accompanied by the custom of cannibalism in which it probably originated.³ Among the Mexicans, however, when they were first visited by the Spaniards, cannibalism flourished as nowhere else in the world except perhaps in Fiji, and human sacrifices were con-

Aztec priest-
hood : human
sacrifices.

¹ The priesthood was not hereditary, nor did it form a caste. There was no hereditary nobility in ancient Mexico, nor were there any hereditary vocations, as "artisans," "merchants," etc. See Bandelier, *op. cit.* p. 599.

² See the copious references in Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, ii. 340-371; Mackay, *Religious Development of the Greeks and Hebrews*, ii. 406-434; Oort and Hooykaas, *The Bible for Young People*, i. 30, 189-193; ii. 102, 220; iii. 21, 170, 316, 393, 395; iv. 85, 226. Ghillany, *Die Menschenopfer der alten Hebräer*, Nuremberg, 1842, treats the subject with much learning.

³ Spencer, *Princip. Sociol.*, i. 287; Tylor, *op. cit.* ii. 345.

ducted on such a scale as could not have been witnessed in Europe without going back more than forty centuries.

The custom of sacrificing captives to the gods was a marked advance upon the practice in the lower period of barbarism, when the prisoner, unless saved by adoption into the tribe of his captors, was put to death with lingering torments. There were occasions on which the Aztecs tortured their prisoners before sending them to the altar,¹ but in general the prisoner was well-treated and highly fed, — fatted, in short, for the final banquet in which the worshippers participated with their savage deity.² In a more advanced stage of development than that which the Aztecs had reached, in the stage when agriculture became extensive enough to create a steady demand for servile labour, the practice of enslaving prisoners became general; and as slaves became more and more valuable, men gradually succeeded in compounding with their deities for easier terms, — a ram, or a kid, or a bullock, instead of the human victim.³

¹ Mr. Prescott, to avoid shocking the reader with details, refers him to the twenty-first canto of Dante's *Inferno*, *Conquest of Mexico*, vol. i. p. 64.

² See below, vol. ii. p. 283.

³ The victim, by the offer of which the wrath of the god was appeased or his favour solicited, must always be some valued possession of the sacrificer. Hence, e. g., among the Hebrews "wild animals, as not being property, were generally considered unfit for sacrifice." (Mackay, *op. cit.* ii. 398.) Among the Aztecs (Prescott, *loc. cit.*) on certain occasions of peculiar solemnity the clan offered some of its own members, usually children. In the lack of prisoners such offerings would more often be necessary, hence one powerful incentive to war. The use of prisoners to

The ancient Mexicans had not arrived at this stage, which in the Old World characterized the upper period of barbarism. Slavery had, however, made a beginning among the Aztecs.

The nucleus of the small slave-population of Mexico consisted of *outcasts*, persons expelled from the clan for some misdemeanour. The simplest case was that in which a member of a clan failed for two years to cultivate his garden-plot.¹ The delinquent member was deprived, not only of his right of user, but of all his rights as a clansman, and the only way to escape starvation was to work upon some other lot, either

Aztec slaves.

buy the god's favour was to some extent a substitute for the use of the clan's own members, and at a later stage the use of domestic animals was a further substitution. The legend of Abraham and Isaac (*Genesis*, xxii. 1-14) preserves the tradition of this latter substitution among the ancient Hebrews. Compare the Bœotian legend of the temple of Dionysos Aigobolos: — *θύοντες γὰρ τῷ θεῷ προήχθησαν ποτε ὑπὸ μέθης ἐς ὕβριν, ὥστε καὶ τοῦ Διόνυσου τὸν ἱερέα ἀποκτείνουσιν· ἀποκτείναντας δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπέλαβε νόσος λοιμώδης· καὶ σφισιν ἀφίκετο ἅμα ἐκ Δελφῶν, τῷ Διονύσῳ θύειν παῖδα ὠραῖον· ἔτεσι δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον τὸν θεὸν φασιν αἰγα ἱερεῖον ὑπαλλάξαι σφισιν ἀντὶ τοῦ παιδός.* Pausanias, ix. 8. A further stage of progress was the substitution of a mere inanimate symbol for a living victim, whether human or brute, as shown in the old Roman custom of appeasing "Father Tiber" once a year by the ceremony of drowning a lot of dolls in that river. Of this significant rite Mommsen aptly observes, "Die Ideen göttlicher Gnade und Versöhnbarkeit sind hier ununterscheidbar gemischt mit der frommen Schlaugigkeit, welche es versucht den gefährlichen Herrn durch scheinhafte Befriedigung zu berücken und abzufinden." *Römische Geschichte*, 4^e Aufl., 1865, bd i. p. 176. After reading such a remark it may seem odd to find the writer, in a footnote, refusing to accept the true explanation of the custom; but that was a quarter of a century ago, when much less was known about ancient society than now.

¹ Bandelier, *op. cit.* p. 611.

in his own or in some other clan, and be paid in such pittance from its produce as the occupant might choose to give him. This was slavery in embryo. The occupant did not own this outcast labourer, any more than he owned his lot; he only possessed a limited right of user in both labourer and lot. To a certain extent it was "adverse" or exclusive possession. If the slave ran away or was obstinately lazy, he could be made to wear a wooden collar and sold without his consent; if it proved too troublesome to keep him, the collared slave could be handed over to the priests for sacrifice.¹ In this class of outcasts and their masters we have an interesting illustration of a rudimentary phase of slavery and of private property.

At this point it is worthy of note that in the development of the family the Aztecs had advanced considerably beyond the point attained by Shawnees and Mohawks, and a little way toward the point attained in the patriarchal family of the ancient Romans and Hebrews. In the Aztec clan (which was exogamous²) the change to descent in

The Aztec family. the male line seems to have been accomplished before the time of the Discovery.

Apparently it had been recently accomplished. Names for designating family relationships remained in that primitive stage in which no dis-

¹ There was, however, in this extreme case, a right of sanctuary. If the doomed slave could flee and hide himself in the *tecpán* before the master or one of his sons could catch him, he became free and recovered his clan-rights; and no third person was allowed to interfere in aid of the pursuer. Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, ii. 564-566.

² Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. ii. p. 251.

inction is made between father and uncle, grandchildren and cousins. The family was still too feebly established to count for much in the structure of society, which still rested firmly upon the clan.¹ Nevertheless the marriage bonds were drawn much tighter than among Indians of the lower status, and penalties for incontinence were more severe. The wife became her husband's property and was entitled to the protection of his clan. All matrimonial arrangements were controlled by the clan, and no member of it, male or female, was allowed to remain unmarried, except for certain religious reasons. The penalty for contumacy was expulsion from the clan, and the same penalty was inflicted for such sexual irregularities as public opinion, still in what we should call quite a primitive stage, condemned. Men and women thus expelled went to swell the numbers of that small class of outcasts already noted. With men the result, as we have seen, was a kind of slavery; with women it was prostitution; and it is curious to see that the same penalty, entailing such a result, was visited alike upon unseemly frailty and upon refusal to marry. In either case the sin consisted in rebellion against the clan's standards of proper or permissible behaviour.

The inheritance in the male line, the beginnings of individual property in slaves, the tightening of the marriage bond, accompanied by the condemnation of sundry irregularities heretofore tolerated, are phenomena which we might expect to find associated together. They are germs of the up-

¹ Bandelier, *op. cit.* pp. 429, 570, 620.

per status of barbarism, as well as of the earliest status of civilization more remotely to follow. The common cause, of which they are the manifestations, is an increasing sense of the value and importance of personal property. In the Aztec property. Old World this sense grew up during a pastoral stage of society such as the New World never knew, and by the ages of Abraham and Agamemnon¹ it had produced results such as had not been reached in Mexico at the time of the Discovery. Still the tendency in the latter country was in a similar direction. Though there was no notion of real estate, and the house was still clan-property, yet the number and value of articles of personal ownership had no doubt greatly increased during the long interval which must have elapsed since the ancestral Mexicans entered upon the middle status. The mere existence of large and busy market-places with regular and frequent fairs, even though trade had scarcely begun to emerge from the stage of barter, is sufficient proof of this. Such fairs and markets do not belong to the Mohawk chapter in human progress. They imply a considerable number and diversity of artificial products, valued as articles of personal property. A legitimate inference from them is the existence of a certain degree of luxury, though doubtless luxury of a barbaric type.

¹ I here use these world-famous names without any implication as to their historical character, or their precise date, which are in themselves interesting subjects for discussion. I use them as best symbolizing the state of society which existed about the northern and eastern shores of the eastern Mediterranean, several centuries before the Olympiads.

It is at this point, I think, that a judicious critic will begin to part company with Mr. Morgan. As regards the outward aspect of the society which the Spaniards found in Mexico, that eminent scholar more than once ^{Mr. Morgan's} _{rules.} used arguments that were inconsistent with principles of criticism laid down by himself. At the beginning of his chapter on the Aztec confederacy Mr. Morgan proposed the following rules:—

“The histories of Spanish America may be trusted in whatever relates to the acts of the Spaniards, and to the acts and personal characteristics of the Indians; in whatever relates to their weapons, implements and utensils, fabrics, food and raiment, and things of a similar character.

“But in whatever relates to Indian society and government, their social relations and plan of life, they are nearly worthless, because they learned nothing and knew nothing of either. We are at full liberty to reject them in these respects and commence anew; using any facts they may contain which harmonize with what is known of Indian society.”¹

Perhaps it would have been better if the second of these rules had been somewhat differently worded; for even with regard to the strange society and government, the Spanish writers have recorded an immense number of valuable facts, without which Mr. Bandelier's work would have been impossible. It is not so much the *facts* as the *interpretations* of the Spanish historians that are “nearly worthless,” and even their misinter-

¹ Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 186, note.

pretations are interesting and instructive when once we rightly understand them. Sometimes they really help us toward the truth.

The broad distinction, however, as stated in Mr. Morgan's pair of rules, is well taken. In regard to such a strange form of society the Spanish discoverers of Mexico could not help making mistakes, but in regard to utensils and dress their senses were not likely to deceive them, and their

Mr. Morgan sometimes disregarded his own rules: "Montezuma's Dinner."

statements, according to Mr. Morgan, may be trusted. Very good. But as soon as Mr. Morgan had occasion to write about the social life of the Aztecs, he forgot his own rules and paid as little respect to the senses of eye-witnesses as to their judgment. This was amusingly illustrated in his famous essay on "Montezuma's Dinner."¹ When Bernal Diaz describes Montezuma as sitting on a low chair at a table covered with a white cloth, Mr. Morgan declares that it could not have been so, — there were no chairs or tables! On second thought he will admit that there may have been a wooden block hollowed out for a stool, but in the matter of a table he is relentless. So when Cortes, in his despatch to the emperor, speaks of the "wine-cellar" and of the presence of "secretaries" at dinner, Mr. Morgan observes, "Since cursive writing was unknown among the Aztecs, the presence of these secretaries is an amusing feature in the account. The wine-cellar also is remarkable for two reasons: firstly, because the

¹ *North Amer. Review*, April, 1876. The substance of it was reproduced in his *Houses and House-Life*, chap. x.

level of the streets and courts was but four feet above the level of the water, which made cellars impossible; and, secondly, because the Aztecs had no knowledge of wine. An acid beer (*pulque*), made by fermenting the juice of the maguey, was a common beverage of the Aztecs; but it is hardly supposable that even this was used at dinner.”¹

To this I would reply that the fibre of that same useful plant from which the Aztecs made their “beer” supplied them also with paper, upon which they were in the habit of writing, not indeed in cursive characters, but in hieroglyphics. This kind of writing, as well as any other, accounts for the presence of secretaries, which seems to me, by the way, a very probable and characteristic feature in the narrative. From the moment the mysterious strangers landed, every movement of theirs had been recorded in hieroglyphics, and there is no reason why notes of what they said and did should not have been taken at dinner. As for the place where the *pulque* was kept, it was a venial slip of the pen to call it a “wine-cellar,” even if it was not below the ground. The language of Cortes does not imply that he visited the “cellar;” he saw a crowd of Indians drinking the beverage, and supposing the great house he was in to be Montezuma’s, he expressed his sense of that person’s hospitality by saying that “his wine-cellar was open to all.” And really, is it not rather a captious criticism which in one breath chides Cortes for calling the beverage “wine,” and in the next breath goes on to call it “beer”?

¹ *Houses and House-Life*, p. 241.

The *pulque* was neither the one nor the other; for want of any other name a German might have called it beer, a Spaniard would be more likely to call it wine. And why is it "hardly supposable" that *pulque* was used at dinner? Why should Mr. Morgan, who never dined with Montezuma, know so much more about *such things* than Cortes and Bernal Diaz, who did? ¹

The Spanish statements of facts are, of course, not to be accepted uncritically. When we are told of cut slabs of porphyry inlaid in the walls of a room, we have a right to inquire how so hard a stone could be cut with flint or copper chisels,² and are ready to entertain the suggestion that some other stone might easily have been mistaken for porphyry. Such a critical inquiry is eminently profitable, and none the less so when it brings us to the conclusion that the Aztecs did succeed in cutting porphyry. Again, when we read about Indian armies of 200,000 men, pertinent questions arise as to the commissariat, and we are led to reflect that there is nothing about which old soldiers spin such unconscionable yarns as about the size

The reaction against uncritical and exaggerated statements.

¹ Mr. Andrew Lang asks some similar questions in his *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, vol. ii. p. 349, but in a tone of impatient contempt which, as applied to a man of Mr. Morgan's calibre, is hardly becoming.

² For an excellent account of ancient Mexican knives and chisels, see Dr. Valentini's paper on "Semi-Lunar and Crescent-Shaped Tools," in *Proceedings of Amer. Antiq. Soc.*, New Series, vol. iii. pp. 449-474. Compare the very interesting Spanish observations on copper hatchets and flint chisels in Clavigero, *Historia antigua*, tom. i. p. 242; Mendieta, *Historia ecclesiastica indiana*, tom. iv. cap. xii.

of the armies they have thrashed. In a fairy tale, of course, such suggestions are impertinent; things can go on anyhow. In real life it is different. The trouble with most historians of the conquest of Mexico has been that they have made it like a fairy tale, and the trouble with Mr. Morgan was that, in a wholesome and much-needed spirit of reaction, he was too much inclined to dismiss the whole story as such. He forgot the first of his pair of rules, and applied the second to everything alike. He felt "at full liberty to reject" the testimony of the discoverers as to what they saw and tasted, and to "commence anew," reasoning from "what is known of Indian society." And here Mr. Morgan's mind was so full of the kind of Indian society which he knew more minutely and profoundly than any other man, that he was apt to forget that there could be any other kind. He overlooked his own distinction between the lower and middle periods of barbarism in his attempt to ignore or minimize the points of difference between Aztecs and Iroquois.¹ In this way he did injustice to his own brilliant and useful classification of stages of culture, and in particular to the middle period of barbarism, the significance of which he was the first to detect, but failed to realize fully because his attention had been so intensely concentrated upon the lower period.

¹ It often happens that the followers of a great man are more likely to run to extremes than their master, as, for example, when we see the queen of pueblos rashly described as "a collection of mud huts, such as Cortes found and dignified with the name of a city." *Smithsonian Report*, 1887, part i. p. 691. This is quite inadmissible.

In truth, the middle period of barbarism was one of the most important periods in the career of the human race, and full of fascination to the student, as the unfading interest in ancient Mexico and the huge mass of literature devoted to it show. It spanned the interval between such society as that of Hiawatha and such as that of the Odyssey. One more such interval (and, I suspect, a briefer one, because the use of iron and the development of inheritable wealth would accelerate progress) led to the age that could *write* the Odyssey, one of the most beautiful productions of the human mind. If Mr. Morgan had always borne in mind that, on his own classification, Montezuma must have been at least as near to Agamemnon as to Powhatan, his attitude toward the Spanish historians would have been less hostile. A Moqui pueblo stands near the lower end of the middle period of barbarism; ancient Troy stood next the upper end. Mr. Morgan found apt illustrations in the former; perhaps if he had lived long enough to profit by the work of Schliemann and Bandelier, he might have found equally apt ones in the latter. Mr. Bandelier's researches certainly show that the ancient city of Mexico, in point of social development, stood somewhere between the two.

How that city looked may best be described when we come to tell what its first Spanish visitors saw. Let it suffice here to say that, upon a reasonable estimate of their testimony, pleasure-gardens, menageries and aviaries, fountains and baths, tessellated marble floors, finely wrought pot-

Importance of
the middle
period of bar-
barism.

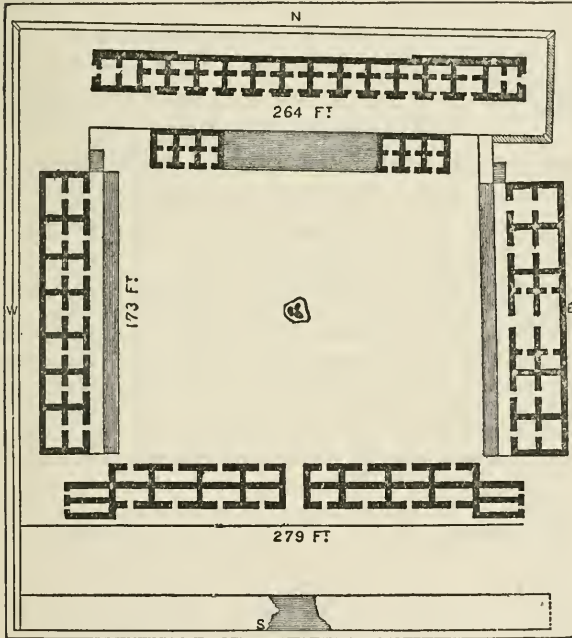
tery, exquisite feather-work, brilliant mats and tapestries, silver goblets, dainty spices burning in golden censers, varieties of highly seasoned dishes, dramatic performances, jugglers and acrobats, ballad singers and dancing girls, — such things were to be seen in this city of snake-worshipping cannibals. It simulated civilization as a tree-fern simulates a tree.

In its general outlines the account here given of Aztec society and government at the time of the Discovery will probably hold true of all the semi-civilized communities of the Mexican peninsula and Central America. The pueblos of Mexico were doubtless of various grades of size, strength, and comfort, ranging from such structures as Zuñi up to the city of Mexico. The cities of Chiapas, Yucatan, and Guatemala, ^{Mexicans and Mayas.} whose ruins, in those tropical forests, are so impressive, probably belong to the same class. The Maya-Quiché tribes, who dwelt and still dwell in this region, were different in stock-language from their neighbours of Mexico ; but there are strong reasons for believing that the two great groups, Mexicans and Mayas, arose from the expansion and segmentation of one common stock, and there is no doubt as to the very close similarity between the two in government, religion, and social advancement. In some points the Mayas were superior. They possessed a considerable literature, written in highly developed hieroglyphic characters upon maguey paper and upon deerskin parchment, so that from this point of view they

stood upon the threshold of civilization as strictly defined.¹ But, like the Mexicans, they were igno-

¹ This writing was at once recognized by learned Spaniards, like Las Casas, as entirely different from anything found elsewhere in America. He found in Yucatan "letreros de ciertos caracteres que en otra ninguna parte," Las Casas, *Historia apologética*, cap. cxxiii. For an account of the hieroglyphics, see the learned essays of Dr. Cyrus Thomas, *A Study of the Manuscript Troano*, Washington, 1882; "Notes on certain Maya and Mexican MSS.," *Third Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 7-153; "Aids to the Study of the Maya Codices," *Sixth Report*, pp. 259-371. (The paper last mentioned ends with the weighty words, "The more I study these characters the stronger becomes the conviction that they have grown out of a pictographic system similar to that common among the Indians of North America." Exactly so; and this is typical of every aspect and every detail of ancient American culture. It is becoming daily more evident that the old notion of an influence from Asia has not a leg to stand on.) See also a suggestive paper by the astronomer, E. S. Holden, "Studies in Central American Picture-Writing," *First Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 205-245; Brinton, *Ancient Phonetic Alphabet of Yucatan*, New York, 1870; *Essays of an Americanist*, Philadelphia, 1890, pp. 193-304; Léon de Rosny, *Les écritures figuratives*, Paris, 1870; *L'interprétation des anciens textes Mayas*, Paris, 1875; *Essai sur le déchiffrement de l'écriture hiératique de l'Amérique Centrale*, Paris, 1876; Förstemann, *Erläuterungen der Maya Handschrift*, Dresden, 1886. The decipherment is as yet but partially accomplished. The Mexican system of writing is clearly developed from the ordinary Indian pictographs; it could not have arisen from the Maya system, but the latter might well have been a further development of the Mexican system; the Maya system had probably developed some characters with a phonetic value, i. e. was groping toward the alphabetical stage; but how far this groping had gone must remain very doubtful until the decipherment has proceeded further. Dr. Isaac Taylor is too hasty in saying that "the Mayas employed twenty-seven characters which must be admitted to be alphabetic" (Taylor, *The Alphabet*, vol. i. p. 24); this statement is followed by the conclusion that the Maya system of writing was "superior in simplicity and convenience to that employed . . . by the great Assyrian nation at the epoch of its greatest power and glory."

rant of iron, their society was organized upon the principle of gentilism, they were cannibals and sacrificed men and women to idols, some of which were identical with those of Mexico. The Mayas had no conception of property in land; their



Ground-plan of so-called "House of the Nuns" at Uxmal.

buildings were great communal houses, like pueblos; in some cases these so-called palaces, at first supposed to be scanty remnants of vast cities, were themselves the entire "cities;" in other cases

Dr. Taylor has been misled by Diego de Landa, whose work (*Relation des choses de l'Yucatan*, ed. Brasseur, Paris, 1864) has in it some pitfalls for the unwary.

there were doubtless large composite pueblos fit to be called cities.

These noble ruins have excited great and increasing interest since the publication of Mr. Stephens's charming book just fifty years ago.¹ An air of profound mystery surrounded them, and many wild theories were propounded to account for their existence. They were at first accredited with a fabulous antiquity, and in at least one instance this notion was responsible for what must be called misrepresentation, if not humbug.² Having been placed

Ruined cities
of Central
America.

¹ Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*, 2 vols., New York, 1841.

² It occurred in the drawings of the artist Frédéric de Waldeck, who visited Palenque before Stephens, but whose researches were published later. "His drawings," says Mr. Winsor, "are exquisite; but he was not free from a tendency to improve and restore, where the conditions gave a hint, and so as we have them in the final publication they have not been accepted as wholly trustworthy." *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, i. 194. M. de Charnay puts it more strongly. Upon his drawing of a certain panel at Palenque, M. de Waldeck "has seen fit to place three or four elephants. What end did he propose to himself in giving this fictitious representation? Presumably to give a prehistoric origin to these ruins, since it is an ascertained fact that elephants in a fossil state only have been found on the American continent. It is needless to add that neither Catherwood, who drew these inscriptions most minutely, nor myself who brought impressions of them away, nor living man, ever saw these elephants and their fine trunks. But such is the mischief engendered by preconceived opinions. With some writers it would seem that to give a recent date to these monuments would deprive them of all interest. It would have been fortunate had explorers been imbued with fewer prejudices and gifted with a little more common sense, for then we should have known the truth with regard to these ruins long since." Charnay, *The Ancient Cities of the New World*, London, 1887, p. 248. The gallant explorer's indignation is certainly quite pardonable.

by popular fancy at such a remote age, they were naturally supposed to have been built, not by the Mayas, — who still inhabit Yucatan and do not absolutely dazzle us with their exalted civilization, — but by some wonderful people long since vanished. Now as to this point the sculptured slabs of Uxmal and Chichen-Itza tell their own story. They are covered with hieroglyphic inscriptions, and these hieroglyphs are the same as those in which the Dresden Codex and other Maya manuscripts still preserved are written; though their decipherment is not yet complete, there is no sort of doubt as to their being written in the Maya characters. Careful inspection, moreover, shows that the buildings in which these inscriptions occur are not so very ancient. Mr. Stephens, who was one of their earliest as well as sanest explorers, believed them to be the work of the Mayas at a comparatively recent period.¹ The notion of their antiquity was perhaps suggested by the belief that certain colossal mahogany trees

¹ Some of his remarks are worth quoting in detail, especially in view of the time when they were written: "I repeat my opinion that we are not warranted in going back to any ancient nation of the Old World for the builders of these cities; that they are not the work of people who have passed away and whose history is lost, but that there are strong reasons to believe them the creations of the same races who inhabited the country at the time of the Spanish conquest, or some not very distant progenitors. And I would remark that we began our exploration without any theory to support. . . . Some are beyond doubt older than others; some are known to have been inhabited at the time of the Spanish conquest, and others, perhaps, were really in ruins before; . . . but in regard to Uxmal, at least, we believe that it was an existing and inhabited city at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards." Stephens, *Central America*, etc., vol. ii. p. 455.

growing between and over the ruins at Palenque must be nearly 2,000 years old. But when M. de Charnay visited Palenque in 1859 he had the eastern side of the "palace" cleared of its dense vegetation in order to get a good photograph; and when he revisited the spot in 1881 he found a sturdy growth of young mahogany the age of which he knew did not exceed twenty-two years. Instead of making a ring once a year, as in our sluggish and temperate zone, these trees had made rings at the rate of about one in a month; their trunks were already more than two feet in diameter; judging from this rate of growth the biggest giant on the place need not have been more than 200 years old, if as much.¹

These edifices are not so durably constructed as those which in Europe have stood for more than a thousand years. They do not indicate a high civilization on the part of their builders. They do not, as Mr. Andrew Lang says, "throw Mycenæ into the shade, and rival the remains of Cambodia."² In pictures they may seem to do so, but M. de Charnay, after close and repeated examination of these buildings, assures us that as structures they "cannot be compared with those at Cambodia, which belong to nearly the same period, the twelfth century, and which, notwithstanding their greater and more resisting proportions, are found in the same dilapidated condi-

They are probably not older than the twelfth century.

¹ Charnay, *The Ancient Cities of the New World*, p. 260.

² Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, vol. ii. p. 348.

tion.”¹ It seems to me that if Mr. Lang had spoken of the Yucatan ruins as rivalling the remains of Mycenæ, instead of “throwing them into the shade,” he would have come nearer the mark. The builders of Uxmal, like those of Mycenæ, did not understand the principle of the arch, but were feeling their way toward it.² And here again we are brought back, as seems to happen whatever road we follow, to the middle status of barbarism. The Yucatan architecture shows the marks of its origin in the adobe and rubble-stone work of the New Mexico pueblos. The inside of the wall “is a rude mixture of friable mortar and small irregular stones,” and under the pelting tropical rains the dislocation of the outer facing is presently effected. The large blocks, cut with flint chisels, are of a soft stone that is soon damaged by weather; and the cornices and lintels are beams of a very hard wood, yet not so hard but that insects bore into it. From such considerations it is justly inferred that the highest probable antiquity for most of the ruins in Yucatan or Central America is the twelfth or thirteenth century of our era.³ Some, perhaps, may be no older than the ancient city of Mexico, built A. D. 1325.

¹ Charnay, *op. cit.* p. 209. “I may remark that [the] virgin forests [here] have no very old trees, being destroyed by insects, moisture, lianas, etc.; and old monteros tell me that mahogany and cedar trees, which are most durable, do not live above 200 years,” *id.* p. 447.

² The reader will find it suggestive to compare portions of Schliemann’s *Mycenæ* and M. de Charnay’s book, just cited, with Morgan’s *Houses and House-Life*, chap. xi.

³ Charnay, *op. cit.* p. 411. Copan and Palenque may be two or three centuries older, and had probably fallen into ruins before the arrival of the Spaniards.

But we are no longer restricted to purely archæological evidence. One of the most impressive of all these ruined cities is Chichen-Itza, which is regarded as older than Uxmal, but not so old as Izamal. Now in recent times sundry old Maya documents have been discovered in Chronicle of Chicxulub. Yucatan, and among them is a brief history of the Spanish conquest of that country, written in the Roman character by a native chief, Nakuk Pech, about 1562. It has been edited, with an English translation, by that zealous and indefatigable scholar, to whom American philology owes such a debt of gratitude, — Dr. Daniel Brinton. This chronicle tells us several things that we did not know before, and, among others, it refers most explicitly to Chichen-Itza and Izamal as inhabited towns during the time that the Spaniards were coming, from 1519 to 1542. If there could have been any lingering doubt as to the correctness of the views of Stephens, Morgan, and Charnay, this contemporaneous documentary testimony dispels it once for all.¹

¹ Brinton, *The Maya Chronicles*, Philadelphia, 1882, "Chronicle of Chicxulub," pp. 187-259. This book is of great importance, and for the ancient history of Guatemala Brinton's *Annals of the Cakchiquels*, Philadelphia, 1885, is of like value and interest.

Half a century ago Mr. Stephens wrote in truly prophetic vein, "the convents are rich in manuscripts and documents written by the early fathers, caciques, and Indians, who very soon acquired the knowledge of Spanish and the art of writing. These have never been examined with the slightest reference to this subject; and I cannot help thinking that some precious memorial is now mouldering in the library of a neighbouring convent, which would determine the history of some one of these ruined cities." Vol. ii. p. 456. The italicizing, of course, is mine.

The Mexicans and Mayas believed themselves to be akin to each other, they had several deities and a large stock of traditional lore in common, and there was an essential similarity in their modes of life; so that, since we are now assured that such cities as Iza-
Maya culture very closely related to Mexican.
 mal and Chichen-Itza were contemporary with the city of Mexico, we shall probably not go very far astray if we assume that the elaborately carved and bedizened ruins of the former may give us some hint as to how things might have looked in the latter. Indeed this complicated and grotesque carving on walls, door-posts, and lintels was one of the first things to attract the attention of the Spaniards in Mexico. They regarded it with mingled indignation and awe, for serpents, coiled or uncoiled, with gaping mouths, were most conspicuous among the objects represented. The visitors soon learned that all this had a symbolic and religious meaning, and with some show of reason they concluded that this strange people worshipped the Devil.

We have now passed in review the various peoples of North America, from the Arctic circle to the neighbourhood of the isthmus of Darien, and can form some sort of a mental picture of the continent at the time of its discovery by Europeans in the fifteenth century. Much more might have been said without going beyond the requirements of an outline sketch, but quite as much has been said as is consistent with the general plan of this book. I have not undertaken at present to go beyond the isthmus of Darien, because this prelim-

inary chapter is already disproportionately long, and after this protracted discussion the reader's attention may be somewhat relieved by an entire change of scene. Enough has been set forth to explain the narrative that follows, and to justify us henceforth in taking certain things for granted. The outline description of Mexico will be completed when we come to the story of its conquest by Spaniards, and then we shall be ready to describe some principal features of Peruvian society and to understand how the Spaniards conquered that country.

There is, however, one conspicuous feature of North American antiquity which has not yet received our attention, and which calls for a few words before we close this chapter. I refer to the mounds that are scattered over so large a part of the soil of the United States, and more particularly to those between the Mississippi river and the Alleghany mountains, which have been the subject of so much theorizing, and in late years of so much careful study.¹ Vague

The "Mound-Builders."

¹ For original researches in the mounds one cannot do better than consult the following papers in the *Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology*: — 1. by W. H. Holmes, "Art in Shell of the Ancient Americans," ii. 181-305; "The Ancient Pottery of the Mississippi Valley," iv. 365-436; "Prehistoric Textile Fabrics of the United States," iii. 397-431; followed by an illustrated catalogue of objects collected chiefly from mounds, iii. 433-515; — 2. H. W. Henshaw, "Animal Carvings from the Mounds of the Mississippi Valley," ii. 121-166; — 3. Cyrus Thomas, "Burial Mounds of the Northern Section of the United States," v. 7-119; also three of the Bureau's "Bulletins" by Dr. Thomas, "The Problem of the Ohio Mounds," "The Circular, Square, and Octagonal Earthworks of Ohio," and "Work in Mound Exploration of the Bureau of Ethnology;" also two articles by Dr. Thomas

and wild were the speculations once rife about the "Mound-Builders" and their wonderful civilization. They were supposed to have been a race quite different from the red men, with a culture perhaps superior to our own, and more or less eloquence was wasted over the vanished "empire" of the mound-builders. There is no reason, however, for supposing that there ever was an empire of any sort in ancient North America, and no relic of the past has ever been seen at any spot on our planet which indicates the former existence of a vanished civilization even remotely approaching our own. The sooner the student of history gets his head cleared of all such rubbish, the better. As for the mounds, which are scattered in such profusion over the country west of the Alleghanies, there are some which have been built by In-

in the *Magazine of American History*:—"The Houses of the Mound-Builders," xi. 110-115; "Indian Tribes in Prehistoric Times," xx. 193-201. See also Horatio Hale, "Indian Migrations," in *American Antiquarian*, v. 18-28, 108-124; M. F. Force, *To What Race did the Mound-Builders belong?* Cincinnati, 1875; Lucien Carr, *Mounds of the Mississippi Valley historically considered*, 1883; Nadaillac's *Prehistoric America*, ed. W. H. Dall, chaps. iii., iv. The earliest work of fundamental importance on the subject was Squier's *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*, Philadelphia, 1848, being the first volume of the Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge.—For statements of the theory which presumes either a race connection or a similarity in culture between the mound-builders and the pueblo Indians, see Dawson, *Fossil Men*, p. 55; Foster, *Prehistoric Races of the United States*, Chicago, 1873, chaps. iii., v.-x.; Sir Daniel Wilson, *Prehistoric Man*, chap. x. The annual *Smithsonian Reports* for thirty years past illustrate the growth of knowledge and progressive changes of opinion on the subject. The bibliographical account in Winsor's *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, i. 397-412, is full of minute information.

dians since the arrival of white men in America, and which contain knives and trinkets of European manufacture. There are many others which are much older, and in which the genuine remains sometimes indicate a culture like that of Shawnees or Senecas, and sometimes suggest something perhaps a little higher. With the progress of research the vast and vague notion of a distinct race of "Mound-Builders" became narrowed and defined. It began to seem probable that the builders of the more remarkable mounds were tribes of Indians who had advanced beyond the average level in horticulture, and consequently in density of population, and perhaps in political and priestly organization. Such a conclusion seemed to be supported by the size of some of the "ancient garden-beds," often covering more than a hundred acres, filled with the low parallel ridges in which corn was planted. The mound people were thus supposed to be semi-civilized red men, like the Aztecs, and some of their elevated earthworks were explained as places for human sacrifice, like the pyramids of Mexico and Central America. It was thought that the "civilization" of the Cordilleran peoples might formerly have extended northward and eastward into the Mississippi valley, and might after a while have been pushed back by powerful hordes of more barbarous invaders. A further modification and reduction of this theory likened the mound-builders to the pueblo Indians of New Mexico. Such was the opinion of Mr. Morgan, who offered a very ingenious explanation of the extensive

The notion
that they were
like the Az-
tecs ;

earthworks at High Bank, in Ross county, Ohio, as the fortified site of a pueblo.¹ Although there is no reason for supposing that the mound-builders practised irrigation (which would not be required in the Mississippi valley) or used adobe-brick, yet Mr. Morgan was inclined to admit them into his middle status of barbarism because of the copper hatchets and chisels ^{or like the} _{Zuñis.} found in some of the mounds, and because of the apparent superiority in horticulture and the increased reliance upon it. He suggested that a people somewhat like the Zuñis might have migrated eastward and modified their building habits to suit the altered conditions of the Mississippi valley, where they dwelt for several centuries, until at last, for some unknown reason, they retired to the Rocky Mountain region. It seems to me that an opinion just the reverse of Mr. Morgan's would be more easily defensible, — namely, that the ancestors of the pueblo Indians were a people of building habits somewhat similar to the Mandans, and that their habits became modified in adaptation to a country which demanded careful irrigation and supplied adobe-clay in abundance. If ever they built any of the mounds in the Mississippi valley, I should be disposed to place their mound-building period before their pueblo period.

Recent researches, however, make it more and more improbable that the mound-builders were nearly akin to such people as the Zuñis or similar to them in grade of culture. Of late years the ex-

¹ *Houses and House-Life*, chap. ix.

ploration of the mounds has been carried on with increasing diligence. More than 2,000 mounds have been opened, and at least 38,000 ancient relics have been gathered from them: such as quartzite arrow-heads and spades, greenstone axes and hammers, mortars and pestles, tools for spinning and weaving, and cloth, made of spun thread and woven with warp and woof, somewhat like a coarse sail-cloth. The water-jugs, kettles, pipes, and sepulchral urns have been elaborately studied. The net results of all this investigation, up to the present time, have been concisely summed up by

Dr. Cyrus Thomas.¹ The mounds were not all built by one people, but by different tribes as clearly distinguishable from one another as Algonquins are distinguishable from Iroquois. These mound-building tribes were not superior in culture to the Iroquois and many of the Algonquins as first seen by white men. They are not to be classified with Zuñis, still less with Mexicans or Mayas, in point of culture, but with Shawnees and Cherokees. Nay more, — some of them *were* Shawnees and Cherokees. The missionary Johann Heckewelder long ago published the Lenape tradition of the Tallegwi or Allighewi people, who have left their name upon the Alleghany river and mountains.² The Tallegwi have been identified

The mounds were probably built by different peoples in the lower status of barbarism ;

¹ *Work in Mound Exploration of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington, 1887. For a sight of the thousands of objects gathered from the mounds, one should visit the Peabody Museum at Cambridge and the Smithsonian Institution at Washington.

² Heckewelder, *History of the Indian Nations of Pennsylvania*,

with the Cherokees, who are now reckoned among the most intelligent and progressive of Indian peoples.¹ The Cherokees were formerly classed in the Muskoki group, along with the Creeks and Choctaws, but a closer study by Cherokees; of their language seems to show that they were a somewhat remote offshoot of the Huron-Iroquois stock. For a long time they occupied the country between the Ohio river and the Great Lakes, and probably built the mounds that are still to be seen there. Somewhere about the thirteenth or fourteenth century they were gradually pushed southward into the Muskoki region by repeated attacks from the Lenape and Hurons. The Cherokees were probably also the builders of the mounds of eastern Tennessee and western North Carolina. They retained their mound-building habits some time after the white men came upon the scene. On the other hand the mounds and box-shaped stone graves of Kentucky, Tennessee, and northern Georgia were probably and by Shawnees, and other tribes. the work of Shawnees, and the stone graves in the Delaware valley are to be ascribed to the Lenape. There are many reasons for believing that the mounds of northern Mississippi were constructed by Chickasaws, and the burial tumuli and "effigy mounds" of Wisconsin by Win-

etc., Philadelphia, 1818; cf. Squier, *Historical and Mythological Traditions of the Algonquins*, a paper read before the New York Historical Society in June, 1848; also Brinton, *The Lenape and their Legends*, Philadelphia, 1885.

¹ For a detailed account of their later history, see C. C. Royce, "The Cherokee Nation," *Reports of Bureau of Ethnology*, v. 121-378.

nebagos. The Minnitarees and Mandans were also very likely at one time a mound-building people.

If this view, which is steadily gaining ground, be correct, our imaginary race of "Mound-Builders" is broken up and vanishes, and henceforth we may content ourselves with speaking of the authors of the ancient earthworks as "Indians." There were times in the career of sundry Indian tribes when circumstances induced them to erect mounds as sites for communal houses or council houses, medicine-lodges or burial-places; somewhat as there was a period in the history of our own forefathers in England when circumstances led them to build moated castles, with drawbridge and portcullis; and there is no more occasion for assuming a mysterious race of "Mound-Builders" in America than for assuming a mysterious race of "Castle-Builders" in England.

Thus, at whatever point we touch the subject of ancient America, we find scientific opinion tending more and more steadily toward the conclusion that its people and their culture were indigenous. One of the most important lessons impressed upon us

Society in America at the time of the Discovery had reached stages similar to stages reached by eastern Mediterranean peoples fifty or sixty centuries earlier.

by a long study of comparative mythology is that human minds in different parts of the world, but under the influence of similar circumstances, develop similar ideas and clothe them in similar forms of expression. It is just the same with political institutions, with the development of the arts, with social customs,

with culture generally. To repeat the remark already quoted from Sir John Lubbock, — and it is well worth repeating, — “Different races in similar stages of development often present more features of resemblance to one another than the same race does to itself in different stages of its history.” When the zealous Abbé Brasseur found things in the history of Mexico that reminded him of ancient Egypt, he hastened to the conclusion that Mexican culture was somehow “derived” from that of Egypt. It was natural enough for him to do so, but such methods of explanation are now completely antiquated. Mexican culture was no more Egyptian culture than a prickly-pear is a lotus. It was an outgrowth of peculiar American conditions acting upon the aboriginal American mind, and such of its features as remind us of ancient Egypt or prehistoric Greece show simply that it was approaching, though it had not reached, the standard attained in those Old World countries. From this point of view the resemblances become invested with surpassing interest. Ancient America, as we have seen, was a much more archaic world than the world of Europe and Asia, and presented in the time of Columbus forms of society that on the shores of the Mediterranean had been outgrown before the city of Rome was built. Hence the intense and peculiar fascination of American archæology, and its profound importance to the student of general history.

CHAPTER II.

PRE-COLUMBIAN VOYAGES.

THERE is something solemn and impressive in the spectacle of human life thus going on for countless ages in the Eastern and Western halves of our planet, each all unknown to the other and uninfluenced by it. The contact between the two worlds practically begins in 1492.

By this statement it is not meant to deny that occasional visitors may have come and did come before that famous date from the Old World to the New. On the contrary I am inclined to suspect that there may have been more such occasional visits than we have been wont to suppose. For the most part, however, the subject is shrouded in the mists of obscure narrative and fantastic conjecture. When it is argued that in the fifth century of the Christian era certain Buddhist mission-

The Chinese. ary priests came from China by way of Kamtchatka and the Aleutian islands, and kept on till they got to a country which they called Fusang, and which was really Mexico, one cannot reply that such a thing was necessarily and absolutely impossible; but when other critics assure us that, after all, Fusang was really Japan, perhaps one feels a slight sense of relief.¹ So of

¹ This notion of the Chinese visiting Mexico was set forth by

the dim whispers of voyages to America undertaken by the Irish, in the days when the cloisters of sweet Innisfallen were a centre of piety and culture for northwestern Europe,¹ we may say that this sort of thing has not much to do with history, or history with it. Irish anchorites certainly went to Iceland in the seventh century,² and in the course of this book we shall have frequent occasion to observe that first and last there has been on all seas a good deal of blowing and drifting done. It is credibly reported that Japanese junks have been driven ashore on the

The Irish,

the celebrated Deguignes in 1761, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxviii. pp. 506-525. Its absurdity was shown by Klaproth, "Recherches sur le pays de Fou Sang," *Nouvelles annales des voyages*, Paris, 1831, 2e série, tom. xxi. pp. 53-63; see also Klaproth's introduction to *Annales des empereurs du Japon*, Paris, 1834, pp. iv.-ix.; Humboldt, *Examen critique de l'histoire de la géographie du nouveau continent*, Paris, 1837, tom. ii. pp. 62-84. The fancy was revived by C. G. Leland ("Hans Breitmann"), in his *Fusang*, London, 1875, and was again demolished by the missionary, S. W. Williams, in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xi., New Haven, 1881.

¹ On the noble work of the Irish church and its missionaries in the sixth and seventh centuries, see Montalembert, *Les moines d'Occident*, tom. ii. pp. 465-661; tom. iii. pp. 79-332; Burton's *History of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 234-277, and the instructive map in Miss Sophie Bryant's *Celtic Ireland*, London, 1889, p. 60. The notice of the subject in Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vol. ii. pp. 236-247, is entirely inadequate.

² The passion for solitude led some of the disciples of St. Columba to make their way from Iona to the Hebrides, and thence to the Orkneys, Shetlands, Færoes, and Iceland, where a colony of them remained until the arrival of the Northmen in 874. See Dieuil, *Liber de mensura Orbis Terræ* (A. D. 825), Paris, 1807; Innes, *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, p. 101; Lanigan, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, chap. iii.; Maurer, *Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte des Germanischen Nordens*, i. 35. For the legend of St. Brandan, see Gaffarel, *Les voyages de St. Brandan*, Paris, 1881.

coasts of Oregon and California;¹ and there is a story that in 1488 a certain Jean Cousin, of Dieppe, while sailing down the west coast of Africa, was caught in a storm and blown across to Brazil.² This was certainly quite possible, for it was not so very unlike what happened in 1500 to Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, as we shall hereafter see;³ nevertheless, the evidence adduced in support of the story will hardly bear a critical examination.⁴

It is not my purpose to weary the reader with a general discussion of these and some other legends or rumours of pre-Columbian visitors to America. We may admit, at once, that "there is no good reason why any one of them may not have done" what is claimed, but at the same time the proof that any one of them *did* do it is very far from satisfactory.⁵ Moreover the questions raised are often of small importance, and belong not so much to the serious workshop of history as to its limbo prepared for learned trifles, whither we will hereby relegate them.⁶

¹ C. W. Brooks, of San Francisco, cited in Higginson, *Larger History of the United States*, p. 24.

² Desmarquets, *Mémoires chronologiques pour servir à l'histoire de Dieppe*, Paris, 1785, tom. i. pp. 91-98; Estancelin, *Recherches sur les voyages et découvertes des navigateurs normands, etc.*, Paris, 1832, pp. 332-361.

³ See below, vol. ii. p. 96.

⁴ As HARRISSE says, concerning the alleged voyages of Cousin and others, "Quant aux voyages du Dieppois Jean Cousin en 1488, de João Ramalho en 1490, et de João Vaz Cortereal en 1464 ou 1474, le lecteur nous pardonnera de les passer sous silence." *Christophe Colomb*, Paris, 1884, tom. i. p. 307.

⁵ Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, i. 59.

⁶ Sufficiently full references may be found in Watson's *Bibli-*

Cousin, of Dieppe.

These stories are of little value;

But when we come to the voyages of the Northmen in the tenth and eleventh centuries, it is quite a different affair. Not only is this a subject of much historic interest, but in dealing with it we stand for a great part of the time upon firm historic ground. The narratives which tell us of Vinland and of Leif Ericsson are closely intertwined with the authentic history of Norway and Iceland. In the ninth century of our era there was a process of political consolidation going on in Norway, somewhat as in England under Egbert and his successors. After a war of twelve years, King Harold Fairhair overthrew the combined forces of the Jarls, or small independent princes, in the decisive naval battle of Hafursfiord in the year 872. This resulted in making Harold the feudal landlord of Norway. Allodial tenures were abolished, and the Jarls were required to become his vassals. This consolidation of the kingdom was probably beneficial in its main consequences, but to many a proud spirit and crafty brain it made life in Norway unendurable. These bold Jarls and their Viking¹ followers, to whom,

but the case of the Northmen is entirely different.

The Viking exodus from Norway.

ography of the Pre-Columbian Discoveries of America, appended to Anderson's *America not discovered by Columbus*, 3d ed., Chicago, 1883, pp. 121-164; and see the learned chapters by W. H. Tillinghast on "The Geographical Knowledge of the Ancients considered in relation to the Discovery of America," and by Justin Winsor on "Pre-Columbian Explorations," in *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, vol. i.

¹ The proper division of this Old Norse word is not into *vi-king*, but into *vik-ing*. The first syllable means a "bay" or "fiord," the second is a patronymic termination, so that "vikings" are "sons of the fiord," — an eminently appropriate and descriptive

as to the ancient Greeks, the sea was not a barrier, but a highway,¹ had no mind to stay at home and submit to unwonted thralldom. So they manned their dragon-prowed keels, invoked the blessing of Wodan, god of storms, upon their enterprise, and sailed away. Some went to reinforce their kinsmen who were making it so hot for Alfred in England² and for Charles the Bald in Gaul; some had already visited Ireland and were establishing themselves at Dublin and Limerick; others now followed and found homes for themselves in the Hebrides and all over Scotland north of glorious Loch Linnhe and the Murray frith; some made their way through the blue Mediterranean to "Micklegard," the Great City of the Byzantine Emperor, and in his service wielded their stout axes against Magyar and Saracen;³ some found their amphibious natures better satisfied upon the islands of the Atlantic ridge,—the Orkneys, Shetlands,

¹ Curtius (*Griechische Etymologie*, p. 237) connects πόντος with πάτος; compare the Homeric expressions ὑγρά κέλευθα, ἰχθυόεντα κέλευθα, etc.

² The descendants of these Northmen formed a very large proportion of the population of the East Anglian counties, and consequently of the men who founded New England. The East Anglian counties have been conspicuous for resistance to tyranny and for freedom of thought. See my *Beginnings of New England*, p. 62.

³ They were the Varangian guard at Constantinople, described by Sir Walter Scott in *Count Robert of Paris*. About this same time their kinsmen, the Russ, moving eastward from Sweden, were subjecting Slavic tribes as far as Novgorod and Kief, and laying the foundations of the power that has since, through many and strange vicissitudes, developed into Russia. See Thomsen, *The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia*, Oxford, 1877.

and Færoes, and especially noble Iceland. There an aristocratic republic soon grew up, owning slight and indefinite allegiance to the kings of Norway.¹ The settlement of Iceland was such a wholesale colonization of communities of picked men as had not been seen since ancient Greek times, and was not to be seen again until Winthrop sailed into Massachusetts Bay. It was not long before the population of Iceland exceeded 50,000 souls. Their sheep and cattle flourished, hay crops were heavy, a lively trade — with fish, oil, butter, skins, and wool, in exchange for meal and malt — was kept up with Norway, Denmark, and the British islands, political freedom was unimpaired,² justice was (for

Founding of
Iceland, A. D.
874.

¹ Fealty to Norway was not formally declared until 1262.

² The settlement of Iceland is celebrated by Robert Lowe in verses which show that, whatever his opinion may have been in later years as to the use of a classical education, his own early studies must always have been a source of comfort to him: —

Χαῖρε καί ἐν νεφέλαισι καί ἐν νιφάδεσσι βαρεῖαις
Καὶ πυρὶ καὶ σεισμοῖς νῆσε σαλευομένῃ
Ἐνθάδε γὰρ βασιλῆος ὑπέρβιον ὕβριν ἀλύξας
Δῆμος Ὑπερβορέων, κόσμον ἐπ' ἐσχατιῇ,
Αὐτάρκη βίοντον θείων τ' ἐρεθίσματα Μουσῶν
Καὶ θεσμούς ἀγνῆς εὐρεν ἐλευθερίας.

These verses are thus rendered by Sir Edmund Head (*Vigó Glams Saga*, p. v.): —

“Hail, Isle! with mist and snowstorms girt around,
Where fire and earthquake rend the shattered ground, —
Here once o'er furthest ocean's icy path
The Northmen fled a tyrant monarch's wrath:
Here, cheered by song and story, dwelt they free,
And held unscathed their laws and liberty.”

Laing (*Heimskringla*, vol. i. p. 57) couples Iceland and New England as the two modern colonies most distinctly “founded on principle and peopled at first from higher motives than want or gain.”

the Middle Ages) fairly well administered, naval superiority kept all foes at a distance ; and under such conditions the growth of the new community in wealth¹ and culture was surprisingly rapid. In the twelfth century, before literature had begun to blossom in the modern speech of France or Spain or Italy, there was a flourishing literature in prose and verse in Iceland. Especial attention was paid to history, and the "Landnáma-bók," or statistical and genealogical account of the early settlers, was the most complete and careful work of the kind which had ever been undertaken by any people down to quite recent times. Few persons in our day adequately realize the extent of the early Icelandic literature or its richness. The poems, legends, and histories earlier than the date when Dante walked and mused in the streets of Florence survive for us now in some hundreds of works, for the most part of rare and absorbing interest. The "Heimskringla," or chronicle of Snorro Sturleson, written about 1215, is one of the greatest history books in the world.²

¹ Just what was then considered wealth, for an individual, may best be understood by a concrete instance. The historian Snorro Sturleson, born in 1178, was called a rich man. "In one year, in which fodder was scarce, he lost 120 head of oxen without being seriously affected by it." The fortune which he got with his first wife Herdisa, in 1199, was equivalent nominally to \$4,000, or, according to the standard of to-day, about \$80,000. Laing, *Heimskringla*, vol. i. pp. 191, 193.

² Laing's excellent English translation of it was published in London in 1844. The preliminary dissertation, in five chapters, is of great value. A new edition, revised by Prof. Rasmus Anderson, was published in London in 1889. Another charming book is Sir George Dasent's *Story of Burnt Njal*, Edinburgh,

Now from various Icelandic chronicles ¹ we learn that in 876, only two years after the island com-

1861, 2 vols., translated from the *Njals Saga*. Both the saga itself and the translator's learned introduction give an admirable description of life in Iceland at the end of the tenth century, the time when the voyages to America were made. It is a very instructive chapter in history.

The Icelanders of the present day retain the Old Norse language, while on the Continent it has been modified into Swedish and Norwegian-Danish. They are a well-educated people, and, in proportion to their numbers, publish many books.

¹ A full collection of these chronicles is given in Rafn's *Antiquitates Americane*, Copenhagen, 1837, in the original Icelandic, with Danish and Latin translations. This book is of great value for its full and careful reproduction of original texts; although the rash speculations and the want of critical discernment shown in the editor's efforts to determine the precise situation of Vinland have done much to discredit the whole subject in the eyes of many scholars. That is, however, very apt to be the case with first attempts, like Rafn's, and the obvious defects of his work should not be allowed to blind us to its merits. In the footnotes to the present chapter I shall cite it simply as "Rafn;" as the exact phraseology is often important, I shall usually cite the original Icelandic, and (for the benefit of readers unfamiliar with that language) shall also give the Latin version, which has been well made, and quite happily reflects the fresh and pithy vigour of the original. An English translation of all the essential parts may be found in De Costa, *Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen*, 2d ed., Albany, 1890; see also Slafter, *Voyages of the Northmen to America*, Boston, 1877 (Prince Society). An Icelandic version, interpolated in Peringskiöld's edition of the *Heimskringla*, 1697, is translated in Laing, vol. iii. pp. 344-361.

The first modern writer to call attention to the Icelandic voyages to Greenland and Vinland was Arngrim Jónsson, in his *Crymogæa*, Hamburg, 1610, and more explicitly in his *Specimen Islandiæ historicum*, Amsterdam, 1643. The voyages are also mentioned by Campanius, in his *Kort beskrifning om provincien Nya Sverige uti America*, Stockholm, 1702. The first, however, to bring the subject prominently before European readers was that judicious scholar Thormodus Torfæus, in his two books *Historia Vinlandiæ antiquæ*, and *Historia Gronlandiæ antiquæ*, Co-

monwealth was founded, one of the settlers named Gunnbjörn was driven by foul weather to some point on the coast of Greenland, where he and his crew contrived to pass the winter, their ship being locked in ice ;

Discovery of
Greenland,
876.

penhagen, 1705 and 1706. Later writers have until very recently added but little that is important to the work of Torfæus. In the voluminous literature of the subject the discussions chiefly worthy of mention are Forster's *Geschichte der Entdeckungen und Schiffahrten im Norden*, Frankfort, 1784, pp. 44-88; and Humboldt, *Examen critique*, etc., Paris, 1837, tom. i. pp. 84-104; see, also, Major, *Select Letters of Columbus*, London, 1847 (Hakluyt Soc.) pp. xii.-xxi. The fifth chapter of Samuel Laing's preliminary dissertation to the *Heimskringla*, which is devoted to this subject, is full of good sense; for the most part the shrewd Orkneyman gets at the core of the thing, though now and then a little closer knowledge of America would have been useful to him. The latest critical discussion of the sources, marking a very decided advance since Rafn's time, is the paper by Gustav Storm, professor of history in the University of Christiania, "Studier over Vinlandsreiserne," in *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, Copenhagen, 1887, pp. 293-372.

Since this chapter was written I have seen an English translation of the valuable paper just mentioned, "Studies on the Vineland Voyages," in *Mémoires de la société royale des antiquaires du Nord*, Copenhagen, 1888, pp. 307-370. I have therefore in most cases altered my footnote references below, making the page-numbers refer to the English version (in which, by the way, some parts of the Norwegian original are, for no very obvious reason, omitted). By an odd coincidence there comes to me at the same time a book fresh from the press, whose rare beauty of mechanical workmanship is fully equalled by its intrinsic merit, *The Finding of Wineland the Good — the History of the Icelandic Discovery of America*, edited and translated from the earliest records by Arthur Middleton Reeves, London, 1890. This beautiful quarto contains phototype plates of the original Icelandic vellums in the *Hauks-bók*, the MS. AM. 557, and the *Flateyar-bók*, together with the texts carefully edited, an admirable English translation, and several chapters of critical discussion decidedly better than anything that has gone before it. On

when the spring set them free, they returned to Iceland. In the year 983, Eric the Red, a settler upon Öxney (Ox-island) near the mouth of Breiðafjörður, was outlawed for killing a man in a brawl. Eric then determined to search for the western land which Gunnbjörn had discovered. He set out with a few followers, and in the next three years these bold sailors explored the coasts of Greenland pretty thoroughly for a considerable distance on each side of Cape Farewell. At length they found a suitable place for a home, at the head of Igaliko fiord, not far from the site of the modern Julianeshaab.¹ It was fit work for Vikings to penetrate so deep a fiord and find out such a spot, hidden as it is by miles upon miles of craggy and ice-covered headlands. They proved their sagacity by pitching upon one of the pleasantest spots on the gaunt Greenland coast; and there upon a smooth grassy plain may still be seen the ruins of seventeen houses built of rough blocks of sandstone, their chinks caulked up with clay and gravel. In contrast with most of its bleak surroundings the place might well be called Greenland, and so Eric named it, for, said he, it is well to have a pleasant name if we would induce people to come hither. The name thus given by Eric to this chosen spot has

Eric's colony
in Greenland,
986.

reading it carefully through, it seems to me the best book we have on the subject in English, or perhaps in any language.

Since the above was written, the news has come of the sudden and dreadful death of Mr. Reeves, in the railroad disaster at Hagerstown, Indiana, February 25, 1891. Mr. Reeves was an American scholar of most brilliant promise, only in his thirty-fifth year.

¹ Rink, *Danish Greenland*, p. 6.

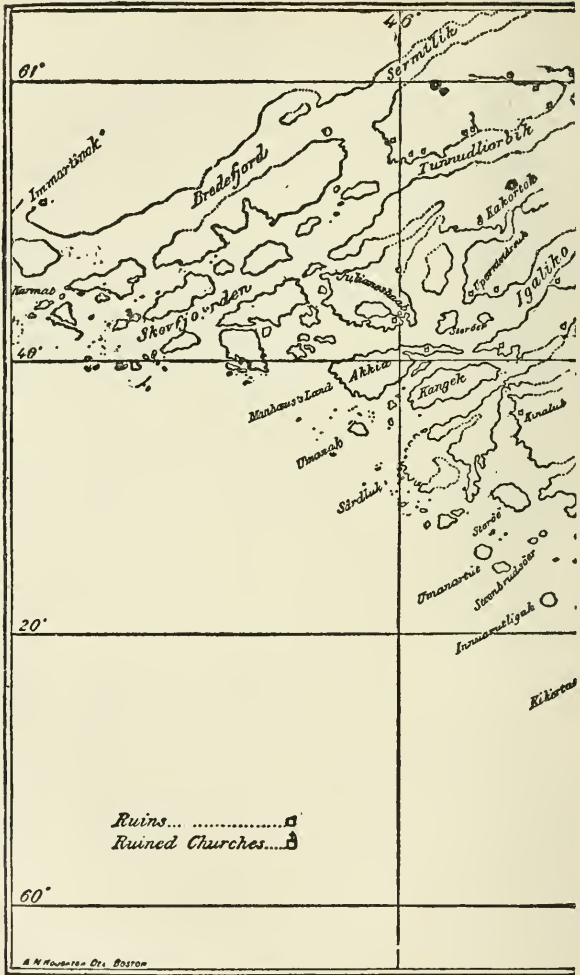
been extended in modern usage to the whole of the vast continental region north of Davis strait, for the greater part of which it is a flagrant misnomer.¹ In 986 Eric ventured back to Iceland, and was so successful in enlisting settlers for Greenland that on his return voyage he started with five and twenty ships. The loss from foul weather and icebergs was cruel. Eleven vessels were lost; the remaining fourteen, carrying probably from four to five hundred souls, arrived safely at the head of Igaliko fiord, and began building their houses at the place called Brattahlid. Their settlement presently extended over the head of Tunnudliorbik fiord, the next deep inlet to the northwest; they called it Ericsfiord. After a while it extended westward as far as Immartinek, and eastward as far as the site of Friedrichsthal; and another distinct settlement of less extent was also made about four hundred miles to the northwest, near the present site of Godthaab. The older settlement, which began at Igaliko fiord, was known as the East Bygd; ² the younger settlement, near Godthaab, was called the West Bygd.

¹ We thus see the treacherousness of one of the arguments cited by the illustrious Arago to prove that the Greenland coast must be colder now than in the tenth century. The Icelanders, he thinks, called it "a green land" because of its verdure, and therefore it must have been warmer than at present. But the land which Eric called green was evidently nothing more than the region about Julianeshaab, which still has plenty of verdure; and so the argument falls to the ground. See Arago, *Sur l'état thermométrique du globe terrestre*, in his *Œuvres*, tom. v. p. 243. There are reasons, however, for believing that Greenland was warmer in the tenth century than at present. See below, p. 176.

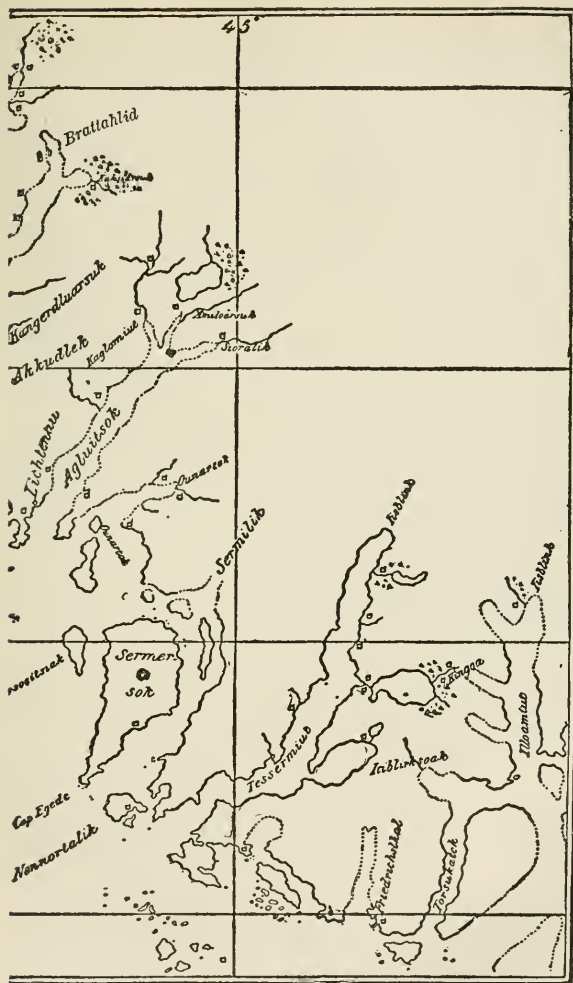
² The map is reduced from Rafn's *Antiquitates Americane*, tab. xv. The ruins dotted here and there upon it have been known

This colonization of Greenland by the Northmen in the tenth century is as well established as any event that occurred in the Middle Ages. For four hundred years the fortunes of the Greenland colony formed a part, albeit a very humble part, of European history. Geographically speaking, Greenland is reckoned as a part of America, of

ever since the last rediscovery of Greenland in 1721, but until after 1831 they were generally supposed to be the ruins of the West Bygd. After the fifteenth century, when the old colony had perished, and its existence had become a mere literary tradition, there grew up a notion that the names East Bygd and West Bygd indicated that the two settlements must have been respectively eastward and westward of Cape Farewell; and after 1721 much time was wasted in looking for vestiges of human habitations on the barren and ice-bound eastern coast. At length, in 1828-31, the exploring expedition sent out by the Danish government, under the very able and intelligent Captain Graah, demonstrated that both settlements were west of Cape Farewell, and that the ruins here indicated upon the map are the ruins of the East Bygd. It now became apparent that a certain description of Greenland by Ivar Bardsen — written in Greenland in the fourteenth century, and generally accessible to European scholars since the end of the sixteenth, but not held in much esteem before Captain Graah's expedition — was quite accurate and extremely valuable. From Bardsen's description, about which we shall have more to say hereafter, we can point out upon the map the ancient sites with much confidence. Of those mentioned in the present work, the bishop's church, or "cathedral" (a view of which is given below, p. 222), was at Kakortok. The village of Gardar, which gave its name to the bishopric, was at Kaksiarsuk, at the northeastern extremity of Igaliko fiord. Opposite Kaksiarsuk, on the western fork of the fiord, the reader will observe a ruined church; that marks the site of Brattahlid. The fiord of Igaliko was called by the Northmen Einarsfiord; and that of Tunndliorbik was their Ericsfiord. The monastery of St. Olaus, visited by Nicolò Zeno (see below, p. 240), is supposed by Mr. Major to have been situated near the Iisblink at the bottom of Tessernint fiord, between the east shore of the fiord and the small lake indicated on the map.



The East Bygd, or Eastern Settlement



of the Northmen in Greenland.

the western hemisphere, and not of the eastern. The Northmen who settled in Greenland had, therefore, in this sense found their way to America. Nevertheless one rightly feels that in the history of geographical discovery an arrival of Europeans in Greenland is equivalent merely to reaching the vestibule or ante-chamber of the western hemisphere. It is an affair begun and ended outside of the great world of the red men.

But the story does not end here. Into the world of the red men the voyagers from Iceland did assuredly come, as indeed, after once getting a foothold upon Greenland, they could hardly fail to do. Let us pursue the remainder of the story as we find it in our Icelandic sources of information, and afterwards it will be proper to inquire into the credibility of these sources.

One of the men who accompanied Eric to Greenland was named Herjulf, whose son Bjarni, after roving the seas for some years, came home to Iceland in 986 to drink the Yuletide ale with his father. Finding him gone, he weighed anchor and started after him to Greenland, but encountered foggy weather, and sailed on for many days by guess-work without seeing sun or stars. When at length he sighted land it was a shore without mountains, showing only small heights covered with dense woods. It was evidently not the land of fiords and glaciers for which Bjarni was looking. So without stopping to make explorations he turned his prow to the north and kept on. The sky was now fair, and after scudding nine or ten days with a brisk breeze

Voyage of
Bjarni Her-
julfson, 986.

astern, Bjarni saw the icy crags of Greenland looming up before him, and after some further searching found his way to his father's new home.¹ On the route he more than once sighted land on the larboard.

This adventure of Bjarni's seems not to have excited general curiosity or to have awakened speculation. Indeed, in the dense geographical ignorance of those times there is no reason why it should have done so. About 994 Bjarni was in Norway, and one or two people expressed some surprise that he did not take more pains to learn something about the country he had seen; but nothing came of such talk till it reached the ears of Leif, the famous son of Eric the Red. This wise and stately man² spent a year or two in Norway about 998. Roman missionary priests were then preaching up and down the land, and had converted the king, Olaf Trygvesson, great-grandson of Harold Fair-hair. Leif became a Christian and was baptised, and when he returned to Greenland he took priests with him who converted many people, though old Eric, it is said, preferred to go in the way of his fathers, and deemed boisterous Valhalla, with its cups of wassail, a place of better cheer than the New Jerusalem, with its streets of gold.

Conversion of
the Northmen
to Christian-
ity.

¹ In Herjulfstfiord, at the entrance to which the modern Friedrichsthal is situated. Across the fiord from Friedrichsthal a ruined church stands upon the cape formerly known as Herjulfstness. See map.

² "Leifr var mikill madhr ok sterkr, manna skörluigastr at sjá, vitr madhr ok góðhr hófsmadhr um alla hluti," i. e. "Leif was a large man and strong, of noble aspect, prudent and moderate in all things." Rafn, p. 33.

Leif's zeal for the conversion of his friends in Greenland did not so far occupy his mind as to prevent him from undertaking a voyage of discovery. His curiosity had been stimulated by what he had heard about Bjarni's experiences, and he made up his mind to go and see what the coasts to the south of Greenland were like. He sailed

Leif Ericson's voyage, 1000.

from Brattahlid — probably in the summer or early autumn of the year 1000¹ — with a crew of five and thirty men. Some distance to the southward they came upon a barren country covered with big flat stones, so that they called it Helluland, or “slate-land.”

Helluland.

There is little room for doubt that this was the coast opposite Greenland, either west or east of the strait of Belle Isle; in other words, it was either Labrador or the northern coast of Newfoundland. Thence, keeping generally to the southward, our explorers came after some days to a thickly wooded coast, where they landed and inspected the country. What chiefly impressed them was the extent of the forest, so that they called the place Markland, or “wood-land.” Some critics have supposed that this spot was somewhere upon the eastern or southern coast of Newfoundland, but the more general

Markland.

¹ The year seems to have been that in which Christianity was definitely established by law in Iceland, viz., A. D. 1000. The chronicle *Thattr Eireks Raudha* is careful about verifying its dates by checking one against another. See Rafn, p. 15. The most masterly work on the conversion of the Scandinavian people is Maurer's *Die Bekehrung des Norwegischen Stammes zum Christenthume*, Munich, 1855; for an account of the missionary work in Iceland and Greenland, see vol. i. pp. 191-242, 443-452.

opinion places it somewhere upon the coast of Cape Breton island or Nova Scotia. From this Markland our voyagers stood out to sea, and running briskly before a stiff northeaster it was more than two days before they came in sight of land. Then, after following the coast for a while, they went ashore at a place where a river, issuing from a lake, fell into the sea. They brought their ship up into the lake and cast anchor. The water abounded in excellent fish, and the country seemed so pleasant that Leif decided to pass the winter there, and accordingly his men put up some comfortable wooden huts or booths. One day one of the party, a "south country" man, whose name was Tyrker,¹ came in from a ramble in the neighbourhood making grimaces and talking to himself in his own language (probably German), which his comrades did not understand. On being interrogated as to the cause of his

Vinland.

¹ The name means "Turk," and has served as a touchstone for the dullness of commentators. To the Northmen a "Southman" would naturally be a German, and why should a German be called a Turk? or how should these Northmen happen to have had a Turk in their company? Mr. Laing suggests that he may have been a Magyar. Yes; or he may have visited the Eastern Empire and taken part in a fight *against* Turks, and so have got a soubriquet, just as Thorhall Gamlason, after returning from Vinland to Iceland, was ever afterward known as "the Vinlander." That did not mean that he was an American redskin. See below, p. 203. From Tyrker's grimaces one commentator sagely infers that he had been eating grapes and got drunk; and another (even Mr. Laing!) thinks it necessary to remind us that all the grape-juice in Vinland would not fuddle a man unless it had been fermented, — and then goes on to ascribe the absurdity to our innocent chronicle, instead of the stupid annotator. See *Heimskringla*, vol. i. p. 168.

excitement, he replied that he had discovered vines loaded with grapes, and was much pleased at the sight inasmuch as he had been brought up in a vine country. Wild grapes, indeed, abounded in this autumn season, and Leif accordingly called the country Vinland. The winter seems to have passed off very comfortably. Even the weather seemed mild to these visitors from high latitudes, and they did not fail to comment on the unusual length of the winter day. Their language on this point has been so construed as to make the length of the shortest winter day exactly nine hours, which would place their Vinland in about the latitude of Boston. But their expressions do not admit of any such precise construction; and when we remember that they had no accurate instruments for measuring time, and that a difference of about fourteen minutes between sunrise and sunset on the shortest winter day would make all the difference between Boston and Halifax, we see how idle it is to look for the requisite precision in narratives of this sort, and to treat them as one would treat the reports of a modern scientific exploring expedition.

In the spring of 1001 Leif returned to Greenland with a cargo of timber.¹ The voyage made much talk. Leif's brother Thorvald caught the

¹ On the homeward voyage he rescued some shipwrecked sailors near the coast of Greenland, and was thenceforward called Leif the Lucky (*et postea cognominatus est Leivus Fortunatus*). The pleasant reports from the newly found country gave it the name of "Vinland the Good." In the course of the winter following Leif's return his father died.

inspiration,¹ and, borrowing Leif's ship, sailed in 1002, and succeeded in finding Vinland and Leif's huts, where his men spent two winters. In the intervening summer they went on an exploring expedition along the coast, fell in with some savages in canoes, and got into a fight in which Thorvald was killed by an arrow. In the spring of 1004 the ship returned to Brattahlid. Next year the third brother, Thorstein Ericsson, set out in the same ship, with his wife Gudrid and a crew of thirty-five men; but they were sore bestead with foul weather, got nowhere, and accomplished nothing. Thorstein died on the voyage, and his widow returned to Greenland.

Voyages of
Thorvald and
Thorstein,
1002-05.

In the course of the next summer, 1006, there came to Brattahlid from Iceland a notable personage, a man of craft and resource, wealthy withal and well born, with the blood of many kinglets or jarls flowing in his veins. This man, Thorfinn Karlsefni, straightway fell in love with the young and beautiful widow Gudrid, and in the course of the winter there was a merry wedding at Brattahlid. Persuaded by his adventurous bride, whose spirit had been roused by the reports from Vinland and by her former unsuccessful attempt to find it, Thorfinn now undertook to visit that country in force sufficient for founding a colony there. Accordingly in the spring of 1007 he

Thorfinn
Karlsefni, and
his unsuccessful
attempt to
found a colony
in Vinland,
1007-10.

¹ "Jam crebri de Leivi in Vinlandiam profectioe sermones serebantur, Thorvaldus vero, frater ejus, nimis pauca terræ loca explorata fuisse judicavit." Rafn, p. 39.

started with three or four ships,¹ carrying one hundred and sixty men, several women, and quite a cargo of cattle. In the course of that year his son Snorro was born in Vinland,² and our chronicle tells us that this child was three years old before the disappointed company turned their backs upon that land of promise and were fain to make their way homeward to the fiords of Greenland. It was the hostility of the natives that compelled Thorfinn to abandon his enterprise. At first they traded with him, bartering valuable furs for little strips of scarlet cloth which they sought most eagerly; and they were as terribly frightened by his cattle as the Aztecs were in later days by the Spanish horses.³ The chance bellowing of a bull sent them squalling to the woods, and they did not show themselves again for three weeks. After a while quarrels arose, the natives attacked in

¹ Three is the number usually given, but at least four of their ships would be needed for so large a company; and besides Thorfinn himself, three other captains are mentioned, — Snorro Thorbrandsson, Bjarni Grimolfsson, and Thorhall Gamlason. The narrative gives a picturesque account of this Thorhall, who was a pagan and fond of deriding his comrades for their belief in the new-fangled Christian notions. He seems to have left his comrades and returned to Europe before they had abandoned their enterprise. A further reference to him will be made below, p. 203.

² To this boy Snorro many eminent men have traced their ancestry, — bishops, university professors, governors of Iceland, and ministers of state in Norway and Denmark. The learned antiquarian Finn Magnusson and the celebrated sculptor Thorwaldsen regarded themselves as thus descended from Thorfinn Karlsefni.

³ Compare the alarm of the Wampanoag Indians in 1603 at the sight of Martin Pring's mastiff. Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, iii. 174.

great numbers, many Northmen were killed, and in 1010 the survivors returned to Greenland with a cargo of timber and peltries. On the way thither the ships seem to have separated, and one of them, commanded by Bjarni Grimolfsson, found itself bored by worms (the *teredo*) and sank, with its commander and half the crew.¹

Among Karlsefni's companions on this memorable expedition was one Thorvard, with his wife Freydis, a natural daughter of Eric the Red. About the time of their return to Greenland in the summer of 1010, a ship arrived from Norway, commanded by two brothers, Helgi and Finnbogi.

¹ The fate of Bjarni was pathetic and noble. It was decided that as many as possible should save themselves in the stern boat. "Then Bjarni ordered that the men should go in the boat by lot, and not according to rank. As it would not hold all, they accepted the saying, and when the lots were drawn, the men went out of the ship into the boat. The lot was that Bjarni should go down from the ship to the boat with one half of the men. Then those to whom the lot fell went down from the ship to the boat. When they had come into the boat, a young Icelander, who was the companion of Bjarni, said: 'Now thus do you intend to leave me, Bjarni?' Bjarni replied, 'That now seems necessary.' He replied with these words: 'Thou art not true to the promise made when I left my father's house in Iceland.' Bjarni replied: 'In this thing I do not see any other way'; continuing, 'What course can you suggest?' He said: 'I see this, that we change places and thou come up here and I go down there.' Bjarni replied: 'Let it be so, since I see that you are so anxious to live, and are frightened by the prospect of death.' Then they changed places, and he descended into the boat with the men, and Bjarni went up into the ship. It is related that Bjarni and the sailors with him in the ship perished in the worm sea. Those who went in the boat went on their course until they came to land, where they told all these things." De Costa's version from *Saga Thorfinns Karlsefnis*, Rafn, pp. 184-186.

During the winter a new expedition was planned, and in the summer of 1011 two ships set sail for Vinland, one with Freydis, Thorvard, and a crew of 30 men, the other with Helgi and Finnbogi, and a crew of 35 men. There were also a number of women. The purpose was not to found a colony but to cut timber. The brothers arrived first at Leif's huts and had begun carrying in their provisions and tools, when Freydis, arriving soon afterward, ordered them off the premises. They had no right, she said, to occupy her brother's houses. So they went out and built other huts for their party a little farther from the shore. Before their business was accomplished "winter set in, and the brothers proposed to have some games for amusement to pass the time. So it was done for a time, till discord came among them, and the games were given up, and none went from one house to the other; and things went on so during a great part of the winter." At length came the catastrophe. Freydis one night complained to her husband that the brothers had given her evil words and struck her, and insisted that he should forthwith avenge the affront. Presently Thorvard, unable to bear her taunts, was aroused to a deed of blood. With his followers he made a night attack upon the huts of Helgi and Finnbogi, seized and bound all the occupants, and killed the men one after another in cold blood. Five women were left whom Thorvard would have spared; as none of his men would raise a hand against them, Freydis herself took an axe and brained them one and all. In the spring

Freydis, and
her evil deeds
in Vinland,
1011-12.

of 1012 the party sailed for Brattahlid in the ship of the murdered brothers, which was the larger and better of the two. Freydis pretended that they had exchanged ships and left the other party in Vinland. With gifts to her men, and dire threats for any who should dare tell what had been done, she hoped to keep them silent. Words were let drop, however, which came to Leif's ears, and led him to arrest three of the men and put them to the torture until they told the whole story. "‘I have not the heart,’ said Leif, ‘to treat my wicked sister as she deserves; but this I will foretell them [Freydis and Thorvard] that their posterity will never thrive.’ So it went that nobody thought anything of them save evil from that time.”

With this grewsome tale ends all account of Norse attempts at exploring or colonizing Vinland, though references to Vinland by no means end here.¹ Taking the narrative as a whole, it seems to me a sober, straightforward, and eminently probable story. We may not be able to say with confidence exactly where such places as Markland and Vinland were, but it is clear that the coasts visited on these southerly and southwesterly voyages from Brattahlid must have been parts of the coast of North America, unless the whole story is to be dismissed as a figment of somebody's imagination. But for a figment of the imagination, and of European

The whole story is eminently probable.

¹ The stories of Gudleif Gudlaugsson and Ari Marsson, with the fanciful speculations about "Hvitramannaland" and "Ireland it Mikla," do not seem worthy of notice in this connection. They may be found in De Costa, *op. cit.* pp. 159-177; and see Reeves, *The Finding of Wineland the Good*, chap. v.

imagination withal, it has far too many points of verisimilitude, as I shall presently show.

In the first place, it is an extremely probable story from the time that Eric once gets settled in Brattahlid. The founding of the Greenland colony is the only strange or improbable part of the narrative, but that is corroborated in so many other ways that we know it to be true; as already observed, no fact in mediæval history is better established. When I speak of the settlement of Greenland as strange, I do not mean that there is anything strange in the Northmen's accomplishing the voyage thither from Iceland. That island is nearer to Greenland than to Norway, and we know, moreover, that Norse sailors achieved more difficult things than penetrating the fiords of southern Greenland. Upon the island of Kingitorsook in Baffin's Bay ($72^{\circ} 55' N.$, $56^{\circ} 5' W.$)

Voyage into
Baffin's Bay,
1135.

near Upernavik, in a region supposed to have been unvisited by man before the modern age of Arctic exploration, there were found in 1824 some small artificial mounds with an inscription upon stone: — "Erling Sighvatson and Bjarni Thordharson and Eindrid Oddson raised these marks and cleared ground on Saturday before Ascension Week, 1135." That is to say, they took symbolic possession of the land.¹

In order to appreciate how such daring voyages were practicable, we must bear in mind that the Viking "ships" were probably stronger and more seaworthy, and certainly much swifter, than the Spanish vessels of the time of Columbus. One

¹ Laing, *Heimskringla*, i. 152.

was unearthed a few years ago at Sandefjord in Norway, and may be seen at the museum in Christiania. Its pagan owner had been buried in it, and his bones were found amidships, along with the bones of a dog and a peacock, a few iron fish-hooks and other articles. Bones of horses and dogs, probably sacrificed at the funeral according to the ancient Norse custom, lay scattered about. This craft has been so well described by Colonel Higginson,¹ that I may as well quote the passage in full:—

A Viking ship discovered at Sandefjord, in Norway.

She “was seventy-seven feet eleven inches at the greatest length, and sixteen feet eleven inches at the greatest width, and from the top of the keel to the gunwale amidships she was five feet nine inches deep. She had twenty ribs, and would draw less than four feet of water. She was clinker-built; that is, had plates slightly overlapped, like the shingles on the side of a house. The planks and timbers of the frame were fastened together with withes made of roots, but the oaken boards of the side were united by iron rivets firmly clinched. The bow and stern were similar in shape, and must have risen high out of water, but were so broken that it was impossible to tell how they originally ended. The keel was deep and made of thick oak beams, and there was no trace of any metallic sheathing; but an iron anchor was found almost rusted to pieces. There was no deck and the seats for rowers had been taken out. The oars were twenty feet long, and the oar-holes, sixteen on each side, had slits sloping towards the

Description of the ship.

¹ See his *Larger History of the United States*, pp. 32-34.

stern to allow the blades of the oars to be put through from inside. The most peculiar thing about the ship was the rudder, which was on the starboard or right side, this side being originally called 'steerboard' from this circumstance. The rudder was like a large oar, with long blade and short handle, and was attached, not to the side of the boat, but to the end of a conical piece of wood which projected almost a foot from the side of the vessel, and almost two feet from the stern. This piece of wood was bored down its length, and no doubt a rope passing through it secured the rudder to the ship's side. It was steered by a tiller attached to the handle, and perhaps also by a rope fastened to the blade. As a whole, this disinterred vessel proved to be anything but the rude and primitive craft which might have been expected; it was neatly built and well preserved, constructed on what a sailor would call beautiful lines, and eminently fitted for sea service. Many such vessels may be found depicted on the celebrated Bayeux tapestry; and the peculiar position of the rudder explains the treaty mentioned in the *Heimskringla*, giving to Norway all lands lying west of Scotland between which and the mainland a vessel could pass with her rudder shipped. . . . This was not one of the very largest ships, for some of them had thirty oars on each side, and vessels carrying from twenty to twenty-five were not uncommon. The largest of these were called Dragons, and other sizes were known as Serpents or Cranes. The ship itself was often so built as to represent the name it bore: the dragon, for instance, was a

long low vessel, with the gilded head of a dragon at the bow, and the gilded tail at the stern; the moving oars at the side might represent the legs of the imaginary creature, the row of shining red and white shields that were hung over the gunwale looked like the monster's scales, and the sails striped with red and blue might suggest his wings. The ship preserved at Christiania is described as having had but a single mast, set into a block of wood so large that it is said no such block could now be cut in Norway. Probably the sail was much like those still carried by large open boats in that country, — a single square on a mast forty feet long.¹ These masts have no standing rigging, and are taken down when not in use; and this was probably the practice of the Vikings.”

In such vessels, well stocked with food and weapons, the Northmen were accustomed to spend many weeks together on the sea, now and then touching land. In such vessels they made their way to Algiers and Constantinople, to the White Sea, to Baffin's Bay. It is not, therefore, their voyage to Greenland that seems strange, but it is their success in founding a colony which could last for more than four centuries in that inhospitable climate. The question is sometimes asked whether the climate of Greenland may not have undergone some change The climate of Greenland. within the last thousand years.² If there has been

¹ Perhaps it may have been a square-headed lug, like those of the Deal galley-punts; see Leslie's *Old Sea Wings, Ways, and Words, in the Days of Oak and Hemp*, London, 1890, p. 21.

² Some people must have queer notions about the lapse of past

any change, it must have been very slight; such as, perhaps, a small variation in the flow of ocean currents might occasion. I am inclined to believe that there may have been such a change, from the testimony of Ivar Bardsen, steward of the Gardar bishopric in the latter half of the fourteenth century, or about halfway between the time of Eric the Red and our own time. According to Bardsen there had long been a downward drifting of ice from the north and a consequent accumulation of bergs and floes upon the eastern coast of Greenland, insomuch that the customary route formerly followed by ships coming from Iceland was no longer safe, and a more southerly route had been generally adopted.¹ This slow southward extension of the polar ice-sheet upon the east of Greenland seems still to be going on at the present day.² It is therefore not at all improbable, but on the contrary quite probable, that a thousand years ago the mean annual temperature of the tip end of Greenland, at Cape Farewell, was a few degrees

time. I have more than once had this question put to me in such a way as to show that what the querist really had in mind was some vague impression of the time when oaks and chestnuts, vines and magnolias, grew luxuriantly over a great part of Greenland! But that was in the Miocene period, probably not less than a million years ago, and has no obvious bearing upon the deeds of Eric the Red.

¹ Bardsen, *Descriptio Grælandiæ*, appended to Major's *Voyages of the Venetian Brothers*, etc., pp. 40, 41; and see below, p. 242.

² Zahrtmann, *Journal of Royal Geographical Society*, London, 1836, vol. v. p. 102. On this general subject see J. D. Whitney, "The Climate Changes of Later Geological Times," in *Memoirs of the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy at Harvard College*, Cambridge, 1882, vol. vii. According to Professor Whitney there has also been a deterioration in the climate of Iceland.

higher than now.¹ But a slight difference of this sort might have an important bearing upon the fortunes of a colony planted there. For example, it would directly affect the extent of the hay crop. Grass grows very well now in the neighbourhood of Julianeshaab. In summer it is still a "green land," with good pasturage for cattle, but there is difficulty in getting hay enough to last through the nine months of winter. In 1855 "there were in Greenland 30 to 40 head of horned cattle, about 100 goats, and 20 sheep;" but in the ancient colony, with a population not exceeding 6,000 persons, "herds of cattle were kept which even yielded produce for exportation to Europe."² So strong a contrast seems to indicate a much more plentiful grass crop than to-day, although some hay might perhaps have been imported from Iceland in exchange for Greenland exports, which were chiefly whale oil, eider-down, and skins of seals, foxes, and white bears.

When once the Northmen had found their way to Cape Farewell, it would have been marvellous if such active sailors could long have avoided stumbling upon the continent of North America. Without compass or astrolabe these daring men were accustomed to traverse long stretches of open

¹ One must not too hastily infer that the mean temperature of points on the American coast south of Davis strait would be affected in the same way. The relation between the phenomena is not quite so simple. For example, a warm early spring on the coast of Greenland increases the discharge of icebergs from its fiords to wander down the Atlantic ocean; and this increase of floating ice tends to chill and dampen the summers at least as far south as Long Island, if not farther.

² Rink's *Danish Greenland*, pp. 27, 96, 97.

sea, trusting to the stars; and it needed only a stiff northeasterly breeze, with persistent clouds and fog, to land a westward bound "dragon" anywhere from Cape Race to Cape Cod. This is what appears to have happened to Bjarni Herjulfsson in 986, and something quite

With the Northmen once in Greenland, the discovery of the American continent was almost inevitable.

like it happened to Henry Hudson in 1609.¹ Curiosity is a motive quite sufficient to explain Leif's making the easy summer voyage to find out what sort of country Bjarni had seen. He found it thickly wooded, and as there was a dearth of good timber both in Greenland and in Iceland, it would naturally occur to Leif's friends that voyages for timber, to be used at home and also to be exported to Iceland, might turn out to be profit-

voyages for timber.

able.² As Laing says, "to go in quest of the wooded countries to the southwest, from whence driftwood came to their shores, was a reasonable, intelligible motive for making a voyage in search of the lands from whence it came, and where this valuable material could be got for nothing."³

If now we look at the details of the story we shall find many ear-marks of truth in it. We must not look for absolute accuracy in a narrative which—as we have it—is not the work of

¹ See Read's *Historical Inquiry concerning Henry Hudson*, Albany, 1866, p. 160.

² "Nú tekst umræðha at nýju um Vínlandsferdh, thviat sú ferdh thikir bædhi góðh til fjár ok virdhingar," i. e. "Now they began to talk again about a voyage to Vinland, for the voyage thither was both gainful and honourable." Rafn, p. 65.

³ *Heimskringla*, i. 168.

Leif or Thorfinn or any of their comrades, but of compilers or copyists, honest and careful as it seems to me, but liable to misplace details and to call by wrong names things which they had never seen. Starting with these modest expectations we shall find the points of verisimilitude numerous. To begin with the least significant, somewhere on our northeastern coast the voyagers found many foxes.¹ These animals, to be sure, are found in a great many countries, but the point for us is that in a southerly and southwesterly course from Cape Farewell these sailors are said to have found them. If our narrators had been drawing upon their imaginations or dealing with semi-mythical materials, they would as likely as not have lugged into the story elephants from Africa or hippogriffs from Dreamland; mediæval writers were blissfully ignorant of all canons of probability in such matters.² But our narrators simply mention an animal which has for ages abounded on our northeastern coasts. One such instance is enough to suggest that they were following reports or documents which emanated ultimately from eye-witnesses and told the plain truth. A dozen such instances, if not neutralized by counter-instances, are enough to make this view extremely probable; and then one or two instances

Ear-marks of truth in the narrative.

¹ "Fjöldi var þar melrakka," i. e. "ibi vulpium magnus numerus erat," Rafn, p. 138.

² It is extremely difficult for an impostor to concoct a narrative without making blunders that can easily be detected by a critical scholar. For example, the Book of Mormon, in the passage cited (see above, p. 3), in supremely blissful ignorance introduces oxen, sheep, and silk-worms, as well as the knowledge of smelting iron, into pre-Columbian America.

which could not have originated in the imagination of a European writer will suffice to prove it.

Let us observe, then, that on coming to Markland they "slew a bear;"¹ the river and lake (or bay) in Vinland abounded with salmon bigger than Leif's people had ever seen;² on the coast they caught halibut;³ they came to an island where there were so many eider ducks breeding that they could hardly avoid treading on their eggs;⁴ and, as already observed, it was because of the abundance of wild grapes that Leif named the southernmost country he visited Vinland.

¹ "Thar í drápu their einn björn," i. e. "in qua ursum interfecerunt," id. p. 138.

² "Hvorki skorti thar lax í ánni nè í vatninu, ok stærra lax enn their hefdhi fyrr sædh," i. e. "ibi neque in fluvio neque in lacu deerat salmonam copia, et quidem majoris corporis quam antea vidissent," id. p. 32.

³ "Helgír fiskar," i. e. "sacri pisces," id. p. 148. The Danish phrase is "helleflyndre," i. e. "holy flounder." The English *halibut* is *hali* = *holy* + *but* = *flounder*. This word *but* is classed as Middle English, but may still be heard in the north of England. The fish may have been so called "from being eaten particularly on holy days" (*Century Dict.* s. v.); or possibly from a pagan superstition that water abounding in flat fishes is especially safe for mariners (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* ix. 70); or possibly from some lost folk-tale about St. Peter (Maurer, *Isländische Volkssagen der Gegenwart*, Leipsic, 1860, p. 195).

⁴ "Svâ var niörg ædhr í eyggi, at varla mátti gánga fyrí eggjum," i. e. "tantus in insula anatum mollissimarum numerus erat, ut præ ovis transiri fere non posset," id. p. 141. Eider ducks breed on our northeastern coasts as far south as Portland, and are sometimes in winter seen as far south as Delaware. They also abound in Greenland and Iceland, and, as Wilson observes, "their nests are crowded so close together that a person can scarcely walk without treading on them. . . . The Icelanders have for ages known the value of eider down, and have done an extensive business in it." See Wilson's *American Ornithology*, vol. iii. p. 50.

From the profusion of grapes — such that the ship's stern boat is said on one occasion to have been filled with them¹ — we get a clue, though less decisive than could be wished, to the location of Vinland. The extreme northern limit of the vine in Canada is 47°, the parallel which cuts across the tops of Prince Edward and Cape Breton islands on the map.² Northern limit of the vine. Near this northern limit, however, wild grapes are by no means plenty; so that the coast upon which Leif wintered must apparently have been south of Cape Breton. Dr. Storm, who holds that Vinland was on the southern coast of Nova Scotia, has collected some interesting testimony as to the growth of wild grapes in that region, but on the whole the abundance of this fruit seems rather to point to the shores of Massachusetts Bay.³

We may now observe that, while it is idle to attempt to determine accurately the length of the winter day, as given in our chronicles, nevertheless since that length attracted Length of the winter day. the attention of the voyagers, as something re-

¹ { “Svâ er sagt at eptirbátr theirra var fylldr af vín-berjum.” } Rafn, p. 36.
berries.

² Storm, “Studies on the Vinland Voyages,” *Mémoires de la société royale des antiquaires du Nord*, Copenhagen, 1888, p. 351. The limit of the vine at this latitude is some distance inland; near the shore the limit is a little farther south, and in Newfoundland it does not grow at all. Id. p. 308.

³ The attempt of Dr. Kohl (*Maine Hist. Soc.*, New Series, vol. i.) to connect the voyage of Thorfinn with the coast of Maine seems to be successfully refuted by De Costa, *Northmen in Maine*, etc., Albany, 1870.

markable, it may fairly be supposed to indicate a latitude lower than they were accustomed to reach in their trading voyages in Europe. Such a latitude as that of Dublin, which lies opposite Labrador, would have presented no novelty to them, for voyages of Icelanders to their kinsmen in Dublin, and in Rouen as well, were common enough. Halifax lies about opposite Bordeaux, and Boston a little south of opposite Cape Finisterre, in Spain, so that either of these latitudes would satisfy the conditions of the case; either would show a longer winter day than Rouen, which was about the southern limit of ordinary trading voyages from Iceland. At all events, the length of day indicates for Vinland a latitude south of Cape Breton.

The next point to be observed is the mention of "self-sown wheat-fields."¹ This is not only an important ear-mark of truth in the narrative, but it helps us somewhat further in determining the position of Vinland. The "self-sown" cereal, which these Icelanders called "wheat," was in all probability what the English settlers six hundred years afterward called "corn," in each case applying to a new and nameless thing the most serviceable name at hand. In England "corn" means either wheat, barley, rye, and oats collectively, or more specifically wheat; in Scotland it generally means oats; in America it means maize, the "Indian corn," the cereal peculiar to the western hemisphere. The beautiful waving plant, with its exquisitely tasselled ears, which

¹ { "Sjálfsána hveitiakra" } Rafn, p. 147.
 { Self-sown wheat-acres }

was one of the first things to attract Champlain's attention, could not have escaped the notice of such keen observers as we are beginning to find Leif and Thorfinn to have been. A cereal like this, requiring so little cultivation that without much latitude of speech it might be described as growing wild, would be interesting to Europeans visiting the American coast; but it would hardly occur to European fancy to invent such a thing. The mention of it is therefore a very significant ear-mark of the truth of the narrative. As regards the position of Vinland, the presence of maize seems to indicate a somewhat lower latitude than Nova Scotia. Maize requires intensely hot summers, and even under the most careful European cultivation does not flourish north of the Alps. In the sixteenth century its northernmost limit on the American coast seems to have been at the mouth of the Kennebec (44°), though farther inland it was found by Cartier at Hochelaga, on the site of Montreal ($45^{\circ} 30'$). A presumption is thus raised in favour of the opinion that Vinland was not farther north than Massachusetts Bay.¹

This presumption is supported by what is said about the climate of Vinland, though it must be borne in mind that general statements about climate are apt to be very loose and misleading. We

¹ Dr. Storm makes perhaps too much of this presumption. He treats it as decisive against his own opinion that Vinland was the southern coast of Nova Scotia, and accordingly he tries to prove that the self-sown corn was not maize, but "wild rice" (*Zizania aquatica*). *Mémoires, etc.*, p. 356. But his argument is weakened by excess of ingenuity.

are told that it seemed to Leif's people that cattle would be able to pass the winter out of doors there, for there was no frost and the grass was not much withered.¹ On the other hand, Thorfinn's people found the winter severe, and suffered from cold and hunger.² Taken in connection with each other, these two statements would apply very well to-day to our variable winters on the coast southward from Cape Ann. The winter of 1889-90 in Cambridge, for example, might very naturally have been described by visitors from higher latitudes as a winter without frost and with grass scarcely withered. Indeed, we might have described it so ourselves. On Narragansett and Buzzard's bays such soft winter weather is still more common; north of Cape Ann it is much less common. The severe winter (*magna hiems*) is of course familiar enough anywhere along the northeastern coast of America.

On the whole, we may say with some confidence that the place described by our chroniclers as Vinland was situated somewhere between Point Judith and Cape Breton; possibly we may narrow our limits and say

Probable situation of Vinland.

¹ "Thar var svâ góðhr landskostr at thví er theim sýndist, at thar mundi eingi fènadhr fódhr thurfa á vetrum; thar kvomu eingi frost á vetrum, ok lítt rênudhu thar grös," i. e. "tanta autem erat terræ bonitas, ut inde intelligere esset, pecóra hieme pabulo non indigere posse, nullis incidentibus algoribus hiemalibus, et graminibus parum flaccescentibus." Rafn, p. 32.

² "Thar voru their um vetrinn; ok gjördhist vetr mikill, en ekki fyri unnit ok gjördhist illt til matarins, ok tókust af veiðhirnar," i. e. "hie hiemarunt; cum vero magna incideret hiems, nullumque provisum esset alimentum, cibus cœpit deficere capturaque cessabat." Id. p. 174.

that it was somewhere between Cape Cod and Cape Ann. But the latter conclusion is much less secure than the former. In such a case as this, the more we narrow our limits the greater our liability to error.¹ While by such narrowing, moreover, the question may acquire more interest as a bone of contention among local antiquarians, its value for the general historian is not increased.

But we have not yet done with the points of verisimilitude in our story. We have now to cite two or three details that are far more striking than any as yet mentioned, — details that could never have been conjured up by the fancy of any mediæval European. We must bear in mind that “savages,” whether true savages or people in the lower status of barbarism, were practically unknown to Europeans before the fifteenth century. There were no such people in Europe or in any part of Asia or Africa visited by Europeans before the great voyages of the Portuguese. Mediæval Europeans knew nothing whatever about people who would show surprise at the sight of an iron tool² or frantic terror at the

“Savages”
unknown to
mediæval
Europeans.

¹ A favourite method of determining the exact spots visited by the Northmen has been to compare their statements regarding the shape and trend of the coasts, their bays, headlands, etc., with various well-known points on the New England coast. It is a tempting method, but unfortunately treacherous, because the same general description will often apply well enough to several different places. It is like summer boarders in the country struggling to tell one another where they have been to drive, — past a school-house, down a steep hill, through some woods, and by a saw-mill, etc.

² It is not meant that stone implements did not continue to be used in some parts of Europe far into the Middle Ages. But

voice of a bull, or who would eagerly trade off valuable property for worthless trinkets. Their imagination might be up to inventing hobgoblins and people with heads under their shoulders,¹ but it was not up to inventing such simple touches of nature as these. Bearing this in mind, let us observe that Thorfinn found the natives of Vinland eager to give valuable furs² in exchange for

this was not because iron was not perfectly well known, but because in many backward regions it was difficult to obtain or to work, so that stone continued in use. As my friend, Mr. T. S. Perry, reminds me, Helbig says that stone-pointed spears were used by some of the English at the battle of Hastings, and stone battle-axes by some of the Scots under William Wallace at the end of the thirteenth century. *Die Italiker in der Poebene*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 42. Helbig's statement as to Hastings is confirmed by Freeman, *Norman Conquest of England*, vol. iii. p. 473.

¹ My use of the word "inventing" is, in this connection, a slip of the pen. Of course the tales of "men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders," the Sciopedæ, etc., as told by Sir John Mandeville, were not invented by the mediæval imagination, but copied from ancient authors. They may be found in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, lib. vii., and were mentioned before his time by Ktesias, as well as by Hecatæus, according to Stephanus of Byzantium. Cf. Aristophanes, *Aves*, 1553; Julius Solinus, *Polyhistor*, ed. Salmasius, cap. 240. Just as these sheets are going to press there comes to me Mr. Perry's acute and learned *History of Greek Literature*, New York, 1890, in which this subject is mentioned in connection with the mendacious and medical Ktesias: — These stories have probably acquired a literary currency "by exercise of the habit, not unknown even to students of science, of indiscriminate copying from one's predecessors, so that in reading Mandeville we have the ghosts of the lies of Ktesias, almost sanctified by the authority of Pliny, who quoted them and thereby made them a part of mediæval folk-lore — and from folk-lore, probably, they took their remote start" (p. 522).

² "En that var grávara ok safvali ok allskonar skinnavara" (Rafn, p. 59), — i. e. gray fur and sable and all sorts of skinwares; in another account, "skinnavörn ok algrá skinn," which in the Danish version is "skindvarer og ægte graaskind" (id.

little strips of scarlet cloth to bind about their heads. When the Northmen found the cloth growing scarce they cut it into extremely narrow strips, but the desire of the natives was so great that they would still give a whole skin for the smallest strip. They wanted also to buy weapons, but Thorfinn forbade his men to sell them. One of the natives picked up an iron hatchet and cut wood with it; one after another tried and admired it; at length one tried it on a stone and broke its edge, and then they scornfully threw it down.¹ One day while they were trading, Thorfinn's bull ran out before them and bellowed, whereupon the whole company was instantly scattered in headlong flight. After this, when threatened with an attack by the natives, Thorfinn drew up his men for a fight and put the bull in front, very much as Pyrrhus used elephants — at first with success — to frighten the Romans and their horses.²

The natives of
Vinland.

p. 150), — i. e. skinwares and genuine gray furs. Cartier in Canada and the Puritans in Massachusetts were not long in finding that the natives had good furs to sell.

¹ Rafn, p. 156.

² Much curious information respecting the use of elephants in war may be found in the learned work of the Chevalier Armandi, *Histoire militaire des éléphants*, Paris, 1843. As regards Thorfinn's bull, Mr. Laing makes the kind of blunder that our British cousins are sometimes known to make when they get the Rocky Mountains within sight of Bunker Hill monument. "A continental people in that part of America," says Mr. Laing, "could not be strangers to the much more formidable bison." *Heimskringla*, p. 169. Bisons on the Atlantic coast, Mr. Laing?! And then his comparison quite misses the point; a bison, if the natives had been familiar with him, would not have been at all formidable as compared to the bull which they had never before

These incidents are of surpassing interest, for they were attendant upon the first meeting (in all probability) that ever took place between civilized Europeans and any people below the upper status of barbarism.¹ Who were these natives encountered by Thorfinn? The Northmen called them "Skrælings," a name which one is at first sight strongly tempted to derive from the Icelandic verb *skrækja*, identical with the English *screech*. A crowd of excited Indians might most appropriately be termed Screechers.² This derivation, however, is not correct. The word *skræling* survives in modern Norwegian, and means a feeble or puny or *insignificant* person. Dr. Storm's suggestion is in all probability correct, that the name "Skrælings," as applied to the natives of America, had no ethnological significance, but simply meant "inferior people;" it gave concise expression to the white man's opinion that they were "a bad lot." In Icelandic literature the name is usually applied to the Eskimos, and hence it has been rashly inferred that Thorfinn found Eskimos in Vinland. Such was Rafn's opinion, and since his time the com-

Meaning of
the epithet
"Skrælings."

seen. A horse is much less formidable than a cougar, but Aztec warriors who did not mind a cougar were paralyzed with terror at the sight of men on horseback. It is the unknown that frightens in such cases. Thorfinn's natives were probably familiar with such large animals as moose and deer, but a deer is n't a bull.

¹ The Phœnicians, however (who in this connection may be classed with Europeans), must have met with some such people in the course of their voyages upon the coasts of Africa. I shall treat of this more fully below, p. 327.

² As for Indians, says Cieza de Leon, they are all noisy (*alharaquientos*). *Segunda Parte de la Crónica del Peru*, cap. xxiii.

mentators have gone off upon a wrong trail and much ingenuity has been wasted.¹ It would be well to remember, however, that the Europeans of the eleventh century were not ethnologists; in meeting these inferior peoples for the first time they were more likely to be impressed with the broad fact of their inferiority than to be nice in making distinctions. When we call both Australians and Fuegians "savages," we do not assert identity or relationship between them; and so when the Northmen called Eskimos and Indians by the same disparaging epithet, they doubtless simply meant to call them savages.

Our chronicle describes the Skrælings of Vinland as swarthy in hue, ferocious in aspect, with ugly hair, big eyes, and broad cheeks.² This will do very well for Indians, except as to the eyes. We are accustomed to think of Indian eyes as small; but in this connection it is worthy of note that a very keen

Personal
appearance of
the Skrælings.

¹ For example, Dr. De Costa refers to Dr. Abbott's discoveries as indicating "that the Indian was preceded by a people like the Eskimos, whose stone implements are found in the Trenton gravel." *Pre-Columbian Discovery*, p. 132. Quite so; but that was in the Glacial Period (!!), and when the edge of the ice-sheet slowly retreated northward, the Eskimo, who is emphatically an Arctic creature, doubtless retreated with it, just as he retreated from Europe. See above, p. 18. There is not the slightest reason for supposing that there were any Eskimos south of Labrador so lately as nine hundred years ago.

² "Their voru svartir menn ok illiligir, ok havdhu flt hár á höfðhi. Their voru mjök eygdliir ok breidhir í kinnum," i. e. "Hi homines erant nigri, truculenti specie, fœdam in capite comam habentes, oculis magnis et genis latis." Rafn, p. 149. The Icelandic *svartr* is more precisely rendered by the identical English *swarthy* than by the Latin *niger*.

observer, Marc Lescarbot, in his minute and elaborate description of the physical appearance of the Micmacs of Acadia, speaks with some emphasis of their large eyes.¹ Dr. Storm quite reasonably suggests that the Norse expression may refer to the size not of the eye-ball, but of the eye-socket, which in the Indian face is apt to be large; and very likely this is what the Frenchman also had in mind.

These Skrælings were clad in skins, and their weapons were bows and arrows, slings, and stone hatchets. In the latter we may now, I think, be allowed to recognize the familiar tomahawk; and when we read that, in a sharp fight with the natives, Thorbrand, son of the commander Snorro, was slain, and the woman Freydis afterward found his corpse in the woods, with a flat stone sticking in the head, and his naked sword lying on the ground beside him, we seem to see how it all happened.² We seem to see the stealthy Indian suddenly dealing the death-blow, and then obliged for his own safety to dart away among the trees without recovering his tomahawk or seizing the sword. The Skrælings came up the river or lake in a swarm of

The Skrælings of Vinland were Indians, — very likely Algonquins.

¹ “Mais quât à noz Sauvages, pour ce qui regarde les yeux ilz ne les ont ni bleuz, ni verds, mais noirs pour la pluspart, ainsi que les cheveux; & neantmoins ne sont petits, côme ceux des anciens Scythes, mais d’une grandeur bien agreable.” Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1612, tom. ii. p. 714.

² “Hún fann fyrir sèr mann daudhan, thar var Thorbrandr Snorrason, ok stóðh hellusteinn í höfdhi honum; sverðhit lá bert í hjá honum,” i. e. “Illa incidit in mortuum hominem, Thorbrandum Snorríi filium, cujus capiti lapis planus impactus stetit; nudus juxta eum gladius jacuit.” Rafn, p. 154.

canoes, all yelling at the top of their voices (*et illi omnes valde acutum ululabant*), and, leaping ashore, began a formidable attack with slings and arrows. The narrative calls these canoes "skin-boats" (*hudhkeipar*), whence it has been inferred that the writer had in mind the *kayaks* and *umiaks* of the Eskimos.¹ I suspect that the writer did have such boats in mind, and accordingly used a word not strictly accurate. Very likely his authorities failed to specify a distinction between bark-boats and skin-boats, and simply used the handiest word for designating canoes as contrasted with their own keeled boats.²

One other point which must be noticed here in connection with the *Skrælings* is a singular manœuvre which they are said to have practised in the course of the fight. They raised upon the end of a pole a big ball, not unlike a sheep's paunch, and of a bluish colour; this ball they swung from the pole over the heads of the white men, and it fell to the ground with a horrid noise.³ Now,

¹ These Eskimo skin-boats are described in Rink's *Danish Greenland*, pp. 113, 179.

² Cf. Storm, *op. cit.* pp. 366, 367.

³ "That sá their Karlsefni at *Skrælingar færðhu upp á stöng knött stundar mykinn thví nær til at jafna sem saudharvömb, ok helzt blán at lit, ok fleygdhu af stönginni upp á landit yfir lidh theirra Karlsefnis, ok lét illilega vidhr, thar sem nidhr kom. Vidh thetta sló ótta myklum á Karlsefni ok allt lidh hans, svâ at thá fýsti engis annars enn flýja, ok halda undan upp meðh ánni, thvíat theim thótti lidh *Skrælinga* drífa at sèr allum megin, ok létta eigi, fyrr enn their koma til hamra nokkurra, ok veittu thar vidhrtöku hardha," i. e. "Viderunt Karlsefniani quod *Skrælingi* longurio sustulerunt globum ingentem, ventri ovillo hand absimilem, colore fere cæruleo; hunc ex longurio in terram super manum Karlsefnianorum contorserunt, qui ut decidit, dirum so-*

according to Mr. Schoolcraft, this was a mode of fighting formerly common among the Algonquins, in New England and elsewhere. This big ball was what Mr. Schoolcraft calls the "balista," or what the Indians themselves call the "demon's head." It was a large round boulder, sewed up in a new skin and attached to a pole. As the skin dried it enwrapped the stone tightly; and then it was daubed with grotesque devices in various colours. "It was borne by several warriors who acted as balisteers. Plunged upon a boat or canoe, it was capable of sinking it. Brought down upon a group of men on a sudden, it produced consternation and death."¹ This is a most remarkable feature in the narrative, for it shows us the Icelandic writer (here manifestly controlled by some authoritative source of information) describing a very strange mode of fighting, which we know to have been characteristic of the Algonquins. Karlsefni's men do not seem to have relished this outlandish style of fighting; they retreated along the river bank until they came to a favourable situation among some rocks, where they made a stand and beat off their swarming assailants. The latter, as soon as they found themselves losing many warriors without gaining their point, suddenly

nuit. Hac re terrore percussus est Karlsefnius suique omnes, ut nihil aliud cuperent quam fugere et gradum referre sursum secundum fluvium: credebant enim se ab Skrælingis undique circumveniri. Hinc non gradum stitere, priusquam ad rupes quasdam pervenissent, ubi acriter resistebant." Rafn, p. 153.

¹ Schoolcraft, *Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge*, Philadelphia, 1860, 6 vols. 4to, vol. i. p. 89; a figure of this weapon is given in the same volume, plate xv. fig. 2, from a careful description by Chingwauk, an Algonquin chief.

turned and fled to their canoes, and paddled away with astonishing celerity. Throughout the account it seems to me perfectly clear that we are dealing with Indians.

The coexistence of so many unmistakable marks of truth in our narratives may fairly be said to amount to a demonstration that they must be derived, through some eminently trustworthy channel, from the statements of intelligent eye-witnesses who took part in the events related. Here and there, no doubt, we come upon some improbable incident or a touch of superstition, such as we need not go back to the eleventh century to find very common among sea-^{The uniped.}men's narratives; but the remarkable thing in the present case is that there are so few such features. One fabulous creature is mentioned. Thorfinn and his men saw from their vessel a glittering speck upon the shore at an opening in the woods. They hailed it, whereupon the creature proceeded to perform the quite human act of shooting an arrow, which killed the man at the helm. The narrator calls it a "uniped," or some sort of one-footed goblin,¹ but that is hardly reasonable, for after the shooting it went on to perform the further quite human and eminently Indian-like act of running away.² Evidently this discreet "uniped" was impressed with the desirableness of living to fight

¹ Rafn, p. 160; De Costa, p. 134; Storm, p. 330.

² Here the narrator seems determined to give us a genuine smack of the marvellous, for when the fleeing uniped comes to a place where his retreat seems cut off by an arm of the sea, he runs (glides, or hops?) across the water without sinking. In Vigfusson's version, however, the marvellous is eliminated, and

another day. In a narrative otherwise characterized by sobriety, such an instance of fancy, even supposing it to have come down from the original sources, counts for as much or as little as Henry Hudson's description of a mermaid.¹

It is now time for a few words upon the character of the records upon which our story is based. And first, let us remark upon a possible source of misapprehension due to the associations with which a certain Norse word has been clothed. The old Norse narrative-writings are called "sagas," a word which we are in the habit of using in English as equivalent to legendary or semi-mythical

Misleading
associations
with the word
"saga."

narratives. To cite a "saga" as authority for a statement seems, therefore, to some people as inadmissible as to cite a fairy-tale; and I cannot help suspecting that to some such misleading association of ideas is due the particular form of the opinion expressed some time ago by a committee of the Massachusetts Historical Society, — "that there is the same sort of reason for believing in the existence of Leif Ericsson that there is for believing in the existence of Agamemnon. They are both traditions

the creature simply runs over the stubble and disappears. The incident is evidently an instance where the narrative has been "embellished" by introducing a feature from ancient classical writers. The "Monocoli," or one-legged people, are mentioned by Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 2: "Item hominum genus qui Monocoli vocarentur, singulis cruribus, miræ pernicitatis ad saltum." Cf. Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticæ*, viii. 4.

¹ Between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla, June 15, 1608. For the description, with its droll details, see *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, iii. 575.

accepted by later writers, and there is no more reason for regarding as true the details related about the discoveries of the former than there is for accepting as historic truth the narrative contained in the Homeric poems." The report goes on to observe that "it is antecedently probable that the Northmen discovered America in the early part of the eleventh century; and this discovery is confirmed by the same sort of historical tradition, not strong enough to be called evidence, upon which our belief in many of the accepted facts of history rests."¹ The second of these statements is characterized by critical moderation, and expresses the inevitable and wholesome reaction against the rash enthusiasm of Professor Rafn half a century ago, and the vagaries of many an uninstructed or uncritical writer since his time. But the first statement is singularly unfortunate. It would be difficult to find a comparison more inappropriate than that between Agamemnon and Leif, between the Iliad and the Saga of Eric the Red. The story of the Trojan War and its heroes, as we have it in Homer and the Athenian dramatists, is pure folk-lore as regards form, and chiefly folk-lore as regards contents. It is in a high degree probable that this mass of folk-lore surrounds a kernel of plain fact, that in times long before the first Olympiad an actual "king of men" at Mycenæ conducted an expedition against the great city by the Simois, that the Agamemnon of the poet stands in some

Unfortunate
comparison
between Leif
Ericsson and
Agamemnon.

The story of
the Trojan
War, as we
have it, is
pure folk-lore.

¹ *Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc.*, December, 1887.

such relation toward this chieftain as that in which the Charlemagne of mediæval romance stands toward the mighty Emperor of the West.¹ Nevertheless the story, as we have it, is simply folk-lore. If the Iliad and Odyssey contain faint reminiscences of actual events, these events are so inextricably wrapped up with mythical phraseology that by no cunning of the scholar can they be construed into history. The motives and capabilities of the actors and the conditions under which they accomplish their destinies are such as exist only in fairy-tales. Their world is as remote from that in which we live as the world of Sindbad and Camaralzaman; and this is not essentially altered by the fact that Homer introduces us to definite localities and familiar customs as often as the Irish legends of Finn M'Cumhail.²

It would be hard to find anything more unlike such writings than the class of Icelandic sagas to which that of Eric the Red belongs. Here we have quiet and sober narrative, not in the least like a fairy-tale, but often much like a ship's log. Whatever such narrative may be, it is not folk-lore. In act and motive, in its conditions and laws, its world is the every-day world in which we live. If now and then a "unipled" happens to stray into it, the in-

The Saga of
Eric the Red is
not folk-lore.

¹ I used this argument twenty years ago in qualification of the over-zealous solarizing views of Sir G. W. Cox and others. See my *Myths and Mythmakers*, pp. 191-202; and cf. Freeman on "The Mythical and Romantic Elements in Early English History," in his *Historical Essays*, i. 1-39.

² Curtin, *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland*, pp. 12, 204, 303; Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*, pp. 203-311.

congruity is as conspicuous as in the case of Hudson's mermaid, or a ghost in a modern country inn; whereas in the Homeric fabric the supernatural is warp and woof. To assert a likeness between two kinds of literature so utterly different is to go very far astray.

As already observed, I suspect that misleading associations with the word "saga" may have exerted an unconscious influence in producing this particular kind of blunder, — for it is nothing less than a blunder. Resemblance is tacitly assumed between the Iliad and an Icelandic saga. Well, between the Iliad and *some* Icelandic sagas there is a real and strong resemblance. In truth these sagas are divisible into two well marked and sharply contrasted classes. In the one class belong the Eddic Lays, and the *mythical sagas*, such as the Volsunga, the stories of Ragnar, Frithiof, and others; and along with these, though totally different in source, we may for our present purpose group the *romantic sagas*, such as Parceval, Remund, Karlamagnus, and others brought from southern Europe. These are alike in being composed of legendary and mythical materials; they belong essentially to the literature of folk-lore. In the other class come the *historical sagas*, such as those of Njal and Egil, the Sturlunga, and many others, with the numerous biographies and annals.¹ These

Mythical and
historical
sagas.

¹ Nowhere can you find a more masterly critical account of Icelandic literature than in Vigfusson's "Prolegomena" to his edition of *Sturlunga Saga*, Oxford, 1878, vol. i. pp. ix.-ccxiv. There is a good but very brief account in Horn's *History of the*

writings give us history, and often very good history indeed. "Saga" meant simply any kind of literature in narrative form; the good people of Iceland did not happen to have such a handy word as "history," which they could keep entire when they meant it in sober earnest and chop down into "story" when they meant it otherwise. It is very much as if we were to apply the same word to the Arthur legends and to William of Malmesbury's judicious and accurate chronicles, and call them alike "stories."

The narrative upon which our account of the Vinland voyages is chiefly based belongs to the class of historical sagas. It is the Saga of Eric the Red, and it exists in two different versions, of which one seems to have been made in the north, the other in the west, of Iceland. The western version is the earlier and in some respects the better. It is found in two vellums, that of the great collection known as *Hauks-bók* (AM. 544), and that which is simply known as AM. 557 from its catalogue number in Arni Magnusson's collection. Of these the former, which is the best preserved, was written in a beautiful hand by Hauk Erlendsson, between 1305 and 1334, the year of his death. This western version is the one which has generally been printed under the title, "Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefni." It is the one to which I have most frequently referred in the present chapter.¹

Literature of the Scandinavian North, transl. by R. B. Anderson, Chicago, 1884, pp. 50-70.

¹ It is printed in Rafn, pp. 84-187, and in *Grönlands historiske*

The northern version is that which was made about the year 1387 by the priest Jón Thórdharson, and contained in the famous compilation known as the *Flateyar-bók*, or "Flat Island Book."¹ This priest was editing the saga of King Olaf Tryggvesson, which is contained in that compilation, and inasmuch as Leif Ericsson's presence at King Olaf's court was connected both with the introduction of Christianity into Greenland and with the discovery of Vinland, Jón paused, after the manner of mediæval chroniclers, and inserted then and there what he knew about Eric and Leif and Thiorfinn. In doing this, he used parts of the original saga of Eric the Red (as we find it reproduced in the western version), and added thereunto a considerable amount of material concerning the Vinland voyages derived from other sources. Jón's version thus made has generally been printed under the title, "Saga of Eric the Red."²

The northern
or Flateyar-
bók version.

Now the older version, written at the beginning of the fourteenth century, gives an account of things which happened three centuries before it was written. A cautious scholar will, as a rule, be slow to consider any historical narrative as quite

Mindesmærker, i. 352-443. The most essential part of it may now be found, under its own name, in Vigfusson's *Icelandic Prose Reader*, pp. 123-140.

¹ It belonged to a man who lived on Flat Island, in one of the Iceland fiords.

² It is printed in Rafn, pp. 1-76, under the title "Thættir af Eireki Rauda ok Grænlandíngum." For a critical account of these versions, see Storm, *op. cit.* pp. 319-325; I do not, in all respects, follow him in his depreciation of the Flateyar-bók version.

satisfactory authority, even when it contains no im-
 Probable statements, unless it is nearly
 Presumption against sources not contemporary. contemporary with the events which it
 records. Such was the rule laid down
 by the late Sir George Cornewall Lewis, and it
 is a very good rule; the proper application of it
 has disencumbered history of much rubbish. At
 the same time, like all rules, it should be used with
 judicious caution and not allowed to run away with
 us. As applied by Lewis to Roman history it
 would have swept away in one great cataclysm not
 only kings and decemvirs, but Brennus and his
 Gauls to boot, and left us with nothing to swear
 by until the invasion of Pyrrhus.¹ Subsequent re-
 search has shown that this was going altogether too
 far. The mere fact of distance in time between a
 document and the events which it records is only
 negative testimony against its value, for it may be
 a faithful transcript of some earlier document or
 documents since lost. It is so difficult to prove
 a negative that the mere lapse of time simply
 raises a presumption the weight of which should
 be estimated by a careful survey of all the prob-
 abilities in the case. Among the many Icelandic
 vellums that are known to have perished² there

¹ Lewis's *Inquiry into the Credibility of the Early Roman History*, 2 vols., London, 1855.

² And notably in that terrible fire of October, 1728, which consumed the University Library at Copenhagen, and broke the heart of the noble collector of manuscripts, Arni Magnusson. The great eruption of Hecla in 1390 overwhelmed two famous homesteads in the immediate neighbourhood. From the local history of these homesteads and their inmates, Vigfusson thinks it not unlikely that some records may still be there "awaiting the spade and pickaxe of a new Schliemann." *Sturlunga Saga*, p. cliv.

may well have been earlier copies of Eric the Red's Saga.

Hauk Erlendsson reckoned himself a direct descendant, in the eighth generation, from Snorro, son of Thorfinn and Gudrid, born in Vinland. He was an important personage in Iceland, a man of erudition, author of a brief book of contemporary annals and a treatise on arithmetic in which he introduced the Arabic numerals into Iceland. In those days the lover of books, if he would add them to his library, might now and then obtain an original manuscript, but usually he had to copy them or have them copied by hand. The Hauks-bók, with its 200 skins, one of the most extensive Icelandic vellums now in existence, is really Hauk's private library, or what there is left of it, and it shows that he was a man who knew how to make a good choice of books. He did a good deal of his copying himself, and also employed two clerks in the same kind of work.¹

Hauk Erlendsson and his manuscripts.

Now I do not suppose it will occur to any rational being to suggest that Hauk may have written down his version of Eric the Red's Saga from an oral tradition nearly three centuries old. The narrative could not have been so long preserved in its integrity, with so little extravagance of statement and so many marks of truthfulness in details foreign to ordinary Icelandic experience, if

¹ An excellent facsimile of Hauk's handwriting is given in Rafn, tab. iii., lower part; tab. iv. and the upper part of tab. iii. are in the hands of his two amanuenses. See Vigfusson, *op. cit.* p. clxi.

it had been entrusted to oral tradition alone. One might as well try to imagine Drake's "World Encompassed" handed down by oral tradition from the days of Queen Elizabeth to the days of Queen Victoria.

The story is not likely to have been preserved to Hauk's time by oral tradition only.

Such transmission is possible enough with heroic poems and folk-tales, which deal with a few dramatic situations and a stock of mythical conceptions familiar at every fireside; but in a simple matter-of-fact record of sailors' observations and experiences on a strange coast, oral tradition would not be long in distorting and jumbling the details into a result quite undecipherable. The story of the Zeno brothers, presently to be cited, shows what strange perversions occur, even in written tradition, when the copyist, instead of faithfully copying records of unfamiliar events, tries to edit and amend them. One cannot reasonably doubt that Hauk's vellum of Eric the Red's Saga, with its many ear-marks of truth above mentioned, was copied by him — and quite carefully and faithfully withal — from some older vellum not now forthcoming.

As we have no clue, however, beyond the internal evidence, to the age or character of the sources from which Hauk copied, there is nothing left for us to do but to look into other Icelandic documents, to see if anywhere they betray a knowledge of Vinland and the voyages thither. Incidental references to Vinland, in narratives concerned with other matters, are of great significance in this connection; for they imply on the part of the narrator a presumption that

Allusions to Vinland in other documents.

his readers understand such references, and that it is not necessary to interrupt his story in order to explain them. Such incidental references imply the existence, during the interval between the Vinland voyages and Hauk's manuscript, of many intermediate links of sound testimony that have since dropped out of sight; and therefore they go far toward removing whatever presumption may be alleged against Hauk's manuscript because of its distance from the events.

Now the Eyrbyggja Saga, written between 1230 and 1260, is largely devoted to the settlement of Iceland, and is full of valuable notices of the heathen institutions and customs of the tenth century. The Eyrbyggja, having occasion to speak of Thorbrand Snorrason, observes incidentally that he went from Greenland to Vinland with Karlsefni and was killed in a battle with the Skrælings.¹ We have already mentioned the death of this Thorbrand, and how Freydis found his body in the woods.

Three Icelandic tracts on geography, between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, mention Helluland and Vinland, and in two of these accounts Markland is interposed between Helluland and Vinland.² One of these tracts mentions the voyages of Leif and Thorfinn. It forms part of an essay called "Guide to the Holy Land," by Nik-

¹ Vigfusson, *Eyrbyggja Saga*, pp. 91, 92. Another of Karlsefni's comrades, Thorhall Gamlason, is mentioned in *Grettis Saga*, Copenhagen, 1859, pp. 22, 70; he went back to Iceland, settled on a farm there, and was known for the rest of his life as "the Vinlander." See above, pp. 165, 168.

² Werlauf, *Symbolæ ad Geogr. Mediæ Ævi*, Copenhagen, 1820.

ulas Sæmundsson, abbot of Thvera, in the north
 of Iceland, who died 1159. This Nik-
 The abbot
 Nikulas, etc. ulas was curious in matters of geogra-
 phy, and had travelled extensively.

With the celebrated Ari Thorgilsson, usually
 known as Fródhi, "the learned," we come to tes-
 timony nearly contemporaneous in time and ex-
 tremely valuable in character. This erudite priest,
 born in 1067, was the founder of historical writing
 in Iceland. He was the principal author of the
 "Landnáma-bók," already mentioned as a work
 of thorough and painstaking research
 Ari Fródhi. unequalled in mediæval literature. His
 other principal works were the "Konunga-bók,"
 or chronicle of the kings of Norway, and the
 "Islendinga-bók," or description of Iceland.¹ Ari's
 books, written not in monkish Latin, but in a good
 vigorous vernacular, were a mine of information
 from which all subsequent Icelandic historians
 were accustomed to draw such treasures as they
 needed. To his diligence and acumen they were
 all, from Snorro Sturlason down, very much in-
 debted. He may be said to have given the tone
 to history-writing in Iceland, and it was a high
 tone.

Unfortunately Ari's *Islendinga-bók* has per-
 ished. One cannot help suspecting that it may
 have contained the contemporary materials from
 which Eric the Red's Saga in the *Hauks-bók* was

¹ For a critical estimate of Ari's literary activity and the ex-
 tent of his work, the reader is referred to Möbius, *Ari's Isländer-
 buch*, Leipsic, 1869; Maurer, "Über Ari Thorgilsson und sein
 Isländerbuch," in *Germania*, xv.; Olsen, *Ari Thorgilsson hinn
 Fródhi*, Reykjavik, 1889, pp. 214-240.

ultimately drawn. For Ari made an abridgment or epitome of his great book, and this epitome, commonly known as "Libellus Islandorum," still survives. In it Ari makes brief mention of Greenland, and refers to his paternal uncle, Thorkell Gellison, as authority for his statements. This Thorkell Gellison, of Helgafell, a man of high consideration who flourished about the middle of the eleventh century, had visited Greenland and talked with one of the men who accompanied Eric when he went to settle in Brattahlid in 986. From this source Ari gives us the interesting information that Eric's party found in Greenland "traces of human habitations, fragments of boats, and stone implements; so from this one might conclude that people of the kind who inhabited Vinland and were known by the (Norse) Greenlanders as Skrælings must have roamed about there."¹ Observe the force of this allusion. The settlers in Greenland did not at first (nor for a long time) meet with barbarous or savage natives there, but only with the vestiges of their former presence. But when Ari wrote the above passage, the memory of Vinland and its fierce Skrælings was still fresh, and Ari very properly inferred from the archæological remains in

Ari's significant allusion to Vinland.

¹ Their "fundo thar manna vister bæthi austr ok vestr á landi ok kœiplabrot ok steinsmíthi, thar es af thví má seilja, at thar hafðhi thessonar thjóth farith es Vínland hefer bygt, ok Grænlandínger calla Skrælinga," i. e. "invenerunt ibi, tam in orientali quam occidentali terræ parte, humanæ habitationis vestigia, nauticalum fragmenta et opera fabrilis ex lapide, ex quo intelligi potest, ibi versatum esse nationem quæ Vinlandiam incoluit quamque Grænlandi Skrælingos appellant." Rafn, p. 207.

Greenland that a people similar (in point of barbarism) to the Skrælings must have been there. Unless Ari and his readers had a distinct recollection of the accounts of Vinland, such a reference would have been only an attempt to explain the less obscure by the more obscure. It is to be regretted that we have in this book no more allusions to Vinland; but if Ari could only leave us one such allusion, he surely could not have made that one more pointed.

But this is not quite the only reference that Ari makes to Vinland. There are three others that must in all probability be assigned to him. Two occur in the *Landnáma-bók*, the first in a passage where mention is made of Ari Marsson's voyage to a place in the western ocean near Vinland;¹ the only point in this allusion which need here concern us is that Vinland is tacitly assumed to be a known geographical situation to which others may be referred. The second reference occurs in one of those elaborate and minutely specific genealogies in the *Landnáma-bók*: "Their son was Thordhr Hest-höfdhi, father of Karlsefni, who found Vinland the Good, Snorri's father," etc.² The third reference occurs in the *Kristni Saga*, a kind of supplement to the *Landnáma-bók*, giving an account of the introduction of Christianity into Iceland; here it is related how Leif Ericsson came to be called "Leif the Lucky," 1. from having rescued a shipwrecked crew off the coast of Greenland, 2. from having

Other refer-
ences.

¹ *Landnáma-bók*, part ii. chap. xxii.

² *Id.* part iii. chap. x.

discovered "Vinland the Good."¹ From these brief allusions, and from the general relation in which Ari Fróðhi stood to later writers, I suspect that if the greater *Islendinga-bók* had survived to our time we should have found in it more about Vinland and its discoverers. At any rate, as to the existence of a definite and continuous tradition all the way from Ari down to Hauk Erlendsson, there can be no question whatever.²

¹ *Kristni Saga*, apud *Biskupa Sögur*, Copenhagen, 1858, vol. i. p. 20.

² Indeed, the parallel existence of the *Flateyar-bók* version of Eric the Red's Saga, alongside of the *Hauks-bók* version, is pretty good proof of the existence of a written account older than Hauk's time. The discrepancies between the two versions are such as to show that Jón Thordharson did not copy from Hauk, but followed some other version not now forthcoming. Jón mentions six voyages in connection with Vinland: 1. Bjarni Herjulfsson; 2. Leif; 3. Thorvald; 4. Thorstein and Gudrid; 5. Thorfinn Karlsefni; 6. Freydis. Hauk, on the other hand, mentions only the two principal voyages, those of Leif and Thorfinn; ignoring Bjarni, he accredits his adventures to Leif on his return voyage from Norway in 999, and he makes Thorvald a comrade of Thorfinn, and mixes his adventures with the events of Thorfinn's voyage. Dr. Storm considers Hauk's account intrinsically the more probable, and thinks that in the *Flateyar-bók* we have a later amplification of the tradition. But while I agree with Dr. Storm as to the general superiority of the Hauk version, I am not convinced by his arguments on this point. It seems to me likely that the *Flateyar-bók* here preserves more faithfully the details of an older tradition too summarily epitomized in the *Hauks-bók*. As the point in no way affects the general conclusions of the present chapter, it is hardly worth arguing here. The main thing for us is that the divergencies between the two versions, when coupled with their agreement in the most important features, indicate that both writers were working upon the basis of an antecedent written tradition, like the authors of the first and third synoptic gospels. Only here, of course, there are in the divergencies no symptoms of what the Tübingen school would call "*tendenz*," impairing and obscuring to an indeterminate extent the general

The testimony of Adam of Bremen brings us yet one generation nearer to the Vinland voyages, and is very significant. Adam was much interested in the missionary work in the north of Europe, and in 1073, the same year that Hildebrand was elected to the papacy, he published his famous "Historia Ecclesiastica," in which he gave an account of the conversion of the northern nations from the time of Leo III. to that of Hildebrand's predecessor. In prosecuting his studies, Adam made a visit to the court of Swend Estridhsen, king of Denmark, nephew of Cnut the Great, king of Denmark and England. Swend's reign began in 1047, so that Adam's visit must have occurred between that date and 1073. The voyage of Leif and Thorfinn would at that time have been within the memory of living men, and would be likely to be known in Denmark, because the intercourse between the several parts of the Scandinavian world was incessant; there was continual coming and going. Adam learned what he could of Scandinavian geography, and when he published his history, he did just what a modern writer would do under similar circumstances; he appended to his book some notes on the geography of those remote countries, then so little known to his readers in central and southern Europe. After giving some account of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, he describes the colony in Iceland, and

trustworthiness of the narratives. On the whole, it is pretty clear that Hauks-bók and Flateyar-bók were independent of each other, and collated, each in its own way, earlier documents that have probably since perished.

then the further colony in Greenland, and concludes by saying that out in that ocean there is another country, or island, which has been visited by many persons, and is called Vinland because of wild grapes that grow there, out of which a very good wine can be made. Either rumour had exaggerated the virtues of fox-grape juice, or the Northmen were not such good judges of wine as of ale. Adam goes on to say that corn, likewise, grows in Vinland without cultivation; and as such a statement to European readers must needs have a smack of falsehood, he adds that it is based not upon fable and guess-work, but upon "trustworthy reports (*certa relatione*) of the Danes."

Scanty as it is, this single item of strictly contemporary testimony is very important, because quite incidentally it gives to the later accounts such confirmation as to show that they rest upon a solid basis of continuous tradition and not upon mere unintelligent hearsay.¹ The unvarying character of the tradition, in its essential details, indicates that it must have been committed to writing at a very early period, probably not later than the time of Ari's uncle Thorkell, who was contemporary with Adam of Bremen. If, however, we read the

¹ It is further interesting as the only undoubted reference to Vinland in a mediæval book written beyond the limits of the Scandinavian world. There is also, however, a passage in Ordericus Vitalis (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, iv. 29), in which *Finland* and the Orkneys, along with Greenland and Iceland, are loosely described as forming part of the dominions of the kings of Norway. This Finland does not appear to refer to the country of the Finns, east of the Baltic, and it has been supposed that it may have been meant for Vinland. The book of Ordericus was written about 1140.

whole passage in which Adam's mention of Vinland occurs, it is clear from the context that his own information was not derived from an inspection of Icelandic documents. He got it, as he tells us, by talking with King Swend; and all that he got, or all that he thought worth telling, was this curious fact about vines and self-sown corn growing so near to Greenland; for Adam quite misconceived the situation of Vinland, and imagined it far up in the frozen North. After his mention of Vinland, the continental character of which he evidently did not suspect, he goes on immediately to say, "After this island nothing inhabitable is to be found in that ocean, all being covered with unendurable ice and boundless darkness." That most accomplished king, Harold Hardrada, says Adam, tried not long since to ascertain how far the northern ocean extended, and plunged along through this darkness until he actually reached the end of the world, and came near tumbling off! ¹ Thus the worthy Adam,

Adam's misconception of the situation.

¹ The passage from Adam of Bremen deserves to be quoted in full: "Præterea unam adhuc insulam [regionam] recitavit [i. e. Svendus rex] a multis in eo repertam oceano, quæ dicitur Vinland, eo quod ibi vites sponte nascantur, vinum bonum gerentes [ferentes]; nam et fruges ibi non seminatas abundare, non fabulosa opinione, sed certa comperimus relatione Danorum. Postquam insulam terra nulla invenitur habitabilis in illo oceano, sed omnia quæ ultra sunt glacie intolerabili ac caligine immensa plena sunt; cujus rei Marcianus ita meminit: ultra Thyle, inquit, navigare unius diei mare concretum est. Tentavit hoc nuper experientissimus Nordmannorum princeps Haroldus, qui latitudinem septentrionalis oceani perscrutatus navibus, tandem caligantibus ante ora deficientis mundi finibus, immane abyssi baratrum, retroactis vestigiis, vix salvus evasit." *Descriptio insularum aquilonis*, cap. 38, apud *Hist. Ecclesiastica*, iv. ed. Lin-

while telling the truth about fox-grapes and maize as well as he knew how, spoiled the effect of his story by putting Vinland in the Arctic regions. The juxtaposition of icebergs and vines was a little too close even for the mediæval mind so hospitable to strange yarns. Adam's readers generally disbelieved the "trustworthy reports of the Danes," and when they thought of Vinland at all, doubtless thought of it as somewhere near the North Pole.¹ We shall do well to bear this in mind when we come to consider the possibility of Columbus having obtained from Adam of Bremen any hint in the least likely to be of use in his own enterprise.²

To sum up the argument:— we have in Eric the Red's Saga, as copied by Hauk Erlends-
son, a document for the existence of Summary of the argument.
which we are required to account. That document

denbrog, Leyden, 1595. No such voyage is known to have been undertaken by Harold of Norway, nor is it likely. Adam was probably thinking of an Arctic voyage undertaken by one Thorir under the auspices of King Harold; one of the company brought back a polar bear and gave it to King Swend, who was much pleased with it. See Rafu, 339. "Regionam" and "ferentes" in the above extract are variant readings found in some editions.

¹ "Det har imidlertid ikke forhindret de senere forfattere, der benyttede Adam, fra at blive mistænksomme, og saalænge Adams beretning stod alene, har man i regelen vægret sig for at tro den. Endog den norske forfatter, der skrev 'Historia Norvegiæ' og som foruden Adam vel ogsaa har kjendt de hjemlige sagn om Vinland, maa have anseet beretningen for fabelagtig og derfor forbigaaet den; han kjendte altfor godt Grønland som et nordligt isfyldt Polarland til at ville tro paa, at i nærheden fandtes et Vinland." Storm, in *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, etc., Copenhagen, 1887, p. 300.

² See below, p. 386.

contains unmistakable knowledge of some things which mediæval Europeans could by no human possibility have learned, except through a visit to some part of the coast of North America further south than Labrador or Newfoundland. It tells an eminently probable story in a simple, straightforward way, agreeing in its details with what we know of the North American coast between Point Judith and Cape Breton. Its general accuracy in the statement and grouping of so many remote details is proof that its statements were controlled by an exceedingly strong and steady tradition, — altogether too strong and steady, in my opinion, to have been maintained simply by word of mouth. These Icelanders were people so much given to writing that their historic records during the Middle Ages were, as the late Sir Richard Burton truly observed, more complete than those of any other country in Europe.¹ It is probable that the facts mentioned in Hauk's document rested upon some kind of a written basis as early as the eleventh century; and it seems quite clear that the constant tradition, by which all the allusions to Vinland and the Skrælings are controlled, had become established by that time. The data are more scanty than we could wish, but they all point in the same direction as surely as straws blown by a steady wind, and their cumulative force is so great as to fall but little short of demonstration. For these reasons it seems to me that the Saga of Eric the Red should be accepted as history; and there is another reason which might not have counted

¹ Burton, *Ultima Thule*, London, 1875, i. 237.

for much at the beginning of this discussion, but at the end seems quite solid and worthy of respect. The narrative begins with the colonization of Greenland and goes on with the visits to Vinland. It is unquestionably sound history for the first part; why should it be anything else for the second part? What shall be said of a style of criticism which, in dealing with one and the same document, arbitrarily cuts it in two in the middle and calls the first half history and the last half legend? which accepts its statements as serious so long as they keep to the north of the sixtieth parallel, and dismisses them as idle as soon as they pass to the south of it? Quite contrary to common sense, I should say.

The only discredit which has been thrown upon the story of the Vinland voyages, in the eyes either of scholars or of the general public, has arisen from the eager credulity with which ingenious antiquarians have now and then tried to prove more than facts will warrant. It is peculiarly a case in which the judicious historian has had frequent occasion to exclaim, Save me from my friends! The only fit criticism upon the wonderful argument from the Dighton inscription is a reference to the equally wonderful discovery made by Mr. Pickwick at Cobham;¹ and when it was attempted,

Absurd speculations of zealous antiquarians.

¹ See *Pickwick Papers*, chap. xi. I am indebted to Mr. Tiltinghast, of Harvard University Library, for calling my attention to a letter from Rev. John Lathrop, of Boston, to Hon. John Davis, August 10, 1809, containing George Washington's opinion of the Dighton inscription. When President Washington visited

some sixty years ago, to prove that Governor

Cambridge in the fall of 1789, he was shown about the college buildings by the president and fellows of the university. While in the museum he was observed to "fix his eye" upon a full-size copy of the Dighton inscription made by the librarian, James Winthrop. Dr. Lathrop, who happened to be standing near Washington, "ventured to give the opinion which several learned men had entertained with respect to the origin of the inscription." Inasmuch as some of the characters were thought to resemble "oriental" characters, and inasmuch as the ancient Phœnicians had sailed outside of the Pillars of Hercules, it was "conjectured" that some Phœnician vessels had sailed into Narragansett bay and up the Taunton river. "While detained by winds, or other causes now unknown, the people, it has been conjectured, made the inscription, now to be seen on the face of the rock, and which we may suppose to be a record of their fortunes or of their fate."

"After I had given the above account, the President smiled and said he believed the learned gentlemen whom I had mentioned were mistaken; and added that in the younger part of his life his business called him to be very much in the wilderness of Virginia, which gave him an opportunity to become acquainted with many of the customs and practices of the Indians. The Indians, he said, had a way of writing and recording their transactions, either in war or hunting. When they wished to make any such record, or leave an account of their exploits to any who might come after them, they scraped off the outer bark of a tree, and with a vegetable ink, or a little paint which they carried with them, on the smooth surface they wrote in a way that was generally understood by the people of their respective tribes. As he had so often examined the rude way of writing practised by the Indians of Virginia, and observed many of the characters on the inscription then before him so nearly resembled the characters used by the Indians, he had no doubt the inscription was made long ago by some natives of America." *Proceedings of Massachusetts Historical Society*, vol. x. p. 115. This pleasant anecdote shows in a new light Washington's accuracy of observation and unflinching common-sense. Such inscriptions have been found by the thousand, scattered over all parts of the United States; for a learned study of them see Garrick Mallery, "Pictographs of the North American Indians," *Reports of Bureau of Ethnology*, iv. 13-256. "The voluminous discussion upon the

Arnold's old stone windmill at Newport¹ was a tower built by the Northmen, no wonder if the exposure of this rather laughable notion should have led many people to suppose that the story of Leif and Thorfinn had thereby been deprived of some part of its support. But the story never rested upon any such evidence, and does not call for evidence of such sort. There is nothing in the story to indicate that the Northmen ever founded

Dighton rock inscription," says Colonel Mallery, "renders it impossible wholly to neglect it. . . . It is merely a type of Algonquin rock-carving, not so interesting as many others. . . . It is of purely Indian origin, and is executed in the peculiar symbolic character of the Kekeewin," p. 20. The characters observed by Washington in the Virginia forests would very probably have been of the same type. Judge Davis, to whom Dr. Lathrop's letter was addressed, published in 1809 a paper maintaining the Indian origin of the Dighton inscription.

A popular error, once started on its career, is as hard to kill as a cat. Otherwise it would be surprising to find, in so meritorious a book as Oscar Peschel's *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, Stuttgart, 1877, p. 82, an unsuspecting reliance upon Rafn's ridiculous interpretation of this Algonquin pictograph. In an American writer as well equipped as Peschel, this particular kind of blunder would of course be impossible; and one is reminded of Humboldt's remark, "Il est des recherches qui ne peuvent s'exécuter que près des sources mêmes." *Examen critique*, etc., tom. ii. p. 102.

In old times, I may add, such vagaries were usually saddled upon the Phœnicians, until since Rafn's time the Northmen have taken their place as the pack-horses for all sorts of antiquarian "conjecture."

¹ See Palfrey's *History of New England*, vol. i. pp. 57-59; Mason's *Reminiscences of Newport*, pp. 392-407. Laing (*Heimskringla*, pp. 182-185) thinks the Yankees must have intended to fool Professor Rafn and the Royal Society of Antiquaries at Copenhagen; "Those sly rogues of Americans," says he, "dearly love a quiet hoax;" and he can almost hear them chuckling over their joke in their club-room at Newport. I am afraid these Yankees were less rogues and more fools than Mr. Laing makes out.

a colony in Vinland, or built durable buildings there. The distinction implicitly drawn by Adam of Bremen, who narrates the colonization of Iceland and Greenland, and then goes on to speak of Vinland, not as colonized, but simply as discovered, is a distinction amply borne out by our chronicles. Nowhere is there the slightest hint of a colony or settlement established in Vinland. On the contrary, our plain, business-like narrative tells us that Thorfinn Karlsefni tried to found a colony and failed; and it tells us why he failed. The Indians were too many for him. The Northmen of the eleventh century, without firearms, were in much less favourable condition for withstanding the Indians than the Englishmen of the seventeenth; and at the former period there existed no cause for emigration from Norway and Iceland at all comparable to the economic, political, and religious circumstances which, in a later age, sent thousands of Englishmen to Virginia and New England. The founding of colonies in America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was no pastime; it was a tale of drudgery, starvation, and bloodshed, that curdles one's blood to read; more attempts failed than succeeded. Assuredly Thorfinn gave proof of the good sense ascribed to him when he turned his back upon Vinland. But if he or any other Northman had ever succeeded in establishing a colony there, can anybody explain why it should not have stamped the fact of its existence either upon the soil, or upon history, or both, as unmistakably as the colony of Green-

There is no reason for supposing that the Northmen founded a colony in Vinland.

land? Archæological remains of the Northmen abound in Greenland, all the way from Immartinek to near Cape Farewell; the existence of one such relic on the North American continent has never yet been proved. Not a single vestige of the Northmen's presence here, at all worthy of credence, has ever been found. The writers who have, from time to time, mistaken other things for such vestiges, have been led astray because they have failed to distinguish between the different conditions of proof in Greenland and in Vinland. As Mr. Laing forcibly put the case, nearly half a century ago, "Greenland was a colony with communications, trade, civil and ecclesiastical establishments, and a considerable population," for more than four centuries. "Vinland was only visited by flying parties of woodcutters, remaining at the utmost two or three winters, but never settling there permanently. . . . To expect here, as in Greenland, material proofs to corroborate the documentary proofs, is weakening the latter by linking them to a sort of evidence which, from the very nature of the case, — the temporary visits of a ship's crew, — cannot exist in Vinland, and, as in the case of Greenland, come in to support them."¹

No archæological remains of the Northmen have been found south of Davis strait.

The most convincing proof that the Northmen never founded a colony in America, south of Davis strait, is furnished by the total absence of horses, cattle, and other domestic animals from the soil of North America until they were brought hither by the Spanish, French, and English set-

¹ Laing, *Heimskringla*, vol. i. p. 181.

tlers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

If the Northmen had founded a successful colony, they would have introduced domestic cattle into the North American fauna ;

If the Northmen had ever settled in Vinland, they would have brought cattle with them, and if their colony had been successful, it would have introduced such cattle permanently into the fauna of the country. Indeed, our narrative tells us that Karlsefni's people "had with them all kinds of cattle, having the intention to settle in the land if they could."¹ Naturally the two things are coupled in the narrator's mind. So the Portuguese carried livestock in their earliest expeditions to the Atlantic islands;² Columbus brought horses and cows, with vines and all kinds of grain, on his second voyage to the West Indies;³ when the French, under Baron L ry, made a disastrous attempt to found a colony on or about Cape Breton in 1518, they left behind them, upon Sable island, a goodly stock of cows and pigs, which thrived and multiplied long after their owners had gone;⁴ the Pilgrims at Plymouth had cattle, goats, and swine as early as 1623.⁵ In fact, it would be difficult to imagine a

¹ "Their h f dhu meðh s r allskonar f nadh, thv at their  tld dhu at byggja landit, ef their m etti that," i. e., "illi omne pecudum genus secum habuerunt, nam terram, si liceret, coloniis frequentare cogitarunt." Rafn, p. 57.

² Major, *Prince Henry the Navigator*, p. 241.

³ Irving's *Life of Columbus*, New York, 1828, vol. i. p. 293.

⁴ *Histoire chronologique de la Nouvelle France*, pp. 40, 58; this work, written in 1689 by the Recollet friar Sixte le Tac, has at length been published (Paris, 1888) with notes and other original documents by Eug ne R veillaud. See, also, L et, *Novus Orbis*, 39.

⁵ John Smith, *Generall Historie*, 247.

community of Europeans subsisting anywhere for any length of time without domestic animals. We have seen that the Northmen took pains to raise cattle in Greenland, and were quick to comment upon the climate of Vinland as favourable for pasturage. To suppose that these men ever founded a colony in North America, but did not bring domestic animals thither, would be absurd. But it would be scarcely less absurd to suppose that such animals, having been once fairly introduced into the fauna of North America, would afterward have vanished without leaving a vestige of their presence. As for the few cattle for which Thorfinn could find room in his three or four dragon-ships, we may easily believe that his people ate them up before leaving the country, especially since we are told they were threatened with famine. But that domestic cattle, after being supported on American soil during the length of time involved in the establishment of a successful colony (say, for fifty or a hundred years), should have disappeared without leaving abundant traces of themselves, is simply incredible. Horses and kine are not dependent upon man for their existence; when left to themselves, in almost any part of the world, they run wild and flourish in what naturalists call a "feral" state. Thus we find feral horned cattle in the Falkland and in the Ladrone islands, as well as in the ancient Chillingham Park, in Northumberland; we find feral pigs in Jamaica; feral European dogs in La Plata; feral horses in Turkestan, and also in Mexico, descended from Spanish

and such animals could not have vanished and left no trace of their existence.

horses.¹ If the Northmen had ever founded a colony in Vinland, how did it happen that the English and French in the seventeenth century, and from that day to this, have never set eyes upon a wild horse, or wild cattle, pigs, or hounds, or any such indication whatever of the former presence of civilized Europeans? I do not recollect ever seeing this argument used before, but it seems to me conclusive. It raises against the hypothesis of a Norse colonization in Vinland a presumption extremely difficult if not impossible to overcome.²

¹ Darwin, *Animals and Plants under Domestication*, London, 1868, vol. i. pp. 27, 77, 84.

² The views of Professor Horsford as to the geographical situation of Vinland and its supposed colonization by Northmen are set forth in his four monographs, *Discovery of America by Northmen—address at the unveiling of the statue of Leif Eriksen*, etc., Boston, 1888; *The Problem of the Northmen*, Cambridge, 1889; *The Discovery of the Ancient City of Norumbega*, Boston, 1890; *The Defences of Norumbega*, Boston, 1891. Among Professor Horsford's conclusions the two principal are: 1. that the "river flowing through a lake into the sea" (Rafn, p. 147) is Charles river, and that Leif's booths were erected near the site of the present Cambridge hospital; 2. that "Norumbega"—a word loosely applied by some early explorers to some region or regions somewhere between the New Jersey coast and the Bay of Fundy—was the Indian utterance of "Norbega" or "Norway;" and that certain stone walls and dams at and near Watertown are vestiges of an ancient "city of Norumbega," which was founded and peopled by Northmen and carried on a more or less extensive trade with Europe for more than three centuries.

With regard to the first of these conclusions, it is perhaps as likely that Leif's booths were within the present limits of Cambridge as in any of the numerous places which different writers have confidently assigned for them, all the way from Point Judith to Cape Breton. A judicious scholar will object not so much to the conclusion as to the character of the arguments by which it is reached. Too much weight is attached to hypothetical etymologies.

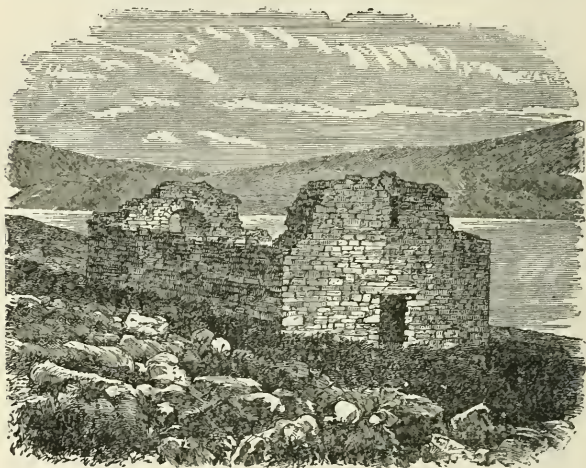
As for the colony in Greenland, while its population seems never to have exceeded 5,000 or 6,000 souls, it maintained its existence and its intercourse with Europe uninterruptedly from its settlement in 986, by Eric the Red, for more than four hundred years. Early in the fourteenth century the West Bygd, or western settlement, near Godthaab, seems to have contained ninety farmsteads and four churches; while the East Bygd, or eastern settlement, near Julianeshaab, contained one hundred and ninety farmsteads, with one cathedral and eleven smaller churches, two villages, and three or four monasteries.¹ Between Tunnudliorbik and Igaliko fiords, and about thirty miles from the ruined stone houses of Brattahlid, there now stands, imposing in its decay, the simple but massive structure of Kakortok church, once the "cathedral" church of the Gardar bishopric, where the Credo was intoned and censers swung, while not less than ten generations lived and died. About the beginning of the twelfth century there was a movement at Rome for establishing new dioceses in "the islands of the ocean;" in 1106 a

Further fortunes of the Greenland colony.

With regard to the Norse colony alleged to have flourished for three centuries, it is pertinent to ask, what became of its cattle and horses? Why do we find no vestiges of the burial-places of these Europeans? or of iron tools and weapons of mediæval workmanship? Why is there no documentary mention, in Scandinavia or elsewhere in Europe, of this transatlantic trade? etc., etc. Until such points as these are disposed of, any further consideration of the hypothesis may properly be postponed.

¹ Laing, *Heimskringla*, i. 141. A description of the ruins may be found in two papers in *Meddelelser om Gronland*, Copenhagen, 1883 and 1889.

bishop's see was erected in the north of Iceland, and one at about the same time in the Færoes. In 1112, Eric Gnuþsson,¹ having been appointed by Pope Paschal II. "bishop of Greenland and



Ruins of the church at Kakortok.

Vinland *in partibus infidelium*," went from Iceland to organize his new diocese in Greenland. It is mentioned in at least six different vellums that in 1121 Bishop Eric "went in search of Vinland."² It is nowhere mentioned that he found it, and Dr. Storm thinks it probable that he perished in the enterprise, for, within the next year or next but one, the Greenlanders asked for a new bishop,

Bishop Eric's
voyage in
search of Vin-
land, 1121.

¹ Sometimes called Eric Uppi; he is mentioned in the Land-náma-bók as a native of Iceland.

² Storm, *Islandske Annaler*, Christiania, 1888; Reeves, *The Finding of Wineland the Good*, London, 1890, pp. 79-81.

and Eric's successor, Bishop Arnold, was consecrated in 1124.¹ After Eric there was a regular succession of bishops appointed by the papal court, down at least to 1409, and seventeen of these bishops are mentioned by name. We do not learn that any of them ever repeated Eric's experiment of searching for Vinland. So far as existing Icelandic vellums know, there was no voyage to Vinland after 1121. Very likely, however, there may have been occasional voyages for timber from Greenland to the coast of the American continent, which did not attract attention or call for comment in Iceland. This is rendered somewhat probable from an entry in the "Elder Skálholt Annals," a vellum written about 1362. This informs us that in 1347 "there came a ship from Greenland, less in size than The ship from Markland, 1347. small Icelandic trading-vessels. It was without an anchor. There were seventeen men on board, and they had sailed to Markland, but had afterwards been driven hither by storms at sea."²

¹ Storm, in *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1887, p. 319.

² Reeves, *op. cit.* p. 83. In another vellum it is mentioned that in 1347 "a ship came from Greenland, which had sailed to Markland, and there were eighteen men on board." As Mr. Reeves well observes: "The nature of the information indicates that the knowledge of the discovery had not altogether faded from the memories of the Icelanders settled in Greenland. It seems further to lend a measure of plausibility to a theory that people from the Greenland colony may from time to time have visited the coast to the southwest of their home for supplies of wood, or for some kindred purpose. The visitors in this case had evidently intended to return directly from Markland to Greenland, and had they not been driven out of their course to Iceland, the probability is that this voyage would never have found mention in Icelandic chronicles, and all knowledge of it must have vanished

This is the latest mention of any voyage to or from the countries beyond Greenland.

If the reader is inclined to wonder why a colony could be maintained in southern Greenland more easily than on the coasts of Nova Scotia or Massachusetts, or even why the Northmen did not at once abandon their fiords at Brattahlid and come in a flock to these pleasanter places, he must call to mind two important circumstances. First, the settlers in southern Greenland did not meet with barbarous natives, but only with vestiges of their former presence. It was not until the twelfth century that, in roaming the icy deserts of the far north in quest of seals and bearskins, the Norse hunters encountered tribes of Eskimo using stone knives and whalebone arrow-heads;¹ and it was not until the fourteenth century that we hear of their getting into a war with these people. In 1349 the West Bygd was attacked and destroyed by Eskimos; in 1379 they invaded the East Bygd and wrought sad havoc; and it is generally believed that some time after 1409 they completed the destruction of the colony.

Secondly, the relative proximity of Greenland to the mother country, Iceland, made it much easier to sustain a colony there than in the more distant Vinland. In colonizing, as in campaigning, distance from one's base is sometimes the supreme circumstance. This is illustrated by the fact that

as completely as did the colony to which the Markland visitors belonged."

¹ Storm, *Monumenta historica Norvegiæ*, p. 77.

the very existence of the Greenland colony itself depended upon perpetual and untrammelled exchange of commodities with Iceland; and when once the source of supply was cut off, the colony soon languished. In 1380 and 1387 the crowns of Norway and Denmark descended upon Queen Margaret, and soon she made her precious contribution to the innumerable swarm of instances that show with how little wisdom the world is ruled. She made the trade to Greenland, Iceland, and the Færoe isles “a royal monopoly which could only be carried on in ships belonging to, or licensed by, the sovereign.

Queen Margaret's monopoly, and its baneful effects.

. . . Under the monopoly of trade the Icelanders could have no vessels, and no object for sailing to Greenland; and the vessels fitted out by government, or its lessees, would only be ready to leave Denmark or Bergen for Iceland at the season they ought to have been ready to leave Iceland to go to Greenland. The colony gradually fell into oblivion.”¹ When this prohibitory management was abandoned after 1534 by Christian III., it was altogether too late. Starved by the miserable policy of governmental interference with freedom of trade, the little Greenland colony soon became too weak to sustain itself against the natives whose hostility had, for half a century, been growing more and more dangerous. Precisely when or how

¹ Laing, *Heimskringla*, i. 147. It has been supposed that the Black Death, by which all Europe was ravaged in the middle part of the fourteenth century, may have crossed to Greenland, and fatally weakened the colony there; but Vigfusson says that the Black Death never touched Iceland (*Sturlunga Saga*, vol. i. p. cxxix.), so that it is not so likely to have reached Greenland.

it perished we do not know. The latest notice we have of the colony is of a marriage ceremony performed (probably in the Kakortok church), in 1409, by Endrede Andreasson, the last bishop.¹ When, after three centuries, the great missionary, Hans Egede, visited Greenland, in 1721, he found the ruins of farmsteads and villages, the population of which had vanished.

Our account of pre-Columbian voyages to America would be very incomplete without some mention of the latest voyage said to have been made by European vessels to the ancient settlement of the East Bygd. I refer to the famous narrative of the Zeno brothers, which has furnished so many subjects of contention for geographers that a hundred years ago John Pinkerton called it "one of the most puzzling in the whole circle of literature."² Nevertheless a great deal has been done, chiefly through the acute researches of Mr. Richard Henry Major and Baron Nordenskjöld, toward clearing up this mystery, so that certain points in the Zeno narrative may now be regarded as established;³ and from these essential points we may

The story of
the Venetian
brothers.

¹ Laing, *op. cit.* i. 142.

² Yet this learned historian was quite correct in his own interpretation of Zeno's story, for in the same place he says, "If real, his Frisland is the Ferro islands, and his Zichmni is Sinclair." Pinkerton's *History of Scotland*, London, 1797, vol. i. p. 261.

³ Major, *The Voyages of the Venetian Brothers, Nicolò and Antonio Zeno, to the Northern Seas in the XIVth Century*, London, 1873 (Hakluyt Society); cf. Nordenskjöld, *Om bröderna Zenos resor och de äldsta kartor öfver Norden*, Stockholm, 1883.

form an opinion as to the character of sundry questionable details.

The Zeno family was one of the oldest and most distinguished in Venice. Among its members in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries we find a doge, several senators and members of the Council of Ten, and military commanders of high repute. Of these, Pietro Dracone Zeno, about 1350, was captain-general of the Christian league for withstanding the Turks; and his son Carlo achieved such success in the war against Genoa that he was called the Lion of St. Mark, and his services to Venice were compared with those of Camillus to Rome. Now this Carlo had two brothers, — Nicolò, known as “the Chevalier,” and Antonio. After the close of the Genoese war the Chevalier Nicolò was seized with a desire to see the world,¹ and more particularly England and Flanders. So about 1390 he fitted up a ship at his own expense, and, passing out from the strait of Gibraltar, sailed northward upon the Atlantic. After some days of fair weather, he was caught in a storm and blown along for many days more, until at length the ship was cast ashore on one of the Færoe islands and wrecked, though most of the crew and goods were rescued.

The Zeno family.

Nicolò Zeno wrecked upon one of the Færoe islands, 1390.

¹ “Or M. Nicolò il Caualiere . . . entrò in grandissimo desiderio di ueder il mondo, e peregrinare, e farsi capace di varij costumi e di lingue de gli huomini, acciò che con le occasioni poi potesse meglio far seruigio alla sua patria ed à se acquistar fama e onore.” The narrative gives 1380 as the date of the voyage, but Mr. Major has shown that it must have been a mistake for 1390 (*op. cit.* xlii.-xlviii.).

According to the barbarous custom of the Middle Ages, some of the natives of the island (Scandinavians) came swarming about the unfortunate strangers to kill and rob them, but a great chieftain, with a force of knights and men-at-arms, arrived upon the spot in time to prevent such an outrage. This chief was Henry Sinclair of Roslyn, who in 1379 had been invested by King Hacon VI., of Norway, with the earldom of the Orkneys and Caithness. On learning Zeno's rank and importance, Sinclair treated him with much courtesy, and presently a friendship sprang up between the two. Sinclair was then engaged with a fleet of thirteen vessels in conquering and annexing to his earldom the Færoe islands, and on several occasions profited by the military and nautical skill of the Venetian captain. Nicolò seems to have enjoyed this stirring life, for he presently sent to his brother Antonio in Venice an account of it, which induced the latter to come and join him in the Færoe islands. Antonio arrived in the course of 1391, and remained in the service of Sinclair fourteen years, returning to Venice in time to die there in 1406. After Antonio's arrival, his brother Nicolò was appointed to the chief command of Sinclair's little fleet, and assisted him in taking possession of the Shetland islands, which were properly comprised within his earldom. In the course of these adventures, Nicolò seems to have had his interest aroused in reports about Greenland. It was not more than four or five years since Queen Margaret had undertaken to make a royal monopoly of the Greenland trade in furs and whale oil, and this would

be a natural topic of conversation in the Færoes. In July, 1393, or 1394, Nicolò Zeno sailed to Greenland with three ships, and visited the East Bygd. After spending some time there, not being accustomed to such a climate, he caught cold, and died soon after his return to the Færoes, probably in 1395. His brother Antonio succeeded to his office and such emoluments as pertained to it; and after a while, at Earl Sinclair's instigation, he undertook a voyage of discovery in the Atlantic ocean, in order to verify some fishermen's reports of the existence of land a thousand miles or more to the west. One of these fishermen was to serve as guide to the expedition, but unfortunately he died three days before the ships were ready to sail. Nevertheless, the expedition started, with Sinclair himself on board, and encountered vicissitudes of weather and fortune. In fog and storm they lost all reckoning of position, and found themselves at length on the western coast of a country which, in the Italian narrative, is called "Icaria," but which has been supposed, with some probability, to have been Kerry, in Ireland. Here, as they went ashore for fresh water, they were attacked by the natives and several of their number were slain. From this point they sailed out into the broad Atlantic again, and reached a place supposed to be Greenland, but which is so vaguely described that the identification is very difficult.¹ Our narrative here ends

Nicolò's voyage to Greenland, cir. 1394.

Voyage of Earl Sinclair and Antonio Zeno.

¹ It appears on the Zeno map as "Trin pmonor," about the site of Cape Farewell; but how could six days' sail W. from

somewhat confusedly. We are told that Sinclair remained in this place, "and explored the whole of the country with great diligence, as well as the coasts on both sides of Greenland." Antonio Zeno, on the other hand, returned with part of the fleet to the Færoe islands, where he arrived after sailing eastward for about a month, during five and twenty days of which he saw no land. After relating these things and paying a word of affectionate tribute to the virtues of Earl Sinclair, "a prince as worthy of immortal memory as any that ever lived for his great bravery and remarkable goodness," Antonio closes his letter abruptly: "But of this I will say no more in this letter, and hope to be with you very shortly, and to satisfy your curiosity on other subjects by word of mouth."¹

The person thus addressed by Antonio was his brother, the illustrious Carlo Zeno. Soon after reaching home, after this long and eventful absence, Antonio died. Besides his letters he had written a more detailed account of the affairs in the northern seas. These papers remained for more than a century in the palace of the family at Venice, until one of the children, in his mischievous play, got hold of them and tore them up.

Kerry, followed by four days' sail N. E., reach any such point? and how does this short outward sail consist with the return voyage, twenty days E. and eight days S. E., to the Færoes? The place is also said to have had "a fertile soil" and "good rivers," a description in nowise answering to Greenland.

¹ "Però non ui dirò altro in questa lettera, sperando tosto di essere con uoi, e di sodisfarui di molte altre cose con la uiua uoce." Major, p. 34.

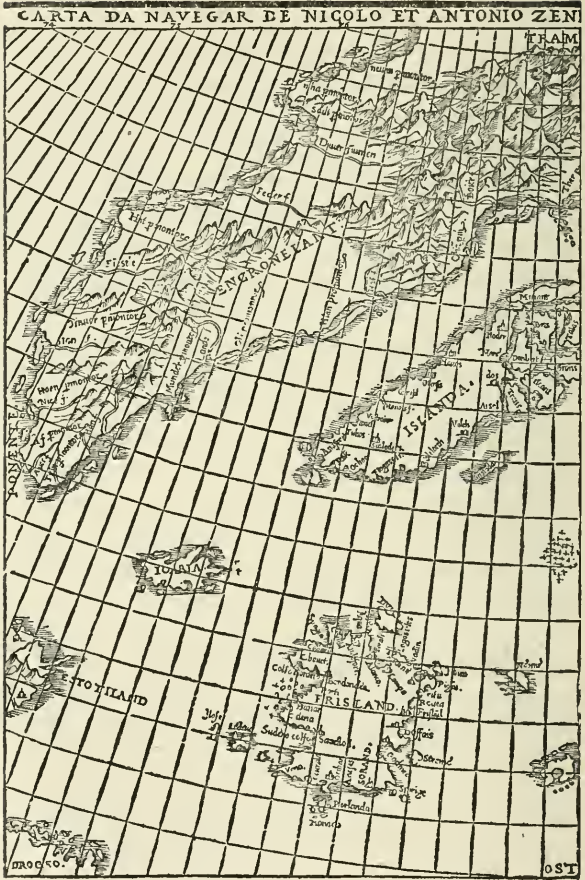
This child was Antonio's great-great-great-grandson, Nicolò, born in 1515. When this young Nicolò had come to middle age, and was a member of the Council of Ten, he happened to come across some remnants of these documents, and then all at once he remembered with grief how he had, in his boyhood, pulled them to pieces.¹ In the light of the rapid progress in geographical discovery since 1492, this story of distant voyages had now for Nicolò an interest such as it could not have had for his immediate ancestors. Searching the palace he found a few grimy old letters and a map or sailing chart, rotten with age, which had been made or at any rate brought home by his ancestor Antonio. Nicolò drew a fresh copy of this map, and pieced together the letters as best he could, with more or less explanatory text of his own, and the result was the little book which he published in 1558.²

Publication of the remains of the documents by the younger Nicolò Zeno.

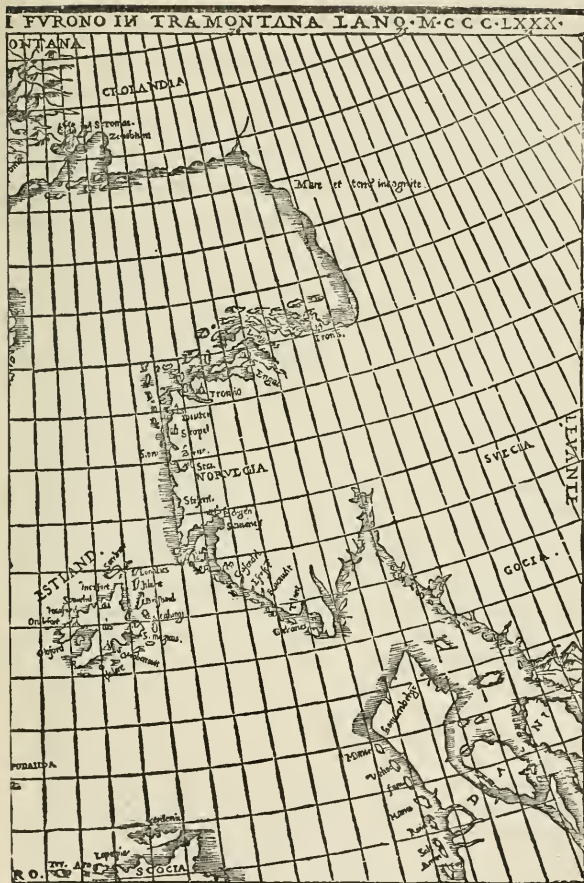
Unfortunately young Nicolò, with the laudable purpose of making it all as clear as he could,

¹ "All these letters were written by Messire Antonio to Messire Carlo, his brother; and I am grieved that the book and many other writings on these subjects have, I don't know how, come sadly to ruin; for, being but a child when they fell into my hands, I, not knowing what they were, tore them in pieces, as children will do, and sent them all to ruin: a circumstance which I cannot now recall without the greatest sorrow. Nevertheless, in order that such an important memorial should not be lost. I have put the whole in order, as well as I could, in the above narrative." Major, p. 35.

² Nicolò Zeno, *Dello scoprimento dell' isole Frislanda, Eslanda, Engronelanda, Estotilandia, & Icaria, fatto per due fratelli Zeni, M. Nicolò il Cavaliere, & M. Antonio. Libro Vno, col disegno di dette Isole.* Venice, 1558. Mr. Major's book contains the entire text, with an English translation.



Zeno Map, cir. 1400 — western half.



Zeno Map, cir. 1400 — eastern half.

thought it necessary not simply to reproduce the old weather-beaten map, but to amend it by putting on here and there such places and names as his diligent perusal of the manuscript led him to deem wanting to its completeness.¹ Under the most favourable circumstances that is a very difficult sort of thing to do, but in this case the circumstances were far from favourable. Of course Nicolò got these names and places into absurd

¹ The map is taken from Winsor's *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, i. 127, where it is reduced from Nordenskjöld's *Studien ok Forskningar*. A better because larger copy may be found in Major's *Voyages of the Venetian Brothers*. The original map measures 12 × 15½ inches. In the legend at the top the date is given as M CCC LXXX. but evidently one x has been omitted, for it should be 1390, and is correctly so given by Marco Barbaro, in his *Genealogie dei nobili Veneti*; of Antonio Zeno he says, "Scrisse con il fratello Nicolò Kav. li viaggi dell' Isole sotto il polo artico, e di quei scoprimente del 1390, e che per ordine di Zieno, re di Frislanda, si portò nel continente d' Estotilanda nell' America settentrionale e che si fermò 14 anni in Frislanda, cioè 4 con suo fratello Nicolò e 10 solo." (This valuable work has never been published. The original MS., in Barbaro's own handwriting, is preserved in the Biblioteca di San Marco at Venice. There is a seventeenth century copy of it among the Egerton MSS. in the British Museum.) — Nicolò did not leave Italy until after December 14, 1388 (Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, tom. xxii. p. 779). The map can hardly have been made before Antonio's voyage, about 1400. The places on the map are wildly out of position, as was common enough in old maps. Greenland is attached to Norway according to the general belief in the Middle Ages. In his confusion between the names "Estland" and "Islanda," young Nicolò has tried to reproduce the Shetland group, or something like it, and attach it to Iceland. "Icaria," probably Kerry, in Ireland, has been made into an island and carried far out into the Atlantic. The queerest of young Nicolò's mistakes was in placing the monastery of St. Olaus ("St. Thomas"). He should have placed it on the southwest coast of Greenland, near his "Af pmonitor;" but he has got it on the extreme northeast, just about where Greenland is joined to Europe.

positions, thus perplexing the map and damaging its reputation. With regard to names, there was obscurity enough, to begin with. In the first place, they were Icelandic names falling upon the Italian ears of old Nicolò and Antonio, and spelled by them according to their own notions; in the second place, these out-landish names, blurred and defaced withal in the weather-stained manuscript, were a puzzle to the eye of young Nicolò, who could but decipher them according to *his* notions. The havoc that can be wrought upon winged words, subjected to such processes, is sometimes marvellous.¹ Perhaps the slightest sufferer, in this case, was the name of the group of islands upon one of which the shipwrecked Nicolò was rescued by Sinclair. The

Queer transformations of names.

¹ “Combien de coquilles typographiques ou de lectures défectueuses ont créé de noms boiteux, qu’il est ensuite bien difficile, quelquefois impossible de redresser! l’histoire et la géographie en sont pleines.” Avezac, *Martin Waltzemüller*, p. 9.

It is interesting to see how thoroughly words can be disguised by an unfamiliar phonetic spelling. I have seen people hopelessly puzzled by the following bill, supposed to have been made out by an illiterate stable-keeper somewhere in England: —

Osafada	7s	6d
Takinonimome		4d
		7s 10d

Some years ago Professor Huxley told me of a letter from France which came to the London post-office thus addressed: —

Sromfrédévi,
Piqué du lait,
Londres,
Angleterre.

This letter, after exciting at first helpless bewilderment and then busy speculation, was at length delivered to the right person, *Sir Humphry Davy*, in his rooms at the Royal Institution on Albemarle street, just off from *Piccadilly*!

name *Færoislander* sounded to Italian ears as *Frislanda*, and was uniformly so written.¹ Then the pronunciation of *Shetland* was helped by prefixing a vowel sound, as is common in Italian, and so it came to be *Estland* and *Esland*. This led young Nicolò's eye in two or three places to confound it with *Islanda*, or *Iceland*, and probably in one place with *Irlanda*, or *Ireland*. Where old Nicolò meant to say that the island upon which he was living with Earl Sinclair was somewhat larger than Shetland, young Nicolò understood him as saying that it was somewhat larger than Ireland; and so upon the amended map "Frislanda." "Frislanda" appears as one great island surrounded by tiny islands.² After the publication of this map, in 1558, sundry details were copied from it by the new maps of that day, so that even far down into the seventeenth century it was common to depict a big "Frislanda" somewhere in mid-ocean. When at length it was proved that no such island exists, the reputation of the Zeno narrative was seriously damaged. The nadir of reaction against it was reached when it was declared to be a tissue of lies invented by the younger Nicolò,³ apparently for the purpose of setting up a Venetian claim to the discovery of America.

¹ Columbus, on his journey to Iceland in 1477, also heard the name *Færoislander* as *Frislanda*, and so wrote it in the letter preserved for us in his biography by his son Ferdinand, hereafter to be especially noticed. See Major's remarks on this, *op. cit.* p. xix.

² Perhaps in the old worn-out map the archipelago may have been blurred so as to be mistaken for one island. This would aid in misleading young Nicolò.

³ See the elaborate paper by Admiral Zahrtmann, in *Nordisk*

The narrative, however, not only sets up no such claim, but nowhere betrays a consciousness that its incidents entitle it to make such a claim. It had evidently not occurred to young Nicolò to institute any comparison between his ancestors' voyages to Greenland and the voyages of Columbus to the western hemisphere, of which *we now know* Greenland to be a part. The knowledge of the North American coast, and of the bearing of one fact upon another fact in relation to it, was still, in 1558, in an extremely vague and rudimentary condition. In the mind of the Zeno brothers, as the map shows, Greenland was a European peninsula; such was the idea common among mediæval Northmen, as is nowhere better illustrated than in this map. Neither in his references to Greenland, nor to Estotiland and Drogio, presently to be considered, does young Nicolò appear in the light of a man urging or suggesting a "claim." He appears simply as a modest and conscientious editor, interested in the deeds of his ancestors and impressed with the fact that he has got hold of important documents, but intent only upon giving his material as correctly as possible, and refraining from all sort of comment except such as now

The narrative nowhere makes a claim to the "discovery of America."

Tidsskrift for Oldkyndighed, Copenhagen, 1834, vol. i., and the English translation of it in *Journal of Royal Geographical Society*, London, 1836, vol. v. All that human ingenuity is ever likely to devise against the honesty of Zeno's narrative is presented in this erudite essay, which has been so completely demolished under Mr. Major's heavy strokes that there is not enough of it left to pick up. As to this part of the question, we may now safely cry, "finis, laus Deo!"

and then seems needful to explain the text as he himself understands it.

The identification of "Frislanda" with the Færoe islands was put beyond doubt by the discovery that the "Zichmni" of the narrative means

Earl Sinclair.

Henry Sinclair; and, in order to make this discovery, it was only necessary to know something about the history of the Orkneys; hence old Pinkerton, as above remarked, got it right. The name "Zichmni" is, no doubt, a fearful and wonderful bejugglement; but Henry Sinclair is a personage well known to history in that corner of the world, and the deeds of "Zichmni," as recounted in the narrative, are neither more nor less than the deeds of Sinclair. Doubtless Antonio spelled the name in some queer way of his own, and then young Nicolò, unable to read his ancestor's pot-hooks where — as in the case of proper names — there was no clue to guide him, contrived to make it still queerer. Here we have strong proof of the genuineness of the narrative. If Nicolò had been concocting a story in which Earl Sinclair was made to figure, he would have obtained his knowledge from literary sources, and thus would have got his names right; the earl might have appeared as Enrico de Santo Claro, but not as "Zichmni." It is not at all likely, however, that any literary knowledge of Sinclair and his doings was obtainable in Italy in the sixteenth century. The Zeno narrative, moreover, in its references to Greenland in connection with the Chevalier Nicolò's visit to the East Bygd, shows a topographical knowledge that was other-

wise quite inaccessible to the younger Nicolò. Late in the fourteenth century Ivar Bardsen, steward to the Gardar bishopric, wrote a description of Greenland, with sailing directions for reaching it, which modern research has proved to have been accurate in every particular. Bardsen's details and those of the Zeno narrative mutually corroborate each other. But Bardsen's book did not make its way down into Europe until the very end of the sixteenth century,¹ and then amid the dense ignorance prevalent concerning Greenland its details were not understood until actual exploration within the last seventy years has at length revealed their meaning. The genuineness of the Zeno narrative is thus conclusively proved by its knowledge of Arctic geography, such as could have been obtained only by a visit to the far North at a time before the Greenland colony had finally lost touch with its mother country.

Bardsen's
"Description
of Green-
land."

The visit of the Chevalier Nicolò, therefore, about 1394, has a peculiar interest as the last distinct glimpse afforded us of the colony founded by Eric the Red before its melancholy disappearance from history. Already the West Bygd had ceased to exist. Five and forty years before that time it

¹ It was translated into Dutch by the famous Arctic explorer, William Barentz, whose voyages are so graphically described in Motley's *United Netherlands*, vol. iii. pp. 552-576. An English translation was made for Henry Hudson. A very old Danish version may be found in Rafn's *Antiquitates Americanæ*, pp. 300-318; Danish, Latin, and English versions in Major's *Voyages of the Venetian Brothers*, etc., pp. 39-54; and an English version in De Costa's *Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson*, Albany, 1869, pp. 61-96.

had been laid waste and its people massacred by Eskimos, and trusty Ivar Bardsen, tardily sent with a small force to the rescue, found nothing left alive but a few cattle and sheep running wild.¹ Nicolò Zeno, arriving in the East Bygd, found

The monastery of St. Olaus and its hot spring.

there a monastery dedicated to St. Olaus, a name which in the narrative has become St. Thomas. To this monastery came friars from Norway and other countries, but for the most part from Iceland.² It stood "hard by a hill which vomited fire like Vesuvius and Etna." There was also in the neighbourhood a spring of hot water which the ingenious friars conducted in pipes into their monastery and church, thereby keeping themselves comfortable in the coldest weather. This water, as it came into the kitchen, was hot enough to boil meats and vegetables. The monks even made use of it in warming covered gardens or hot-beds in which they raised sundry fruits and herbs that in milder climates grow out of doors.³ "Hither in summer-

¹ So he tells us himself: "Quo cum venissent, nullum hominem, neque christianum neque paganum, invenerunt, tantummodo fera pecora et ovesprehenderunt, ex quibus quantum naves ferre poterant in has deportato domum redierunt." *Descriptio Græntlandiæ*, apud Major, p. 53. The glacial men had done their work of slaughter and vanished.

² "Ma la maggior parte sono delle Islande." Mr. Major is clearly wrong in translating it "from the Shetland Isles." The younger Nicolò was puzzled by the similarity of the names Islanda and Eslanda, and sometimes confounded Iceland with the Shetland group. But in this place Iceland is evidently meant.

³ This application of the hot water to purposes of gardening reminds us of the similar covered gardens or hot-beds constructed by Albertus Magnus in the Dominican monastery at Cologne in the thirteenth century. See Humboldt's *Kosmos*, ii. 130.

time come many vessels from . . . the Cape above Norway, and from Trondheim, and bring the friars all sorts of comforts, taking in exchange fish . . . and skins of different kinds of animals. . . . There are continually in the harbour a number of vessels detained by the sea being frozen, and waiting for the next season to melt the ice.”¹

This mention of the volcano and the hot spring is very interesting. In the Miocene period the Atlantic ridge was one of the principal seats of volcanic activity upon the globe; the line of volcanoes extended all the way from Greenland down into central France. But for several hundred thousand years this activity has been diminishing. In France, in the western parts of Great Britain and the Hebrides, the craters have long since become extinct. In the far North, however, volcanic action has been slower in dying out. Iceland, with no less than twenty active volcanoes, is still the most considerable centre of such operations in Europe. The huge volcano on Jan Mayen island, between Greenland and Spitzbergen, is still in action. Among the submerged peaks in the northern seas explosions still now and then occur, as in 1783, when a small island was thrown up near Cape Reykianes, on the southern coast of Iceland, and sank again after a year.² Midway between Iceland and Greenland there appears to have stood,

Volcanoes of
the north At-
lantic ridge.

¹ Major, *op. cit.* p. 16. The narrative goes on to give a description of the skin-boats of the Eskimo fishermen.

² Daubeny, *Description of Active and Extinct Volcanoes*, London, 1848, pp. 307; cf. Judd, *Volcanoes*, London, 1881, p. 234.

in the Middle Ages, a small volcanic island discovered by that Gunnbjörn who first went to Greenland. It was known as Gunnbjörn's

Fate of Gunnbjörn's Skerries, 1456.

Skerries, and was described by Ivar Bardsen.¹ This island is no longer

above the surface, and its fate is recorded upon Ruysch's map of the world in the 1508 edition of Ptolemy: "Insula hæc anno Domini 1456 fuit totaliter combusta," — this island was entirely burnt (i. e. blown up in an eruption) in 1456; and in later maps Mr. Major has found the corrupted name "Gombar Scheer" applied to the dangerous reefs and shoals left behind by this explosion.²

Where volcanic action is declining geysers and boiling springs are apt to abound, as in Iceland; where it has become extinct at a period geologically recent, as in Auvergne and the Rhine country, its latest vestiges are left in the hundreds of thermal and mineral springs whither fashionable invalids congregate to drink or to bathe.³ Now

Volcanic phenomena in Greenland.

in Greenland, at the present day, hot springs are found, of which the most

noted are those on the island of Ounartok, at the entrance to the fiord of that name.

¹ "Ab Snefelsneso Islandiæ, quâ brevissimus in Gronlandiam trajectus est, duorum dierum et duarum noctium spatio navigandum est recto cursu versus occidentem; ibique Gunnbjörn's scopulos invenies, inter Gronlandiam et Islandiam medio situ interjacentes. Hic cursus antiquitûs frequentabatur, nunc vero glacies ex recessu oceani euroaquilonari delata scopulos ante memoratos tam prope attingit, ut nemo sine vitæ discrimine antiquum cursum tenere possit, quemadmodum infra dicetur." *Descriptio Grænelandiæ*, apud Major, *op. cit.* p. 40.

² *Op. cit.* p. lxxvi. See below, vol. ii. p. 115, note B.

³ Judd, *op. cit.* pp. 217-220.

These springs seem to be the same that were described five hundred years ago by Ivar Bardsen. As to volcanoes, it has been generally assumed that those of Greenland are all extinct; but in a country as yet so imperfectly studied this only means that eruptions have not been recorded.¹ On the whole, it seems to me that the mention, in our Venetian narrative, of a boiling spring and an active volcano in Greenland is an instance of the peculiar sort — too strange to have been invented, but altogether probable in itself — that adds to the credit of the narrative.

Thus far, in dealing with the places actually visited by Nicolò or Antonio, or by both brothers, we have found the story consistent and intelligible. But in what relates to countries beyond Greenland, countries which were not visited by either of the brothers, but about which Antonio heard reports, it is quite a different thing. We are introduced to a jumble very unlike the clear, business-like account of Vinland voyages in the *Hauks-bók*. Yet in this medley there are some statements curiously suggestive of things in North America. It will be remembered that Antonio's voyage with Sinclair (somewhere about 1400) was undertaken

¹ My friend, Professor Shaler, tells me that "a volcano during eruption might shed its ice mantle and afterward don it again in such a manner as to hide its true character even on a near view;" and, on the other hand, "a voyager not familiar with volcanoes might easily mistake the cloud-bonnet of a peak for the smoke of a volcano." This, however, will not account for Zeno's "hill that vomited fire," for he goes on to describe the use which the monks made of the pumice and calcareous tufa for building purposes.

in order to verify certain reports of the existence of land more than a thousand miles west of the Færoe islands.

About six and twenty years ago, said Antonio in a letter to Carlo, four small fishing craft, venturing very far out upon the Atlantic, had been blown upon a strange coast, where their crews were well received by the people. The land proved to be an island rather smaller than Iceland (or Shetland?), with a high mountain whence flowed four rivers. The inhabitants were intelligent people, possessed of all the arts, but did not understand the language of these Norse fishermen.¹ There happened, however, to be one European among them, who had himself been cast ashore in that country and had learned its language; he could speak Latin, and found some one among the shipwrecked men who could understand him. There was a populous city with walls, and the king had Latin books in his library which nobody could read.² All kinds of metals abounded, and especially gold.³ The woods were of immense extent. The people traded with Greenland, importing thence pitch (?), brimstone, and furs. They sowed grain and made "beer." They made small boats, but were ignorant of the loadstone and the compass. For this reason, they

Estotiland.

¹ They were, therefore, not Northmen.

² Pruning this sentence of its magniloquence, might it perhaps mean that there was a large palisaded village, and that the chief had some books in Roman characters, a relic of some castaway, which he kept as a fetish?

³ With all possible latitude of interpretation, this could not be made to apply to any part of America north of Mexico.

held the newcomers in high estimation.¹ The name of the country was Estotiland.

There is nothing so far in this vague description to show that Estotiland was an American country, except its western direction and perhaps its trading with Greenland. The points of unlikeness are at least as numerous as the points of likeness. But in what follows there is a much stronger suggestion of North America.

For some reason not specified an expedition was undertaken by people from Estotiland to a country to the southward named Drogio, and these Norse mariners, or some of them, ^{Drogio.} because they understood the compass, were put in charge of it.² But the people of Drogio were cannibals, and the people from Estotiland on their arrival were taken prisoners and devoured, — all save the few Northmen, who were saved because of their marvellous skill in catching fish with nets. The barbarians seemed to have set much store by these white men, and perhaps to have regarded them as objects of “medicine.” One of the fishermen in particular became so famous that a neighbouring tribe made war upon the tribe which kept him, and winning the victory took him over into its own custody. This sort of thing happened several times. Various tribes fought to secure the person and services of this Fisherman,

¹ The magnetic needle had been used by the mariners of western and northern Europe since the end of the thirteenth century.

² “Fanno nanigli e nauigano, ma non hanno la calamita ne intendeno col bossolo la tramontana. Per ilche questi pescatori furono in gran pregio, si che il re li spedì con dodici nauigli verso ostro nel paese che essi chiamano Drogio.” Major, *op. cit.* p. 21.

so that he was passed about among more than twenty chiefs, and “wandering up and down the country without any fixed abode, . . . he became acquainted with all those parts.”

And now comes quite an interesting passage. The Fisherman “says that it is a very great coun-

Inhabitants of
Drogio and the
countries be-
yond.

try, and, as it were, a new world; the people are very rude and uncultivated, for they all go naked, and suffer cruelly from the cold, nor have they the sense to clothe themselves with the skins of the animals which they take in hunting [a gross exaggeration]. They have no kind of metal. They live by hunting, and carry lances of wood, sharpened at the point. They have bows, the strings of which are made of beasts' skins. They are very fierce, and have deadly fights amongst each other, and eat one another's flesh. They have chieftains and certain laws among themselves, but differing in the different tribes. The farther you go southwestwards, however, the more refinement you meet with, because the climate is more temperate, and accordingly there they have cities and temples dedicated to their idols, in which they sacrifice men and afterwards eat them. In those parts they have some knowledge and use of gold and silver. Now this Fisherman, having dwelt so many years in these parts, made up his mind, if possible, to return home to his own country; but his companions, despairing of ever seeing it again, gave him God's speed, and remained themselves where they were. Accordingly, he bade them farewell, and made his escape through the woods in the direction of

Drogio, where he was welcomed and very kindly received by the chief of the place, who knew him, and was a great enemy of the neighbouring chieftain; and so passing from one chief to another, being the same with whom he had been before, after a long time and with much toil, he at length reached Drogio, where he spent three years. Here, by good luck, he heard from the natives that some boats had arrived off the coast; and full of hope of being able to carry out his intention, he went down to the seaside, and to his great delight found that they had come from Estotiland. He forthwith requested that they would take him with them, which they did very willingly, and as he knew the language of the country, which none of them could speak, they employed him as their interpreter.”¹

Whither the Fisherman was first carried in these boats or vessels, Antonio's letter does not inform us. We are only told that he engaged in some prosperous voyages, and at length returned to the Færoes after these six and twenty years of strange adventures. It was apparently the Fisherman's description of Estotiland as a very rich country (*paese ricchissimo*) that led Sinclair to fit out an expedition to visit it, with Antonio as his chief captain. As we have already seen, the Fisherman died just before the ships were ready to start, and to whatever land they succeeded in reaching after they sailed without him, the narrative leaves us with the impression that it was not the mysterious Estotiland.

The Fisherman's return to "Frislanda."

¹ Major, *op. cit.* pp. 20-22.

To attempt to identify that country from the description of it, which reads like a parcel of ill-digested sailors' yarns, would be idle. The most common conjecture has identified it with Newfoundland, from its relations to other points mentioned in the Zeno narrative, as indicated, with fair probability, on the Zeno map. To identify it with Newfoundland is to brand the description as a "fish story," but from such a conclusion there seems anyway to be no escape.

With Drogio, however, it is otherwise. The description of Drogio and the vast country stretching beyond it, which was like a "new world," is the merest sketch, but it seems to contain enough characteristic details to stamp it as a description of North America, and of no other country accessible by an Atlantic voyage. It is a sketch which apparently must have had its ultimate source in somebody's personal experience of aboriginal North America. Here we are reminded that when the younger Nicolò published this narrative, in 1558, some dim knowledge of the North American tribes was beginning to make its way into the minds of people in Europe. The work of Soto and Cartier, to say nothing of other explorers, had already been done. May we suppose that Nicolò had thus obtained some idea of North America, and wove it into his reproduction of his ancestors' letters, for the sake of completeness and point, in somewhat the same uncritical mood as that in which the most worthy ancient historians did not scruple to invent speeches to put into the mouths of their heroes?

Was the account of Drogio woven into the narrative by the younger Nicolò?

It may have been so, and in such case the description of Drogio loses its point for us as a feature in the pre-Columbian voyages to America. In such case we may dismiss it at once, and pretty much all the latter part of the Zeno narrative, relating to what Antonio heard and did, becomes valueless; though the earlier part, relating to the elder Nicolò, still remains valid and trustworthy.

But suppose we take the other alternative. As in the earlier part of the story we feel sure that young Nicolò must have reproduced the ancestral documents faithfully, because it shows knowledge that he could not have got in any other way; let us now suppose that in the latter part also he added nothing of himself, but was simply a faithful editor. It will then follow that the Fisherman's account of Drogio, reduced to writing by Antonio Zeno about

Or does it represent actual experiences in North America?

1400, must probably represent personal experiences in North America; for no such happy combination of details characteristic only of North America is likely at that date to have been invented by any European. Our simplest course will be to suppose that the Fisherman really had the experiences which are narrated, that he was bandied about from tribe to tribe in North America, all the way, perhaps, from Nova Scotia to Mexico, and yet returned to the Færoe islands to tell the tale! Could such a thing be possible? Was anything of the sort ever done before or since?

Yes: something of the sort appears to have been done about ten years after the Zeno narrative was published. In October, 1568, that great

sailor, Sir John Hawkins, by reason of scarcity of food, was compelled to set about a hundred men ashore near the Rio de Minas, on the Mexican coast, and leave them to their fate. The continent was a network of rude paths or trails, as it had doubtless been for ages, and as central Africa is to-day. Most of these Englishmen probably perished in the wilderness. Some who took southwesterly trails found their way to the city of Mexico, where, as "vile Lutheran dogges," they were treated with anything but kindness. Others took northeasterly trails, and one of these men, David Ingram, made his way from Texas to Maine, and beyond to the St. John's river, where he was picked up by a friendly French ship and carried to France, and so got home to England. The journey across North America took him about eleven months, but one of his comrades, Job Hortop, had no end of adventures, and was more than twenty years in getting back to England. Ingram told such blessed yarns about houses of crystal and silver, and other wonderful things, that many disbelieved his whole story, but he was subjected to a searching examination before Sir Francis Walsingham, and as to the main fact of his journey through the wilderness there seems to be no doubt.¹

¹ Ingram's narrative was first published in Hakluyt's folio of 1589, pp. 557-562, but in his larger work, *Principal Navigations*; etc., London, 1600, it is omitted. As Purchas quaintly says, "As for David Ingram's perambulation to the north parts, Master Hakluyt in his first edition published the same; but it seemeth some incredibilities of his reports caused him to leaue him out in the next impression, the reward of lying being not to be beleued

Far more important, historically, and in many ways more instructive than the wanderings of David Ingram, was the journey of Cabeza de Vaca and his ingenious comrades, in 1528-36, from the Mississippi river to their friends in Mexico. This remarkable journey will receive further consideration in another place.¹ In the course of it Cabeza de Vaca was for eight years held captive by sundry Indian tribes, and at last his escape involved ten months of arduous travel. On one occasion he and his friends treated some sick Indians, among other things breathing upon them and making the sign of the cross. As the Indians happened to get well, these Spaniards at once became objects of reverence, and different tribes vied with one another for access to them, in order to benefit by their supernatural gifts. In those early days, before the red men had become used to seeing Europeans, a white captive was not so likely to be put to death as to be cherished as a helper of vast and

The case of
Cabeza de
Vaca, 1528-36.

in truths." *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, London, 1625, vol. iv. p. 1179. The examination before Walsingham had reference to the projected voyage of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, which was made in 1583. Ingram's relation, "wch he reported vnto Sr Franneys Walsingham, Knight, and diuers others of good judgment and credit, in August and Septembar, Ao Dñi, 1582," is in the British Museum, Sloane MS. No. 1447, fol. 1-18; it was copied and privately printed in Plowden Weston's *Documents connected with the History of South Carolina*, London, 1856. There is a MS. copy in the Sparks collection in the Harvard University library. See the late Mr. Charles Deane's note in his edition of Hakluyt's *Discourse concerning Westerne Planting*, Cambridge, 1877, p. 229 (*Collections of Maine Hist. Soc.*, 2d series, vol. ii.); see, also, Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, iii. 186.

¹ See below, vol. ii. p. 501.

undetermined value.¹ The Indians set so much store by Cabeza de Vaca that he found it hard to tear himself away; but at length he used his influence over them in such wise as to facilitate his moving in a direction by which he ultimately succeeded in escaping to his friends. There seems to be a real analogy between his strange experiences and those of the Fisherman in Drogio, who became an object of reverence because he could do things that the natives could not do, yet the value of which they were able to appreciate.

Now if the younger Nicolò had been in the mood for adorning his ancestors' narrative by inserting a few picturesque incidents out of his own hearsay knowledge of North America, it does not seem likely that he would have known enough to hit so deftly upon one of the peculiarities of the barbaric mind. Here, again, we seem to have come upon one of those incidents, inherently probable, but too strange to have been invented, that tend to confirm the story. Without hazarding anything like a positive opinion, it seems to me likely enough that this voyage of Scandinavian fishermen to the coast of North America in the fourteenth century may have happened.

It was this and other unrecorded but possible instances that I had in mind at the beginning of this chapter, in saying that occasional visits of Europeans to America in pre-Columbian times may have occurred oftener than we are wont to suppose. Ob-

There may have been unrecorded instances of visits to North America.

¹ In the first reception of the Spaniards in Peru, we shall see a similar idea at work, vol. ii. pp. 398, 407.

serve that our scanty records — naturally somewhat perplexed and dim, as treating of remote and unknown places — refer us to that northern Atlantic region where the ocean is comparatively narrow, and to that northern people who, from the time of their first appearance in history, have been as much at home upon sea as upon land. For a thousand years past these hyperborean waters have been furrowed in many directions by stout Scandinavian keels, and if, in aiming at Greenland, the gallant mariners may now and then have hit upon Labrador or Newfoundland, and have made flying visits to coasts still farther southward, there is nothing in it all which need surprise us.¹

Nothing can be clearer, however, from a survey of the whole subject, than that these pre-Columbian voyages were quite barren of results of historic importance. In point of colonization they produced the two ill-fated settlements on the Greenland coast, and nothing more. Otherwise they made no real addition to the stock of geographical knowledge, they wrought no effect whatever upon the European mind outside of Scandi-

The pre-Columbian voyages made no real contributions to geographical knowledge;

¹ The latest pre-Columbian voyage mentioned as having occurred in the northern seas was that of the Polish pilot Joh Szkolny, who, in the service of King Christian I. of Denmark, is said to have sailed to Greenland in 1476, and to have touched upon the coast of Labrador. See Gomara, *Historia de las Indias*, Saragossa, 1553, cap. xxxvii.; Wytfliet, *Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ Augmentum*, Douay, 1603, p. 102; Pontanus, *Rerum Danicarum Historia*, Amsterdam, 1631, p. 763. The wise Humboldt mentions the report without expressing an opinion, *Examen critique*, tom. ii. p. 153.

navia, and even in Iceland itself the mention of coasts beyond Greenland awakened no definite ideas, and, except for a brief season, excited no interest. The Zeno narrative indicates that the Vinland voyages had practically lapsed from memory before the end of the fourteenth century.¹ Scholars familiar with saga literature of course knew the story; it was just at this time that Jón Thórhásson wrote out the version of it which is preserved in the *Flateyar-bók*. But by the general public it must have been forgotten, or else the Fisherman's tale of Estotiland and Drogio would surely have awakened reminiscences of Markland and Vinland, and some traces of this would have appeared in Antonio's narrative or upon his map. The principal naval officer of the Færoes, and personal friend of the sovereign, after dwelling several years among these Northmen, whose intercourse with their brethren in Iceland was frequent, apparently knew nothing of Leif or Thorfinn, or the mere names of the coasts which they had visited. Nothing had been accomplished by those voyages which could properly be called a contribution to geographical knowledge. To speak of them as constituting, in any legitimate sense of the phrase, a Discovery of America is simply absurd. Except for Greenland, which was supposed to be a part of the European world, America remained as much undiscovered after the eleventh century as before.

¹ Practically, but not entirely, for we have seen Markland mentioned in the "Elder Skálholt Annals," about 1362. See above, p. 223.

In the midsummer of 1492 it needed to be discovered as much as if Leif Ericsson or the whole race of Northmen had never existed.

As these pre-Columbian voyages produced no effect in the eastern hemisphere, except to leave in Icelandic literature a scanty but interesting record, so in the western hemisphere they seem to have produced no effect beyond cutting down a few trees and killing a few Indians. In the outlying world of Greenland it is not improbable that the blood of the Eskimos may have received some slight Scandinavian infusion. But upon the aboriginal world of the red men, from Davis strait to Cape Horn, it is not likely that any impression of any sort was ever made. It is in the highest degree probable that Leif Ericsson and his friends made a few voyages to *what we now know to have been* the coast of America; but it is an abuse of language to say that they "discovered" America. In no sense was any real contact established between the eastern and the western halves of our planet until the great voyage of Columbus in 1492.

CHAPTER III.

EUROPE AND CATHAY.

THE question has sometimes been asked, Why did the knowledge of the voyages to Vinland so long remain confined to the Scandinavian people or a portion of them, and then lapse into oblivion, insomuch that it did not become a matter of notoriety in Europe until after the publication of the celebrated book of Thormodus Torfæus in 1705? Why did not the news of the voyages of Leif and Thorfinn spread rapidly over Europe, like the news of the voyage of Columbus? and why was it not presently followed, like the latter, by a rush of conquerors and colonizers across the Atlantic?

Why the voyages of the Northmen were not followed up.

Such questions arise from a failure to see historical events in their true perspective, and to make the proper allowances for the manifold differences in knowledge and in social and economic conditions which characterize different periods of history. In the present case, the answer is to be found, first, in the geographical ignorance which prevented the Northmen from realizing in the smallest degree what such voyages really signified or were going to signify to posterity; and, secondly, in the political and commercial condition of Europe at the close of the tenth century.

In the first place the route which the Norse voyagers pursued, from Iceland to Greenland and thence to Vinland, was not such as to give them, in their ignorance of the shape of the earth, and with their imperfect knowledge of latitude and longitude, any adequate gauge wherewith to measure their achievement. The modern reader, who has in his mind a general Ignorance of geography. picture of the shape of the northern Atlantic ocean with its coasts, must carefully expel that picture before he can begin to realize how things must have seemed to the Northmen. None of the Icelandic references to Markland and Vinland betray a consciousness that these countries belong to a geographical world outside of Europe. There was not enough organized geographical knowledge for that. They were simply conceived as remote places beyond Greenland, inhabited by inferior but dangerous people. The accidental finding of such places served neither to solve any great commercial problem nor to gratify and provoke scientific curiosity. It was, therefore, not at all strange that it bore no fruit.

Secondly, even if it had been realized, and could have been duly proclaimed throughout Europe, that across the broad Atlantic a new world lay open for colonization, Europe could not have taken advantage of the fact. Now and then a ship might make its way, or be blown, across the waste of waters without compass or astrolabe; but until these instruments Lack of instruments for ocean navigation. were at hand anything like systematic ocean navigation was out of the question; and

from a colonization which could only begin by creeping up into the Arctic seas and taking Greenland on the way, not much was to be expected, after all.

But even if the compass and other facilities for oceanic navigation had been at hand, the state of Europe in the days of Eric the Red was not such as to afford surplus energy for distant enterprise of this sort. Let us for a moment recall what was going on in Europe in the year of grace 1000, just enough to get a suggestive picture of the time. In England the Danish invader, fork-bearded Swend, father of the great Cnut, was wresting the kingship from the feeble grasp of Ethelred the Redeless. In Gaul the little duchy of France, between the Somme and the Loire, had lately become the kingdom of France, and its sovereign, Hugh Capet, had succeeded to feudal rights of lordship over the great dukes and counts whose territories surrounded him on every side; and now Hugh's son, Robert the Debonair, better hymn-writer than warrior, was waging a doubtful struggle with these unruly vassals. It was not yet in any wise apparent what the kingdoms of England and France were going to be. In Germany the youthful Otto III., the "wonder of the world," had just made his weird visit to the tomb of his mighty predecessor at Aachen, before starting on that last journey to Rome which was so soon to cost him his life. Otto's teacher, Gerbert, most erudite of popes, — too learned not to have had dealings with the Devil, — was beginning to raise the

papacy out of the abyss of infamy into which the preceding age had seen it sink, and so to prepare the way for the far-reaching reforms of Hildebrand. The boundaries of Christendom were as yet narrow and insecure. With the overthrow of Olaf Tryggvesson in this year 1000, and the temporary partition of Norway between Swedes and Danes, the work of Christianizing the North seemed, for the moment, to languish. Upon the eastern frontier the wild Hungarians had scarcely ceased to be a terror to Europe, and in this year Stephen, their first Christian king, began to reign. At the same time the power of heretical Bulgaria, which had threatened to overwhelm the Eastern Empire, was broken down by the sturdy blows of the Macedonian emperor Basil. In this year the Christians of Spain met woful defeat at the hands of Almansor, and there seemed no reason why the Mussulman rule over the greater part of that peninsula should not endure forever.

Thus, from end to end, Europe was a scene of direst confusion, and though, as we now look back upon it, the time seems by no means devoid of promise, there was no such cheering outlook then. Nowhere were the outlines of kingdoms or the ownership of crowns definitely settled. Private war was both incessant and universal; the Truce of God had not yet been proclaimed.¹ As for the

¹ The "Truce of God" (*Treuga Dei*) was introduced by the clergy in Guienne about 1032; it was adopted in Spain before 1050, and in England by 1080. See Datt, *De pace imperii publica*, lib. i. cap. ii. A cessation of all violent quarrels was enjoined, under ecclesiastical penalties, during church festivals, and from every Wednesday evening until the following Monday morning.

common people, their hardships were well-nigh incredible. Amid all this anarchy and misery, at the close of the thousandth year from the birth of Christ, the belief was quite common throughout Europe that the Day of Judgment was at hand for a world grown old in wickedness and ripe for its doom.

It hardly need be argued that a period like this, in which all the vital energy in Europe was consumed in the adjustment of affairs at home, was not fitted for colonial enterprises. Before a people can send forth colonies it must have solved the problem of political life so far as to ensure stability of trade. It is the mercantile spirit that has supported modern colonization, aided by the spirit of intellectual curiosity and the thirst for romantic adventure.

The condition of things was not such as to favour colonial enterprise.

In the eleventh century there was no intellectual curiosity outside the monastery walls, nor had such a feeling become enlisted in the service of commerce. Of trade there was indeed, even in western Europe, a considerable amount, but the commercial marine was in its infancy, and on land the trader suffered sorely at the hands of the robber baron. In those days the fashionable method of compounding with your creditors was, not to offer them fifty cents on the dollar, but to inveigle them into your castle and broil them over a slow fire.

In so far as the attention of people in Europe

This left only about eighty days in the year available for shooting and stabbing one's neighbours. The truce seems to have accomplished much good, though it was very imperfectly observed.

was called to any quarter of the globe outside of the seething turbulence in which they dwelt, it was directed toward Asia. Until after 1492, Europe stood with her back toward the Atlantic. What there might be out beyond that "Sea of Darkness" (*Mare Tenebrosum*), as it used commonly to be called, was a question of little interest and seems to have excited no speculation. In the view of mediæval Europe the inhabited world was cut off on the west by this mysterious ocean, and on the south by the burning sands of Sahara; but eastward it stretched out no one knew how far, and in that direction dwelt tribes and nations which Europe, from time immemorial, had reason to fear. As early as the time of Herodotus, the secular antagonism between Europe and Asia had become a topic of reflection among the Greeks, and was wrought with dramatic effect by that great writer into the structure of his history, culminating in the grand and stirring scenes of the Persian war. A century and a half later the conquests of Alexander the Great added a still more impressive climax to the story. The struggle was afterward long maintained between Roman and Parthian, but from the fifth century after Christ onward through the Middle Ages, it seemed as if the Oriental world would never rest until it had inflicted the extremities of retaliation upon Europe. Whether it was the heathen of the steppes who were in question, from Attila in the fifth century to Batu Khan in the thirteenth, or the followers of the Prophet, who tore away from Christendom the southern

The outlook
of Europe was
toward
Asia.

shores of the Mediterranean, and held Spain in their iron grasp, while from age to age they exhausted their strength in vain against the Eastern Empire, the threatening danger was always coming with the morning sun; whatever might be the shock that took the attention of Europe away from herself, it directed it upon Asia. This is a fact of cardinal importance for us, inasmuch as it was directly through the interest, more and more absorbing, which Europe felt in Asia that the discovery of the western hemisphere was at last effected.

It was not only in war, but in commerce, that the fortunes of Europe were dependent upon her relations with Asia. Since prehistoric times there

Routes of
trade between
Europe and
Asia.

has always been some commercial intercourse between the eastern shores of the Mediterranean and the peninsula of Hindustan. Tyre and Sidon carried on such trade by way of the Red Sea.¹ After Alexander had led his army to Samarcand and to the river Hyphasis, the acquaintance of the Greeks with Asia was very considerably increased, and important routes of trade were established. One was practically the old Phœnician route, with its western terminus moved from Tyre to Alexandria. Another was by way of the Caspian sea, up the river Oxus, and thence with camels to the banks of the Indus.² An intermediate route was through Syria and by way of the Euphrates and the Persian gulf; the route which at one time made the

¹ Diodorus Siculus, i. 70.

² Strabo, xi. 7, § 3.

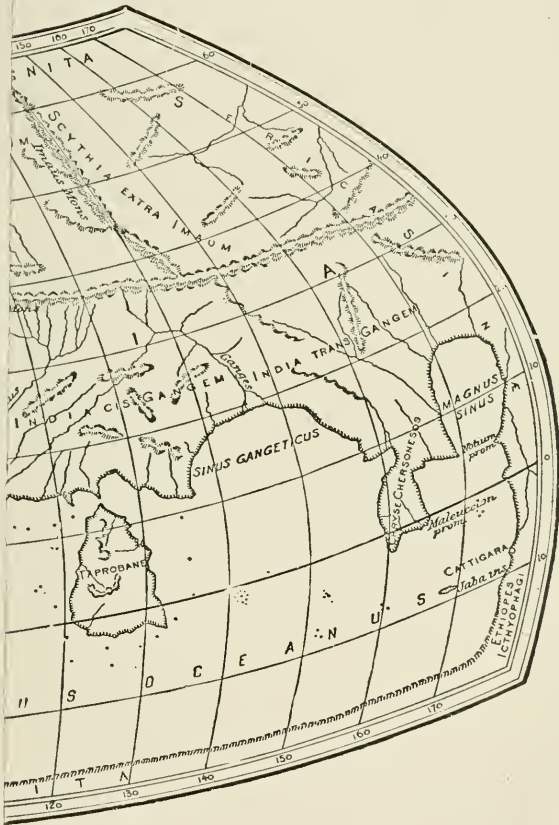
greatness of Palmyra. After the extension of Roman sway to the Nile, the Euphrates, and the Euxine, these same routes continued to be used. The European commodities carried to India were light woollen cloths, linens, coral, black lead, various kinds of glass vessels, and wine. In exchange for these the traders brought back to Europe divers aromatic spices, black pepper, ivory, cotton fabrics, diamonds, sapphires, and pearls, silk thread and silk stuffs.¹ Detailed accounts of these commercial transactions, and of the wealth of personal experiences that must have been connected with them, are excessively scant. Of the Europeans who, during all the centuries between Alexander and Justinian, made their way to Hindustan or beyond, we know very few by name. The amount of geographical information that was gathered during the first half of this period is shown in the map representing Claudius Ptolemy's knowledge of the earth, about Claudius Ptolemy. the middle of the second century after Christ. Except for the Scandinavian world, and some very important additions made to the knowledge of Asia by Marco Polo, this map fairly represents the maximum of acquaintance with the earth's surface possessed by Europeans previous to the great voyages of the fifteenth century. It shows a dim knowledge of the mouths of the Ganges, of the island of

¹ Robertson, *Historical Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India*, Dublin, 1791, p. 55. I never have occasion to consult Dr. Robertson without being impressed anew with his scientific habit of thought and the solidity of his scholarship; and in none of his works are these qualities better illustrated than in this noble essay.

Ceylon, and of what we sometimes call Farther India. A very dim knowledge, indeed; for the huge peninsula of Hindustan is shrunk into insignificance, while Taprobane, or Ceylon, unduly magnified, usurps the place belonging to the Deccan. At the same time we see that some hearsay knowledge of China had made its way into the Roman world before the days of Ptolemy. The two names by which China was first known to Europeans were

Early mention
of China. "Seres" or "Serica," and "Sinæ" or
"Thin." These two differing names are the records of two different methods of approach to different parts of a vast country, very much as the Northmen called their part of eastern North America "Vinland," while the Spaniards called their part "Florida." The name "Seres" was given to northwestern China by traders who approached it through the highlands of central Asia from Samarcand, while "Sinæ" was the name given to southeastern China by traders who approached it by way of the Indian ocean, and heard of it in India, but never reached it. Apparently no European ships ever reached China before the Portuguese, in 1517.¹ The name "Sinæ" or "Thin" seems to mean the country of the "Tchin" dynasty, which ruled over the whole of China in the second century before Christ, and over a portion of it for a much longer time. The name "Seres," on the other hand, was always associated with the trade in silks, and was known

¹ The Polos sailed back from China to the Persian gulf in 1292-94; see below, p. 282.





CLAUDIUS PTOLEMY'S WORLD, CIR. A. D. 150

to the Romans in the time of the Emperor Claudius,¹ and somewhat earlier. The Romans in Virgil's time set a high value upon silk, and every scrap of it they had came from China. They knew nothing about the silk-worm, and supposed that the fibres or threads of this beautiful stuff grew upon trees. Of actual intercourse between the Roman and Chinese empires there was no more than is implied in this current of trade, passing through many hands. But that each knew, in a vague way, of the existence of the other, there is no doubt.²

In the course of the reign of Justinian, we get references at first hand to India, and coupled withal to a general theory of cosmography. This curious information we have in the book of the monk Cosmas Indicopleustes, written somewhere between A. D. 530 and 550.

Cosmas Indicopleustes.

A pleasant book it is, after its kind. In his younger days Cosmas had been a merchant, and in divers voyages had become familiar with the coasts of Ethiopia and the Persian gulf, and had visited India and Ceylon. After becoming a monk at Alexandria, Cosmas wrote his book of Christian

¹ The name "Seres" appears on the map of Pomponius Mela (cir. A. D. 50), while "Sinæ" does not. See below, p. 304.

*Jam Tartessiacos quos solverat æquore Titan
In noctem diffusus equos, jungebat Eois
Littoribus, primique novo Phaethonte relecti
Seres lanigeris repetebant vellera lucis.*

Silius Italicus, lib. vi. ad init.

² For this whole subject see Colonel Sir Henry Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*, London, 1866, 2 vols., — a work of profound learning and more delightful than a novel.

geography,¹ maintaining, in opposition to Ptolemy, that the earth is not a sphere, but a rectangular plane forming the floor of the universe; the heavens rise on all four sides about this rectangle, like the four walls of a room, and, at an indefinite height above the floor, these blue walls support a vaulted roof or firmament, in which God dwells with the angels. In the centre of the floor are the inhabited lands of the earth, surrounded on all sides by a great ocean, beyond which, somewhere out in a corner, is the Paradise from which Adam and Eve were expelled. In its general shape, therefore, the universe somewhat resembles the Tabernacle in the Wilderness, or a modern "Saratoga

Shape of the earth, according to Cosmas.

¹ Its title is *Χριστιανῶν βίβλος, ἑρμηνεῖα εἰς τὴν Οκτάτευχον*, i. e. against Ptolemy's Geography in eight books. The name Cosmas Indicopleustes seems merely to mean "the cosmographer who has sailed to India." He begins his book in a tone of extreme and somewhat unsavory humility: *Ἀνοίγω τὰ μογιλάλα καὶ βραδύγλωσσα χεῖλην ὁ ἁμαρτωλὸς καὶ τάλαις ἐγώ* — "I, the sinner and wretch, open my stammering, stuttering lips," etc. — The book has been the occasion of some injudicious excitement within the last half century. Cosmas gave a description of some comparatively recent inscriptions on the peninsula of Sinai, and because he could not find anybody able to read them, he inferred that they must be records of the Israelites on their passage through the desert. (Compare the Dighton rock, above, p. 214.) Whether in the sixth century of grace or in the nineteenth, your unregenerate and unchastened antiquary snaps at conclusions as a drowsy dog does at flies. Some years ago an English clergyman, Charles Forster, started up the nonsense again, and argued that these inscriptions might afford a clue to man's primeval speech! Cf. Bunsen, *Christianity and Mankind*, vol. iii. p. 231; Müller and Donaldson, *History of Greek Literature*, vol. iii. p. 353; Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, vol. ii. p. 177.

trunk." On the northern part of the floor, under the firmament, is a lofty conical mountain, around which the sun, moon, and planets perform their daily revolutions. In the summer the sun takes a turn around the apex of the cone, and is, therefore, hidden only for a short night; but in the winter he travels around the base, which takes longer, and, accordingly, the nights are long. Such is the doctrine drawn from Holy Scripture, says Cosmas, and as for the vain blasphemers who pretend that the earth is a round ball, the Lord hath stultified them for their sins until they impudently prate of Antipodes, where trees grow downward and rain falls upward. As for such nonsense, the worthy Cosmas cannot abide it.

I cite these views of Cosmas because there can be no doubt that they represent beliefs current among the general public until after the time of Columbus,¹ in spite of the deference paid to Ptol-

¹ Such views have their advocates even now. There still lives, I believe, in England, a certain John Hampden, who with dauntless breast maintains that the earth is a circular plane with centre at the north pole and a circumference of nearly 30,000 miles where poor misguided astronomers suppose the south pole to be. The sun moves across the sky at a distance of about 800 miles. From the boundless abyss beyond the southern circumference, with its barrier of icy mountains, came the waters which drowned the antediluvian world; for, as this author quite reasonably observes, "on a globular earth such a deluge would have been physically impossible." Hampden's title is somewhat like that of Cosmas, — *The New Manual of Biblical Cosmography*, London, 1877; and he began in 1876 to publish a periodical called *The Truth-Seeker's Oracle and Scriptural Science Review*. Similar views have been set forth by one Samuel Rowbotham, under the pseudonym of "Parallax," *Zetetic Astronomy. Earth not a Globe. An experimental inquiry into the true figure of the earth, proving it a plane without orbital or axial motion, etc.*, London, 1873; and by a William

emy's views by the learned. Along with these cosmographical speculations, Cosmas shows a wider geographical knowledge of Asia than any earlier writer. He gives a good deal of interesting information about India and Ceylon, and has a fairly correct idea of the position of China, which he calls Tzinista or Chinistan. This land of silk is the remotest of all the Indies, and beyond it "there is neither navigation nor inhabited country. . . . And the Indian philosophers, called Brachmans, tell you that if you were to stretch a straight cord from Tzinista through Persia to the Roman territory, you would just divide the world in halves. And mayhap they are right."¹

In the fourth and following centuries, Nestorian missionaries were very active in Asia, and not only made multitudes of converts and established metropolitan sees in such places as Kashgar and Herat, but even found their

The
Nestorians.

Carpenter, *One Hundred Proofs that the Earth is not a Globe*, Baltimore, 1885. There is a very considerable quantity of such literature afloat, the product of a kind of mental aberration that thrives upon paradox. When I was superintendent of the catalogue of Harvard University library, I made the class "Eccentric Literature" under which to group such books, — the lucubrations of circle-squarers, angle-trisectors, inventors of perpetual motion, devisers of recipes for living forever without dying, crazy interpreters of Daniel and the Apocalypse, upsetters of the undulatory theory of light, the Bacon-Shakespeare lunatics, etc.; a dismal procession of long-eared bipeds, with very raucous bray. The late Professor De Morgan devoted a bulky and instructive volume to an account of such people and their crotchets. See his *Budget of Paradoxes*, London, 1872.

¹ Cosmas, ii. 138. Further mention of China was made early in the seventh century by Theophylactus Samocatta, vii. 7. See Yule's *Cathay*, vol. i. pp. xlix., clxviii.

way into China. Their work forms an interesting though melancholy chapter in history, but it does not seem to have done much toward making Asia better known to Europe. As declared heretics, the Nestorians were themselves almost entirely cut off from intercourse with European Christians.

The immediate effect of the sudden rise of the vast Saracen empire, in the seventh and eighth centuries, was to interpose a barrier to the extension of intercourse between Europe and the Far East. Trade between the eastern and western extremities of Asia went on Effects of the Saracen conquests. more briskly than ever, but it was for a long time exclusively in Mussulman hands. The mediæval Arabs were bold sailors, and not only visited Sumatra and Java, but made their way to Canton. Upon the southern and middle routes the Arab cities of Cairo and Bagdad became thriving centres of trade; but as Spain and the whole of northern Africa were now Arab countries, most of the trade between east and west was conducted within Mussulman boundaries. Saracen cruisers prowled in the Mediterranean and sorely harassed the Christian coasts. During the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, Europe was more shut in upon herself than ever before or since. In many respects these were especially the dark ages of Europe, — the period of least comfort and least enlightenment since the days of pre-Roman barbarism. But from this general statement Constantinople should be in great measure excepted. The current of mediæval trade through the noble highway of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus

was subject to fluctuations, but it was always great. The city of the Byzantine emperors was before all things a commercial city, like Venice in later days. Until the time of the Crusades Constantinople was the centre of the Levant trade.

Constantino-
ple in the
twelfth cen-
tury.

The great northern route from Asia remained available for commercial intercourse in this direction. Persian and Armenian merchants sent their goods to Batoum, whence they were shipped to Constantinople; and silk was brought from northwestern China by caravan to the Oxus, and forwarded thence by the Caspian sea, the rivers Cyrus and Phasis, and the Euxine sea.¹ When it was visited by Benjamin of Tudela in the twelfth century, Constantinople was undoubtedly the richest and most magnificent city, and the seat of the highest civilization, to be found anywhere upon the globe.

In the days of its strength the Eastern Empire was the staunch bulwark of Christendom against the dangerous assaults of Persian, Saracen, and Turk; alike in prosperity and in calamity, it proved to be the teacher and civilizer of the western world. The events which, at the close of the eleventh century, brought thousands upon thousands of adventurous, keen-witted people from western Europe into this home of wealth and refinement, were the occasion of the most remarkable intellectual awakening that the world had ever witnessed up to that time. The Crusades, in their beginning, were a symptom of

¹ Robertson, *Historical Disquisition*, p. 93; Pears, *The Fall of Constantinople*, p. 177, — a book of great merit.

the growing energy of western Europe under the ecclesiastical reformation effected by the mighty Hildebrand. They were the military response of Europe to the most threatening, and, as time has proved, the most deadly of all the blows that have ever been aimed at her from Asia. Down to this time the Mahometanism with which Christendom had so long been in conflict was a Mahometanism of civilized peoples. The Arabs and Moors were industrious merchants, agriculturists, and craftsmen; in their society one might meet with learned scholars, refined poets, and profound philosophers. But at the end of the tenth century, Islam happened to make converts of the Turks, a nomad race in the upper status of barbarism, with flocks and herds and patriarchal families. Inspired with the sudden zeal for conquest which has always characterized new converts to Islam, the Turks began to pour down from the plains of central Asia like a deluge upon the Eastern Empire. In 1016 they overwhelmed Armenia, and presently advanced into Asia Minor. Their mode of conquest was peculiarly baleful, for at first they deliberately annihilated the works of civilization in order to prepare the country for their nomadic life; they pulled down cities to put up tents. Though they long ago ceased to be nomads, they have to this day never learned to comprehend civilized life, and they have been simply a blight upon every part of the earth's surface which they have touched. At the beginning of the eleventh century, Asia Minor was one of the most prosperous and highly civilized parts of

Barbarizing
character of
Turkish
conquest.

the world;¹ and the tale of its devastation by the terrible Alp Arslan and the robber chiefs that came after him is one of the most mournful chapters in history. At the end of that century, when the Turks were holding Nicæa and actually had their outposts on the Marmora, it was high time for Christendom to rise *en masse* in self-defence. The idea was worthy of the greatest of popes. Imperfectly and spasmodically as it was carried out, it undoubtedly did more than anything that had ever gone before toward strengthening the wholesome sentiment of a common Christendom among the peoples of western Europe.

General effects of the Crusades.

The Crusades increased the power of the Church, which was equivalent to putting a curb upon the propensities of the robber baron and making labour and traffic more secure. In another way they aided this good work by carrying off the robber baron in large numbers to Egypt and Syria, and killing him there. In this way they did much toward ridding European society of its most turbulent elements; while at the same time they gave fresh development to the spirit of romantic adventure, and connected it with something better than vagrant freebooting.² By renewing the long-sus-

¹ "It is difficult for the modern traveller who ventures into the heart of Asia Minor, and finds nothing but rude Kurds and Turkish peasants living among mountains and wild pastures, not connected even by ordinary roads, to imagine the splendour and rich cultivation of this vast country, with its brilliant cities and its teeming population." Mahaffy, *The Greek World under Roman Sway*, London, 1890, p. 229.

² The general effects of the Crusades are discussed, with much learning and sagacity, by Choiseul-Daillecourt, *De l'Influence des Croisades sur l'état des peuples de l'Europe*, Paris, 1809.

pended intercourse between the minds of western Europe and the Greek culture of Constantinople, they served as a mighty stimulus to intellectual curiosity, and had a large share in bringing about that great thirteenth century renaissance which is forever associated with the names of Giotto and Dante and Roger Bacon.

There can be no doubt that in these ways the Crusades were for our forefathers in Europe the most bracing and stimulating events that occurred in the whole millennium between the complicated disorders of the fifth century and the outburst of maritime discovery in the fifteenth. How far they justified themselves from the military point of view, it is not so easy to say. On the one hand, they had much to do with retarding the progress of the enemy for two hundred years; they overwhelmed the Seljukian Turks so effectually that their successors, the Ottomans, did not become formidable until about 1300, after the last crusading wave had spent its force. On the other hand, the Fourth Crusade, with better oppor-
The Fourth Crusade.
 tunities than any of the others for striking a crushing blow at the Moslem, played false to Christendom, and in 1204 captured and despoiled Constantinople in order to gratify Venice's hatred of her commercial rival and superior. It was a sorry piece of business, and one cannot look with unmixed pleasure at the four superb horses that now adorn the front of the church of St. Mark as a trophy of this unhallowed exploit.¹ One can-

¹ They were taken from Chios in the fourth century by the emperor Theodosius, and placed in the hippodrome at Constanti-

not help feeling that but for this colossal treachery, the great city of Constantine, to which our own civilization owes more than can ever be adequately told, might, perhaps, have retained enough strength to withstand the barbarian in 1453, and thus have averted one of the most lamentable catastrophes in the history of mankind.

The general effect of the Crusades upon Oriental commerce was to increase the amount of traffic through Egypt and Syria. Of this lucrative trade Venice got the lion's share, and while she helped support the short-lived Latin dynasty upon the throne at Constantinople, she monopolized a great part of the business of the Black Sea also. But in 1261 Venice's rival, Genoa, allied herself with the Greek emperor, Michael Palæologus, at Nicæa, placed him upon the Byzantine throne, and again cut off Venice from the trade that came through the Bosphorus. From this time forth the mutual hatred between Venice and Genoa "waxed fiercer than ever; no merchant fleet of either state could go to sea without convoy, and wherever their ships met they fought. It was something like the

Rivalry between Venice and Genoa.

noble, whence they were taken by the Venetians in 1204. The opinion that "the results of the Fourth Crusade upon European civilization were altogether disastrous" is ably set forth by Mr. Pears, *The Fall of Constantinople*, London, 1885, and would be difficult to refute. Voltaire might well say in this case, "Ainsi le seul fruit des chrétiens dans leurs barbares croisades fut d'éterminer d'autres chrétiens. Ces croisés, qui ruinaient l'empire auraient pu, bien plus aisément que tous leurs prédécesseurs, chasser les Turcs de l'Asie." *Essai sur les Mœurs*, tom. ii. p. 158. Voltaire's general view of the Crusades is, however very superficial.

state of things between Spain and England in the days of Drake.”¹ In the one case as in the other, it was a strife for the mastery of the sea and its commerce. Genoa obtained full control of the Euxine, took possession of the Crimea, and thus acquired a monopoly of the trade from central Asia along the northern route. With the fall of Acre in 1291, and the consequent expulsion of Christians from Syria, Venice lost her hold upon the middle route. But with the pope’s leave² she succeeded in making a series of advantageous commercial treaties with the new Mameluke sovereigns of Egypt, and the dealings between the Red Sea and the Adriatic soon came to be prodigious. The Venetians gained control of part of the Peloponnesus, with many islands of the Ægean and eastern Mediterranean. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries their city was the most splendid and luxurious in all Christendom.

Such a development of wealth in Venice and Genoa implies a large producing and consuming area behind them, able to take and pay for the costly products of India and China. Before the end of the thirteenth century the volume of European trade had swelled to great proportions. How full of historic and literary interest are the very names of the centres and leading routes of this trade as it was established in those days, with its outlook upon the

Centres and
routes of mediæval
trade.

¹ Yule’s *Marco Polo*, vol. i. p. lxxi.

² A papal dispensation was necessary before a commercial treaty could be made with Mahometans. See Leibnitz, *Codex Jur. Gent. Diplom.*, i. 489.

Mediterranean and the distant East! Far up in the North we see Wisby, on the little isle of Gothland in the Baltic, giving its name to new rules of international law; and the merchants of the famous Hansa towns extending their operations as far as Novgorod in one direction, and in another to the Steelyard in London, where the pound of these honest "Easterlings" was adopted as the "sterling" unit of sound money. Fats and tallows, furs and wax from Russia, iron and copper from Sweden, strong hides and unrivalled wools from England, salt cod and herring (much needed on meagre church fast-days) from the North and Baltic seas, appropriately followed by generous casks of beer from Hamburg, were sent southward in exchange for fine cloths and tapestries, the products of the loom in Ghent and Bruges, in Ulm and Augsburg, with delicious vintages of the Rhine, supple chain armour from Milan, Austrian yew-wood for English long-bows, ivory and spices, pearls and silks from Italy and the Orient. Along the routes from Venice and Florence to Antwerp and Rotterdam we see the progress in wealth and refinement, in artistic and literary productiveness. We see the early schools of music and painting in Italy meet with prompt response in Flanders; in the many-gabled streets of Nuremberg we hear the voice of the Meistersinger, and under the low oaken roof of a Canterbury inn we listen to joyous if sometimes naughty tales erst told in pleasant groves outside of fever-stricken Florence.

With this increase of wealth and culture in central Europe there came a considerable extension of

knowledge and a powerful stimulus to curiosity concerning the remote parts of Asia. The conquering career of Jenghis Khan (1206-1227) had shaken the world to its foundations. In the middle of that century, to adopt Colonel Yule's lively expression, "throughout Asia and eastern Europe, scarcely a dog might bark without Mongol leave, from the borders of Poland and the coast of Cilicia to the Amur and the Yellow Sea." About these portentous Mongols, who had thus in a twinkling overwhelmed China and Russia, and destroyed the Caliphate of Bagdad, there was a refreshing touch of open-minded heathenism. They were barbarians willing to learn. From end to end of Asia the barriers were thrown down. It was a time when Alan chiefs from the Volga served as police in Tunking, and Chinese physicians could be consulted at Tabriz. For about a hundred years China was more accessible than at any period before or since, — more even than to-day; and that country now for the first time became really known to a few Europeans. In the northern provinces of China, shortly before the Mongol deluge, there had reigned a dynasty known as the *Khitai*, and hence China was (and still is) commonly spoken of in central Asia as the country of the *Khitai*. When this name reached European ears it became *Cathay*, the name by which China was best known in Europe during the next four centuries.¹ In 1245, Friar John of Plano Carpini, a friend and disciple of St. Francis, was

Effects of the
Mongol con-
quests.

Cathay.

¹ Yule's *Cathay*, vol. i. p. cxvi. ; *Marco Polo*, vol. i. p. xlii.

sent by Pope Innocent IV. on a missionary errand to the Great Khan, and visited him in his camp at Karakorum in the very depths of Mongolia. In 1253 the king of France, St. Louis, sent another Franciscan monk, Willem de Rubruquis, to Karakorum, on a mission of which the purpose is now not clearly understood. Both these Franciscans were men of shrewd and cultivated minds, especially Rubruquis, whose narrative, "in its rich detail, its vivid pictures, its acuteness of observation and strong good sense . . . has few superiors in the whole library of travel."¹ Neither Rubruquis nor Friar John visited China, but they fell in with Chinese folk at Karakorum, and obtained information concerning the geography of eastern Asia far more definite than had ever before been possessed by Europeans. They both describe Cathay as bordering upon an eastern ocean, and this piece of information constituted the first important leap of geographical knowledge to the eastward since the days of Ptolemy, who supposed that beyond the "Seres and Sinæ" lay an unknown land of vast extent, "full of reedy and impenetrable swamps."² The

Carpini and Rubruquis.

First knowledge of an eastern ocean beyond Cathay.

¹ Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i. p. cxxx.; cf. Humboldt, *Examen critique*, tom. i. p. 71. The complete original texts of the reports of both monks, with learned notes, may be found in the *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires, publié par la Société de Géographie*, Paris, 1839, tom. iv., viz. : *Johannis de Plano Carpini Historia Mongolorum quos nos Tartaros appellamus*, ed. M. d'Avezac; *Itinerarium Willelmi de Rubruk*, ed. F. Michel et T. Wright.

² Yule's *Cathay*, vol. i. p. xxxix.; Ptolemy, i. 17. Cf. Bunbury's *History of Ancient Geography*, London, 1883, vol. ii. p. 606.

information gathered by Rubruquis and Friar John indicated that there was an end to the continent of Asia; that, not as a matter of vague speculation, but of positive knowledge, Asia was bounded on the east, just as Europe was bounded on the west, by an ocean.

Here we arrive at a notable landmark in the history of the Discovery of America. Here from the camp of bustling heathen at Karakorum there is brought to Europe the first announcement of a geographical fact from which the poetic mind of Christopher Columbus will hereafter reap a wonderful harvest. This is one among many instances of the way in which, throughout all departments of human thought and action, the glorious thirteenth century was beginning to give shape to the problems of which the happy solution has since made the modern world so different from the ancient.¹ Since there is an ocean east of Cathay and an ocean west of Spain, how natural the inference — and albeit quite wrong, how amazingly fruitful — that these oceans are one and the same, so that by sailing westward from Spain one might go straight to Cathay! The data for such an inference were now all at hand, but it does not appear that any one as yet reasoned from the data to the conclusion, although we find Roger Bacon, in 1267, citing the opinions of Aristotle and other ancient

The data were thus prepared for Columbus;

but as yet nobody reasoned from these data to a practical conclusion.

¹ See my *Beginnings of New England*, chap. i. How richly suggestive to an American is the contemporaneity of Rubruquis and Earl Simon of Leicester!

writers to the effect that the distance by sea from the western shores of Spain to the eastern shores of Asia cannot be so very great.¹ In those days it took a long time for such ideas to get from the heads of philosophers into the heads of men of action; and in the thirteenth century, when Cathay was more accessible by land than at any time before or since, there was no practical necessity felt for a water route thither. Europe still turned her back upon the Atlantic and gazed more intently than ever upon Asia. Stronger and more general grew the interest in Cathay.

In the middle of the thirteenth century, some members of the Polo family, one of the aristocratic families of Venice, had a commercial house at Constantinople. Thence, in 1260, the brothers Nicolò and Maffeo Polo started on a trading journey to the Crimea, whence one opportunity after another for making money and gratifying their curiosity with new sights led them northward and eastward to the Volga, thence into Bokhara, and so on until they reached the court of the Great Khan, in one of the northwestern provinces of Cathay. The reigning sovereign was the famous Kublai Khan, grandson of the all-conquering Jenghis. Kublai was an able and benevolent despot, earnest in the wish to improve the condition of his Mongol kinsmen. He had never before met European gentlemen, and was charmed with the cultivated and polished Venetians. He seemed quite ready to enlist the Roman Church in aid of his civilizing schemes, and entrusted the Polos with

The Polo
brothers.

¹ Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, ed. Jebb, London, 1733, p. 183.

a message to the Pope, asking him for a hundred missionary teachers. The brothers reached Venice in 1269, and found that Pope Clement IV. was dead and there was an interregnum. After two years Gregory X. was elected and received the Khan's message, but could furnish only a couple of Dominican friars, and these men were seized with the dread not uncommonly felt for "Tartareans," and at the last moment refused to go. Nicolò and his brother then set out in the autumn of 1271 to return to China, taking with them Nicolò's son Marco, a lad of seventeen years. From Acre they went by way of Bagdad to Hormuz, at the mouth of the Persian gulf, apparently with the intention of proceeding thence by sea, but for some reason changed their course, and travelled through Kerman, Khorassan, and Balkh, to Kashgar, and thence by way of Yarkand and Khotan, and across the desert of Gobi into northwestern China, where they arrived in the summer of 1275, and found the Khan at Kaipingfu, not far from the northern end of the Great Wall.

Kublai Khan's
message to the
Pope.

It has been said that the failure of Kublai's mission to the Pope led him to apply to the Grand Lama, at Thibet, who responded more efficiently and successfully than Gregory X., so that Buddhism seized the chance which Catholicism failed to grasp. The Venetians, however, lost nothing in the good Khan's esteem. Young Marco began to make himself proficient in speaking and writing several Asiatic languages, and was presently taken into the Khan's

Marco Polo
and his travels
in Asia.

service. His name is mentioned in the Chinese Annals of 1277 as a newly-appointed commissioner of the privy council.¹ He remained in Kublai's service until 1292, while his father and uncle were gathering wealth in various ways. Marco made many official journeys up and down the Khan's vast dominions, not only in civilized China, but in regions of the heart of Asia seldom visited by Europeans to this day, — "a vast ethnological garden," says Colonel Yule, "of tribes of various race and in every stage of uncivilization." In 1292 a royal bride for the Khan of Persia was to be sent all the way from Peking to Tabriz, and as war that year made some parts of the overland route very unsafe, it was decided to send her by sea. The three Polos had for some time been looking for an opportunity to return to Venice, but Kublai was unwilling to have them go. Now, however, as every Venetian of that day was deemed to be from his very cradle a seasoned seadog, and as the kindly old Mongol sovereign had an inveterate land-lubber's misgivings about ocean voyages, he consented to part with his dear friends, so that he might entrust the precious princess to their care. They sailed from the port of Zaiton (Chinchow) early in 1292, and after long delays on the coasts of Sumatra and Hindustan, in order to avoid unfavourable monsoons, they reached the Persian gulf in 1294. They found that the royal bridegroom, somewhat advanced in years, had died before they started from China;

First recorded voyage of Europeans around the Indo-Chinese peninsula, 1292-94.

¹ Pauthier's *Marco Polo*, p. 361; Yule's *Marco Polo*, p. li.

so the young princess became the bride of his son. After tarrying awhile in Tabriz, the Polos returned, by way of Trebizond and the Bosphorus, to Venice, arriving in 1295.

Return of the
Polos to Ven-
ice.

When they got there, says Ramusio, after their absence of four and twenty years, "the same fate befel them as befel Ulysses, who, when he returned to his native Ithaca, was recognized by nobody." Their kinsfolk had long since given them up for dead; and when the three wayworn travellers arrived at the door of their own palace, the middle-aged men now wrinkled graybeards, the stripling now a portly man, all three attired in rather shabby clothes of Tartar cut, and "with a certain indescribable smack of the Tartar about them, both in air and accent," some words of explanation were needed to prove their identity. After a few days they invited a party of old friends to dinner, and bringing forth three shabby coats, ripped open the seams and welts, and began pulling out and tumbling upon the table such treasures of diamonds and emeralds, rubies and sapphires, as could never have been imagined, "which had all been stitched up in those dresses in so artful a fashion that nobody could have suspected the fact." In such wise had they brought home from Cathay their ample earnings; and when it became known about Venice that the three long-lost citizens had come back, "straightway the whole city, gentle and simple, flocked to the house to embrace them, and to make much of them, with every conceivable demonstration of affection and respect."¹

¹ Ramusio, *apud* Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i. p. xxxvii.

Three years afterward, in 1298, Marco commanded a galley in the great naval battle with the Genoese near Curzola. The Venetians were totally defeated, and Marco was one of the 7,000 prisoners taken to Genoa, where he was kept in durance for about a year. One of his companions in captivity was a certain Rusticiano, of Pisa, who was glad to listen to his descriptions of Asia, and to act as his amanuensis. French was then, at the close of the Crusades, a language as generally understood throughout Europe as later, in the age of Louis XIV.; and Marco's narrative was duly taken down by the worthy Rusticiano in rather lame and shaky French. In the summer of 1299 Marco was set free and returned to Venice, where he seems to have led a quiet life until his death in 1324.

Marco Polo's book written in prison at Genoa, 1299.

“The Book of Ser Marco Polo concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East” is one of the most famous and important books of the Middle Ages. It contributed more new facts toward a knowledge of the earth's surface than any book that had ever been written before. Its author was “the first traveller to trace a route across the whole longitude of Asia;” the first to describe China in its vastness, with its immense cities, its manufactures and wealth, and to tell, whether from personal experience or direct hearsay, of Thibet and Burmah, of Siam and Cochin China, of the Indian archipelago, with its islands of spices, of Java and Sumatra, and of the savages of Andaman. He

Its great contributions to geographical knowledge.

knew of Japan and the woful defeat of the Mongols there, when they tried to invade the island kingdom in 1281. He gave a description of Hindustan far more complete and characteristic than had ever before been published. From Arab sailors, accustomed to the Indian ocean, he learned something about Zanzibar and Madagascar and the semi-Christian kingdom of Abyssinia. To the northward from Persia he described the country of the Golden Horde, whose khans were then holding Russia in subjection; and he had gathered some accurate information concerning Siberia as far as the country of the Samoyeds, with their dog-sledges and polar bears.¹

Here was altogether too much geographical knowledge for European ignorance in those days to digest. While Marco's book attracted much attention, its influence upon the progress of geography was slighter than it would have been if addressed to a more enlightened public. Many of its sober statements of fact were received with incredulity. Many of the places described were indistinguishable, in European imagination, from the general multitude of fictitious countries mentioned in fairy-tales or in romances of chivalry. Perhaps no part of Marco's story was so likely to interest his readers as his references to Prester John. In the course of the twelfth century the notion had somehow gained possession of the European mind that somewhere out in the dim vastness of the Orient there dwelt a mighty Christian potentate, known as John the

¹ Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i. p. cxxxi.

Presbyter or "Prester."¹ At different times he was identified with various known Asiatic sovereigns. Marco Polo identified him with one Togrul Wang, who was overcome and slain by the mighty Jenghis; but he would not stay dead, any more than the grewsome warlock in Russian nursery lore. The notion of Prester John and his wealthy kingdom could no more be expelled from the European mind in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries than the kindred notion of El Dorado in the sixteenth. The position of this kingdom was shifted about here and there, as far as from Chinese Tartary to Abyssinia and back again, but somewhere or other in people's vague mental picture of the East it was sure to occur. Other remote regions in Asia were peopled with elves and griffins and "one-eyed Arimaspians,"² and we may be sure that to Marco's

The "Arimaspians."

¹ "But for to speake of riches and of stones,
And men and horse, I trow the large wonnes
Of Prestir John, ne all his tresorie,
Might not unneth have boght the tenth partie."

Chaucer, *The Flower and the Leaf*, 200.

The fabulous kingdom of Prester John is ably treated in Yule's *Cathay*, vol. i. pp. 174-182; *Marco Polo*, vol. i. p. 204-216. Colonel Yule suspects that its prototype may have been the semi-Christian kingdom of Abyssinia. This is very likely. As for its range, shifted hither and thither as it was, all the way from the upper Nile to the Thian-Shan mountains, we can easily understand this if we remember how an ignorant mind conceives all points distant from its own position as near to one another; i. e. if you are about to start from New York for Arizona, your housemaid will perhaps ask you to deliver a message to her brother in Manitoba. Nowhere more than in the history of geography do we need to keep before us, at every step, the limitations of the untutored mind and its feebleness in grasping the space-relations of remote regions.

² These Arimaspians afford an interesting example of the un-

readers these beings were quite as real as the polished citizens of Cambaluc (Peking) or the cannibals of the Andaman islands. From such a chaos of ideas sound geographical knowledge must needs be a slow evolution, and Marco Polo's acquisitions were altogether too far in advance of his age to be readily assimilated.

Nevertheless, in the Catalan map, made in 1375, and now to be seen in the National Library at Paris, there is a thorough-going and not unsuccessful attempt to embody the results of Polo's travels. In the interval of three Other visits to China. quarters of a century since the publication of Marco's narrative, several adventurous travellers had found their way to Cathay. There was Friar

critical statements of travellers at an early time, as well as of their tenacious vitality. The first mention of these mythical people seems to have been made by Greek travellers in Scythia as early as the seventh century before Christ; and they furnished Aristeas of Proconnesus, somewhat later, with the theme of his poem "Arimaspeia," which has perished, all except six verses quoted by Longinus. See Mure's *Literature of Antient Greece*, vol. iv. p. 68. Thence the notion of the Arimaspians seems to have passed to Herodotus (iii. 116; iv. 27) and to Æschylus: —

ἄξυστόμους γὰρ Ζητὸς ἀκραγεῖς κύνας
γρῦπας φύλαξει, τὸν τε μουνῶπα στρατὸν
'Αριμασπὸν ἵπποβάμον', οἳ χρυσόρῥυτον
οἰκοῦσιν ἀμφὶ νᾶμα Πλούτωνος πόρον·
τούτοις σὺ μὴ πέλαζε.

Prometheus, 802.

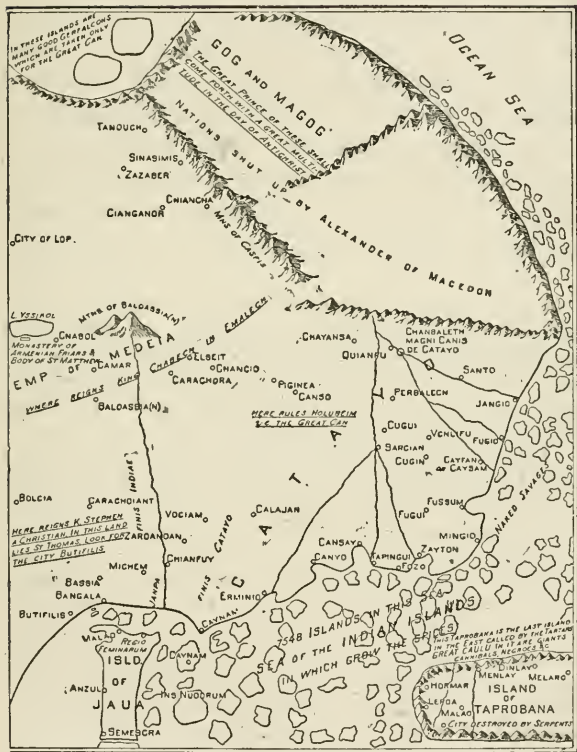
Thence it passed on to Pausanias, i. 24; Pomponius Mela, ii. 1; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 2; Lucan, *Pharsalia*, iii. 280; and so on to Milton: —

"As when a gryphon through the wilderness,
With winged course o'er hill or moory dale,
Pursues the Arimasian who by stealth
Had from his wakeful custody purloined
The guarded gold."

Paradise Lost, ii. 944.



Two sheets of



the Catalan Map, 1375.

Odoric, of Pordenone, who, during the years 1316-30 visited Hindustan, Sumatra, Java, Cochin China, the Chinese Empire, and Thibet.¹ It was from this worthy monk that the arrant old impostor, "Sir John Mandeville," stole his descriptions of India and Cathay, seasoning them with yarns from Pliny and Ktesias, and grotesque conceits of his own.² Several other missionary friars visited China between 1302 and 1330, and about ten years after the latter date the Florentine merchant, Francesco Pegolotti, wrote a very useful handbook for commercial travellers on the over-

¹ Odoric mentions Juggernaut processions and the burning of widows; in Sumatra he observed cannibalism and community of wives; he found the kingdom of Prester John in Chinese Tartary; "but as regards him," says wise Odoric, "not one hundredth part is true of what is told of him as if it were undeniable." Yule's *Cathay*, vol. i. pp. 79, 85, 146.

² Colonel Yule gives a list of fourteen important passages taken bodily from Odoric by Mandeville. *Op. cit.* i. 28. It is very doubtful if that famous book, "Sir John Mandeville's Travels," was written by a Mandeville, or by a knight, or even by an Englishman. It seems to have been originally written in French by Jean de Bourgogne, a physician who lived for some years at Liège, and died there somewhere about 1370. He may possibly have been an Englishman named John Burgoyne, who was obliged some years before that date to flee his country for homicide or for some political offence. He had travelled as far as Egypt and Palestine, but no farther. His book is almost entirely cribbed from others, among which may be mentioned the works of Jacques de Vitry, Plano Carpini, Hayton the Armenian, Boldensele's Itinerary, Albert of Aix's chronicle of the first crusade, Brunetto Latini's *Trésor*, Petrus Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, the *Speculum* of Vincent de Beauvais, etc., etc. It is one of the most wholesale and successful instances of plagiarism and imposture on record. See *The Buke of John Mandevill, from the unique copy (Egerton MS. 1982) in the British Museum. Edited by G. F. Warner.* Westminster, 1830. (Roxburghe Club.)

land route to that country.¹ Between 1338 and 1353 Giovanni Marignolli spent some years at Peking, as papal legate from Benedict XI. to the Great Khan, and also travelled in Ceylon and Hindustan.² That seems to have been the last of these journeys to the Far East. In 1368, the people of China rose against the Mongol dynasty and overthrew it. The first emperor of the native Ming dynasty was placed upon the throne, and the Chinese retorted upon their late conquerors by overrunning vast Mongolia and making it Chinese Tartary. The barriers thrown down by the liberal policy of the Mongol sovereigns were now put up again, and no more foreigners were allowed to set foot upon the sacred soil of the Flowery Kingdom.

Overthrow of the Mongol dynasty, and shutting up of China.

Thus, for just a century, — from Carpini and Rubruquis to Marignolli, — while China was open to strangers as never before or since, a few Europeans had availed themselves of the opportunity in such wise as to mark the beginning of a new era

¹ One piece of Pegolotti's advice is still useful for travellers in the nineteenth century who visit benighted heathen countries afflicted with robber tariffs: "And don't forget that if you treat the custom-house officers with respect, and make them something of a present in goods or money, they will behave with great civility and always be ready to appraise your wares below their real value." *Op. cit.* ii. 307.

² The works of all the writers mentioned in this paragraph, or copious extracts from them, may be found in Yule's *Cathay*, which comprises also the book of the celebrated Ibn Batuta, of Tangier, whose travels, between 1325 and 1355, covered pretty much the whole of Asia except Siberia, besides a journey across Sahara to the river Niger. His book does not seem to have attracted attention in Europe until early in the present century.

in the history of geographical knowledge. Though the discoveries of Marco Polo were as yet but imperfectly appreciated, one point, and that the most significant of all, was thoroughly established. It was shown that the continent of Asia did not extend indefinitely eastward, nor was it bounded and barricaded on that side, as Ptolemy had imagined, by vast impenetrable swamps. On the contrary, its eastern shores were perfectly accessible through an open sea, and half a dozen Europeans in Chinese ships had now actually made the voyage between the coast of China and the Persian gulf. Moreover, some hearsay knowledge — enough to provoke curiosity and greed — had been gained of the existence of numerous islands

First rumours
of the Mo-
lucca islands
and Japan.

in that far-off eastern ocean, rich in the spices which from time immemorial had formed such an important element in Mediterranean commerce. News, also, had been brought to Europe of the wonderful island kingdom of Japan (Cipango or Zipangu) lying out in that ocean some hundreds of miles beyond the coast of Cathay. These were rich countries, abounding in objects of lucrative traffic. Under the liberal Mongol rule the Oriental trade had increased enough for Europe to feel in many ways its beneficial effects. Now this trade began to be suddenly and severely checked, and while access to the interior of Asia was cut off, European merchants might begin to reflect upon the value of what they were losing, and to consider if there were any feasible method of recovering it.

It was not merely the shutting up of China by

the first Ming emperor, in 1368, that checked the intercourse between Europe and Asia. A still more baleful obstacle to all such intercourse had lately come upon the scene. In Asia Minor the beastly Turk, whose career had been for two centuries arrested by the Crusades, now reared his head again. The Seljukian had been only scotched, not killed; and now he sprang to life as the Ottoman, with sharper fangs than before. In 1365 the Turks established themselves in the Balkan peninsula, with Adrianople as their capital, and began tightening their coils about the doomed city of Constantine. Each point that they gained meant the strangling of just so much Oriental trade; for, as we have seen, the alliance of Constantinople with Genoa since 1261 had secured to the latter city, and to western Europe, the advantages of the overland routes from Asia, whether through the Volga country or across Armenia. When at length, in 1453, the Turks took Constantinople, the splendid commercial career of Genoa was cut with the shears of Atropos. At the same time, as their power was rapidly extending over Syria and down toward Egypt, threatening the overthrow of the liberal Mameluke dynasty there, the commercial prosperity of Venice also was seriously imperilled. Moreover, as Turkish corsairs began to swarm in the eastern waters of the Mediterranean, the voyage became more and more unsafe for Christian vessels. It was thus, while the volume of trade with Asia was, in the natural course of things, swelling year by year,

The accustomed routes of Oriental trade cut off by the Ottoman Turks.

that its accustomed routes were being ruthlessly cut off. It was fast becoming necessary to consider whether there might not be other practicable routes to "the Indies" than those which had from time immemorial been followed. Could there be such a thing as an "outside route" to that land of promise? A more startling question has seldom been propounded; for it involved a radical departure from the grooves in which the human mind had been running ever since the days of Solomon. Two generations of men lived and died while this question was taking shape, and all that time Cathay and India and the islands of Spices were objects of increasing desire, clothed by eager fancy with all manner of charms and riches. The more effectually the eastern Mediterranean was closed, the stronger grew the impulse to venture upon unknown paths in order to realize the vague but glorious hopes that began to cluster about these remote countries. Such an era of romantic enterprise as was thus ushered in, the world has never seen before or since. It was equally remarkable as an era of discipline in scientific thinking. In the maritime ventures of unparalleled boldness now to be described, the human mind was groping toward the era of enormous extensions of knowledge in space and time represented by the names of Newton and Darwin. It was learning the right way of putting its trust in the Unseen.

Necessity for finding an "outside route to the Indies."

CHAPTER IV.

THE SEARCH FOR THE INDIES.

EASTWARD OR PORTUGUESE ROUTE.

As it dawned upon men's minds that to find some oceanic route from Europe to the remote shores of Asia was eminently desirable, the first attempt would naturally be to see what could be done by sailing down the western coast of Africa, and ascertaining whether that continent could be circumnavigated. It was also quite in the natural order of things that this first attempt should be made by the Portuguese.

Question as to whether Asia could be reached by sailing around Africa.

In the general history of the Middle Ages the Spanish peninsula had been to some extent cut off from the main currents of thought and feeling which actuated the rest of Europe. Its people had never joined the other Christian nations in the Crusades, for the good reason that they always had quite enough to occupy them in their own domestic struggle with the Moors. From the throes of this prolonged warfare Portugal emerged somewhat sooner than the Spanish kingdoms, and thus had somewhat earlier a surplus of energy released for work of another sort. It was not strange that the Portuguese should be the first people since the old Northmen to engage in dis-

tant maritime adventure upon a grand scale. Nor was it strange that Portuguese seamanship should at first have thriven upon naval warfare with Mussulmans. It was in attempting to suppress the intolerable nuisance of Moorish piracy that Portuguese ships became accustomed to sail a little way down the west coast of Africa; and such voyages, begun for military purposes, were kept up in the interests of commerce, and presently served as a mighty stimulus to geographical curiosity. We have now to consider at some length how grave was the problem that came up for immediate solution.

With regard to the circumnavigability of Africa two opposite opinions were maintained by the ancient Greek and Latin writers whose authority the men of the Middle Ages were wont to quote as decisive of every vexed question. The old Homeric notion of an ocean encompassing the terrestrial world, although mentioned with doubt by Herodotus,¹ continued to survive after the globular form of the earth had come to be generally maintained by ancient geographers. The greatest of these geographers, Eratosthenes, correctly assumed that the Indian ocean was continuous with the Atlantic,² and that Africa could be circumnavigated, just as he incor-

Views of
Eratosthenes,
B. C. 276-196.

¹ Τὸν δὲ Ὠκεανὸν λόγῳ μὲν λέγουσι ἀπ' ἡλίου ἀνατολέων ἀρξάμενον γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν ῥέειν, ἔργῳ δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνύσι. Herodotus, iv. 8.

² Καὶ γὰρ κατ' αὐτὸν Ἐρατοσθένη τὴν ἐκτὸς θάλατταν ἅπασαν σύρρον εἶναι, ὥστε καὶ τὴν Ἑσπέριον καὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν μίαν εἶναι. Strabo, i. 3, § 13.

rectly assumed that the Caspian sea was a huge gulf communicating with a northern ocean, by which it would be possible to sail around the continent of Asia as he imagined it.¹ A similar opinion as to Africa was held by Posidonius and by Strabo.² It was called in question, however, by Polybius,³ and was flatly denied by the great astronomer Hipparchus, who thought that certain observations on the tides, reported by Seleucus of Babylon, proved that there could be no connection between the Atlantic and Indian oceans.⁴ Claudius Ptolemy, writing in the second century after Christ, followed the opinion of Hipparchus, and carried to an extreme the reaction against Eratosthenes. By Ptolemy's time the Caspian had been proved to be an inland sea, and it was evident that Asia extended much farther to the north and east than had once been supposed. This seems to have discredited in his mind the whole conception of outside oceans, and he not only gave an indefinite northward and eastward extension to Asia and an indefinite southern extension to Africa, but brought these two continents together far to the southeast, thus making the Indian ocean a landlocked sea.⁵

Opposing
theory of
Ptolemy, cir.
A. D. 150.

These views of Hipparchus and Ptolemy took

¹ Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, vol. i. p. 644.

² Strabo, ii. 3, § 4; xvii. 3, § 1.

³ Καθάπερ δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Λιβύης, καθὼς συνάπτουσι ἀλλήλαις περὶ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν, οὐδεὶς ἔχει λέγειν ἀτρεκῶς ἕως τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καιρῶν, πότερον ἤπειρός ἐστι κατὰ τὸ συνεχές τὰ πρὸς τὴν μεσημβρίαν, ἢ θαλάττη περιέχεται. Polybius, iii. 38.

⁴ Bunbury, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 15.

⁵ See the map of Ptolemy's world, above, p. 264.

no heed of the story told to Herodotus of the circumnavigation of Africa by a Phœnician squadron at some time during the reign of Necho in Egypt (610–595 B. C.).¹ The Phœnician ships were said to have sailed from the Red Sea and to have returned through the Mediterranean in the third year after starting. In each of the two autumn seasons they stopped and sowed grain and waited for it to ripen, which in southern Africa would require ten or twelve weeks.² On their return to Egypt they declared (“I for my part do not believe them,” says Herodotus, “but perhaps others may”) that in thus sailing from east to west around Africa they had the sun upon their right hand. About this alleged voyage there has been a good deal of controversy.³ No other expedition in any wise com-

Story of the Phœnician voyage, in the time of Necho.

¹ Ptolemy expressly declares that the equatorial regions had never been visited by people from the northern hemisphere: *Τίνες δὲ εἰσὶν αἱ οἰκῆσεις οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμεν πεπεισμένως εἰπεῖν. Ἄτριπτοι γὰρ εἰσὶ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης, καὶ εἰκασίαν μᾶλλον ἔν τις ἢ ἱστορίαν ἠγήσασαυτο τὰ λεγόμενα περὶ αὐτῶν.* *Syntaxis*, ii. 6.

² Rawlinson’s *Herodotus*, vol. iii. p. 29, note 8.

³ The story is discredited by Mannert, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, bd. i. pp. 19–26; Gossellin, *Recherches sur la géographie des Anciens*, tom. i. p. 149; Lewis, *Astronomy of the Ancients*, pp. 508–515; Vincent, *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean*, vol. i. pp. 303–311, vol. ii. pp. 13–15; Leake, *Disputed Questions of Ancient Geography*, pp. 1–8. It is defended by Heeren, *Ideen über die Politik, den Verkehr*, etc., 3e Aufl., Göttingen, 1815, bd. i. abth. ii. pp. 87–93; Rennell, *Geography of Herodotus*, pp. 672–714; Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iii. pp. 377–385. The case is ably presented in Bunbury’s *History of Ancient Geography*, vol. i. pp. 289–296, where it is concluded that the story “cannot be disproved or pronounced to be absolutely impossible; but the difficulties and improbabilities attend-

parable to it for length and difficulty can be cited from ancient history, and a critical scholar is inclined to look with suspicion upon all such accounts of unique and isolated events. As we have not the details of the story, it is impossible to give it a satisfactory critical examination. The circumstance most likely to convince us of its truth is precisely that which dear old Herodotus deemed incredible. The position of the sun, to the north of the mariners, is something that could hardly have been imagined by people familiar only with the northern hemisphere. It is therefore almost certain that Necho's expedition sailed beyond the equator.¹ But that is as far as inference can properly carry us; for our experience of the uncritical temper of ancient narrators is enough to suggest that such

ing it are so great that they cannot reasonably be set aside without better evidence than the mere statement of Herodotus, upon the authority of unknown informants." Mr. Bunbury (vol. i. p. 317) says that he has reasons for believing that Mr. Grote afterwards changed his opinion and came to agree with Sir George Lewis.

¹ In reading the learned works of Sir George Cornwall Lewis, one is often reminded of what Sainte-Beuve somewhere says of the great scholar Letronne, when he had spent the hour of his lecture in demolishing some pretty or popular belief: "Il se frotta les mains et s'en alla bien content." When it came to ancient history, Sir George was undeniably fond of "the everlasting No." In the present case his skepticism seems on the whole well-judged, but some of his arguments savour of undue haste toward a negative conclusion. He thus strangely forgets that what we call autumn is springtime in the southern hemisphere (*Astronomy of the Ancients*, p. 511). His argument that the time alleged was insufficient for the voyage is fully met by Major Rennell, who has shown that the time was amply sufficient, and that the direction of winds and ocean currents would make the voyage around southern Africa from east to west much easier than from west to east.

an achievement might easily be magnified by rumour into the story told, more than a century after the event, to Herodotus. The data are too slight to justify us in any dogmatic opinion. One thing, however, is clear. Even if the circumnavigation was effected, — which, on the whole, seems improbable, — it remained quite barren of results. It produced no abiding impression upon men's minds¹ and added nothing to geographical knowledge. The veil of mystery was not lifted from southern Africa. The story was doubted by Strabo and Posidonius, and passed unheeded, as we have seen, by Hipparchus and Ptolemy.

Of Phœnician and other voyages along the Atlantic coast of Africa we have much more detailed and trustworthy information. As early as the twelfth century before Christ traders from Tyre had founded Cadiz (Gades),² and at a later date the same hardy people seem to have made the beginnings of Lisbon (Olisipo). From such advanced stations Tyrian and Carthaginian ships sometimes found their way northward as far as Cornwall, and in the opposite direction fishing voyages were made along the African coast. The most remarkable un-

Voyage of Hanno.

dertaking in this quarter was the famous voyage of the Carthaginian commander Hanno, whose own brief but interesting account

¹ “No trace of it could be found in the Alexandrian library, either by Eratosthenes in the third, or by Marinus of Tyre in the second, century before Christ, although both of them were diligent examiners of ancient records.” Major, *Prince Henry the Navigator*, p. 90.

² Rawlinson's *History of Phœnicia*, pp. 105, 418; Pseudo-Aristotle, *Mirab. Auscult.*, 146; Velleius Paterculus, i. 2, § 6.

of it has been preserved.¹ This expedition consisted of sixty pentconters (fifty-oared ships), and its chief purpose was colonization. Upon the Mauritanian coast seven small trading stations were founded, one of which — Kerne, at the mouth of the Rio d'Ouro² — existed for a long time. From this point Hanno made two voyages of exploration, the second of which carried him as far as Sierra Leone and the neighbouring Sherboro island, where he found "wild men and women covered with hair," called by the interpreters "gorillas."³ At that point the ships turned back, apparently for want of provisions.

No other expedition in ancient times is known to have proceeded so far south as Sierra Leone. Two other voyages upon this Atlantic coast are mentioned, but without definite details. The one was that of Sataspes (about 470 B. C.), narrated

¹ Hanno, *Periplus*, in Müller, *Geographi Græci Minores*, tom. i. pp. 1-14. Of two or three commanders named Hanno it is uncertain which was the one who led this expedition, and thus its date has been variously assigned from 570 to 470 B. C.

² For the determination of these localities see Bunbury, *op. cit.* vol. i. pp. 318-335. There is an interesting Spanish description of Hanno's expedition in Mariana, *Historia de España*, Madrid, 1783, tom. i. pp. 89-93.

³ The sailors pursued them, but did not capture any of the males, who scrambled up the cliffs out of their reach. They captured three females, who bit and scratched so fiercely that it was useless to try to take them away. So they killed them and took their skins home to Carthage. *Periplus*, xviii. According to Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, vi. 36) these skins were hung up as a votive offering in the temple of Juno (i. e. Astarte or Ashtoreth: see Apuleius, *Metamorph.*, xi. 257; Gesenius, *Monumenta Phœnic.*, p. 168), where they might have been seen at any time before the Romans destroyed the city.

by Herodotus, who merely tells us that a coast was reached where undersized men, clad in palm-leaf garments, fled to the hills at sight of the strange visitors.¹ The other was that of Eudoxus (about 85 B. C.), related by Posidonius, the friend and teacher of Cicero. The story is that this Eudoxus, in a voyage upon the east coast of Africa, having a philological turn of mind, wrote down the words of some of the natives whom he met here and there along the shore. He also picked up a ship's prow in the form of a horse's head, and upon his return to Alexandria some merchants professed to recognize it as belonging to a ship of Cadiz. Eudoxus thereupon concluded that Africa was circumnavigable, and presently sailed through the Mediterranean and out upon the Atlantic. Somewhere upon the coast of Mauritania he found natives who used some words of similar sound to those which he had written down when visiting the eastern coast, whence he concluded that they were people of the same race. At this point he turned back, and the sequel of the story was unknown to Posidonius.²

It is worthy of note that both Pliny and Pomponius Mela, quoting Cornelius Nepos as their authority, speak of Eudoxus as having circumnavigated Africa from the Red Sea to Cadiz; and Pliny, moreover, tells us that Hanno sailed around that continent as far as Arabia,³—a statement which is

¹ Herodotus, iv. 43.

² The story is preserved by Strabo, ii. 3, §§ 4, 5, who rejects it with a vehemence for which no adequate reason is assigned.

³ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, ii. 67; Mela, *De Situ Orbis*, iii. 9.

clearly false. These examples show how stories grow when carelessly and uncritically repeated, and they strongly tend to confirm the doubt with which one is inclined to regard the tale of Necho's sailors above mentioned. In truth, the island of Gorillas, discovered by Hanno, was doubtless the most southerly point on that coast reached by navigators in ancient times. Of the islands in the western ocean the Carthaginians certainly knew the Canaries (where they have left undoubted inscriptions), probably also the Madeiras, and possibly the Cape Verde group.¹

The extent of the knowledge which the ancients thus had of western Africa is well illustrated in the map representing the geographical theories of Pomponius Mela, whose book was written about A. D. 50. Of the eastern coast and the interior

¹ After the civil war of Sertorius (B. C. 80-72), the Romans became acquainted with the Canaries, which, because of their luxuriant vegetation and soft climate, were identified with the Elysium described by Homer, and were commonly known as the Fortunate islands. "Contra Fortunatæ Insulæ abundant sua sponte genitis, et subinde aliis super aliis innascentibus nihil sollicitos alunt, beatius quam aliæ urbes excultæ." Mela, iii. 10.

'Αλλά σ' ἔς Ἡλύσιον πεδῖον καὶ πείρατα γαίης
ἀθάνατοι πέμψουσιν, ὅθι ξανθὸς Ῥαδάμανθους,
τῆπερ ῥήϊστη βιοτῆ πέλει ἀνθρώποισιν·
οὐ νιφετὸς, οὐτ' ἄρ χειμῶν πολλὸς οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρος,
ἀλλ' αἰεὶ Ζεφύροιο λιγὸν πνεύοντασ ἀήτας
Ἦκεανὸς ἀνίησιν ἀναψύχειν ἀνθρώπους.

Odyssey, iv. 563.

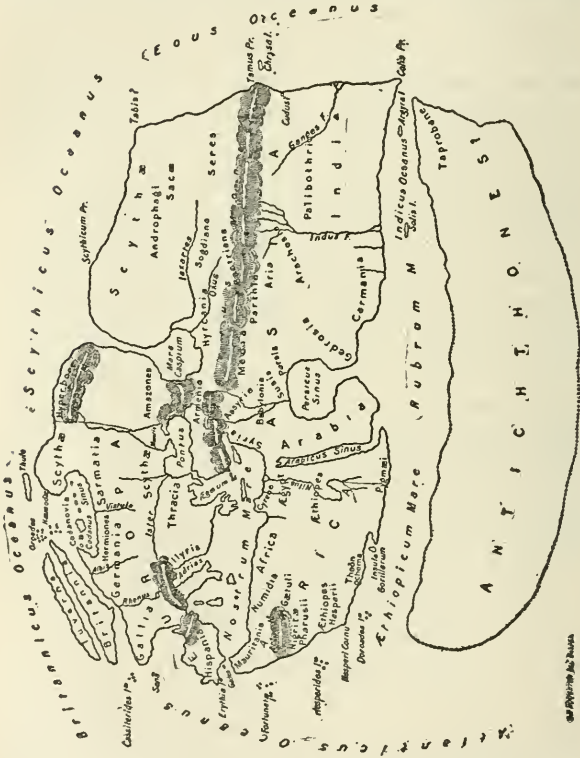
Since Horace's time (*Epod.* vi. 41-66) the Canary islands have been a favourite theme for poets. It was here that Tasso placed the loves of Rinaldo and Armida, in the delicious garden where

Vezzosi augelli infra le verde fronde
Temprano a prova lascivette note.
Mormora l' aura, e fa le foglie e l' onde
Garrir, che varianamente ella percote.

Gerusalemme Liberata, xvi. 12.

Mela knew less than Ptolemy a century later, but of the Atlantic coast he knew more than Ptolemy. The fact that the former geographer was a native of Spain and the latter a native of Egypt no doubt had some

Views of
Pomponius
Mela, cir.
A. D. 50.



Pomponius Mela's World, cir. A. D. 50.

thing to do with this. Mela had profited by the Carthaginian discoveries. His general conception of the earth was substantially that of Eratosthenes. It was what has been styled the "oceanic"

theory, in contrast with the "continental" theory of Ptolemy. In the unvisited regions on all sides of the known world Eratosthenes imagined vast oceans, Ptolemy imagined vast deserts or impenetrable swamps. The former doctrine was of course much more favourable to maritime enterprise than the latter. The works of Ptolemy exercised over the mediæval mind an almost despotic sway, which, in spite of their many merits, was in some respects a hindrance to progress; so that, inasmuch as the splendid work of Strabo, the most eminent follower of Eratosthenes, was unknown to mediæval Europe until about 1450, it was fortunate that the Latin treatise of Mela was generally read and highly esteemed. People in those days were such uncritical readers that very likely the antagonism between Ptolemy and Mela may have failed to excite comment,¹ especially in view of the lack of suitable maps such as emphasize that antagonism to our modern minds. But in the fifteenth century, when men were getting their first inklings of critical scholarship, and when the practical question of an ocean voyage to Asia was pressing for solution, such a point could no longer fail to attract attention; and it happened fortunately that the wet theory, no less than the dry theory, had a popular advocate among those classical authors to whose authority so much deference was paid.

¹ Just as our grandfathers used to read the Bible without noticing such points as the divergences between the books of Kings and Chronicles, the contradictions between the genealogies of Jesus in Matthew and Luke, the radically different theories of Christ's personality and career in the Fourth Gospel as compared with the three Synoptics, etc.

If the Portuguese mariners of the generation before Columbus had acquiesced in Ptolemy's views as final, they surely would not have devoted their energies to the task of circumnavigating Africa. But there were yet other theoretical or fanciful obstacles in the way. When you look at a modern map of the world, the "five zones" may seem like a mere graphic device for marking conveniently the relations of different regions to the solar source of heat; but before the great Portuguese voyages and the epoch-making third voyage of Vespuccius, to be described hereafter, a discouraging doctrine was entertained with regard to these zones. Ancient travellers in Scythia and voyagers to "Thule" — which in Ptolemy's scheme perhaps meant the Shetland isles¹ — had learned something of Arctic phenomena. The long winter nights,² the snow and ice, and the bitter winds, made a deep impression upon visitors from the Mediterranean;³ and

Ancient theory of the five zones.

¹ Bunbury, *op. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 492, 527. The name is used in different geographical senses by various ancient writers, as is well shown in Lewis's *Astronomy of the Ancients*, pp. 467-481.

² The Romans, at least by the first century A. D., knew also of the shortness of northern nights in summer.

Arma quidem ultra
Littora Invernæ promovimus, et modo captas
Orcadas, ac minima contentos nocte Britannos.

Juvenal, ii. 159.

See also Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iv. 30; Martianus Capella, vi. 595; Achilles Tatius, xxxv.

³ The reader will remember Virgil's magnificent description of a Scythian winter (*Georg.*, iii. 352): —

Illic clausa tenent stabulis armenta ; neque ullæ
Aut herbæ campo apparent, aut arbore frondes :
Sed jacet aggeribus niveis informis, et alto
Terra gelu late, septemque assurgit in ulnas ;

when such facts were contrasted with the scorching blasts that came from Sahara, the resulting theory was undeniably plausible. In the extreme north the ocean must be frozen and the country uninhabitable by reason of the cold; contrariwise, in the far south the ocean must be boiling hot and the country inhabitable only by gnomes and salamanders. Applying these ideas to the conception of the earth as a sphere, Pomponius Mela tells us that the surface of the sphere is divided into five zones, of which only two are fit to support human life. About each pole stretches a dead and frozen zone; the southern and northern hemispheres have each a temperate zone, with the same changes of seasons, but not occurring at the

Semper hiems, semper spirantes frigora Cauri.
 Tum Sol pallentes haud unquam discutit umbras;
 Nec cum invectus equis altum petit æthera, nec cum
 Præcipitem Oceani rubro lavit æquore currum.
 Concresecunt subitæ currenti in flumine crustæ;
 Undaque jam tergo ferratos sustinet orbes,
 Puppibus illa prius patulis, nunc hospita plaustris,
 Æraque dissiliunt vulgo, vestesque rigescunt
 Indutæ, cæduntque securibus humida viua
 Et totæ solidam in glaciem vertère lacunæ,
 Stiriaque impexis induruit horrida barbis.
 Interea toto non secius aère ningit;
 Intereunt pecudes; stant circumfusa pruinis
 Corpora magna boum; confertoque agmine cervi
 Torpent mole nova, et summis vix cornibus exstant.

 Ipsi in defossis specubus, securo sub alta
 Otia agunt terra, congestaque robora, totasque
 Advolvere focus ulmos, ignique dedere.
 Hic noctem ludo ducunt, et pocula læti
 Fermento atque acidis imitantur vitea sorbis.
 Talis Hyperboreo Septem subjecta trioni
 Gens effræna virûm Rhipæo tunditur Euro,
 Et pecudum fulvis velantur corpora sætis.

The Roman conception of the situation of these "Hyperboreans" and of the Rhipæan mountains may be seen in the map of Mela's world.

same (but opposite) times; the north temperate zone is the seat of the *Cœcumene* (οἰκουμένη), or Inhabited World; the south temperate zone is also inhabited by the *Antichthones* or *Antipodes*, but about these people we know nothing, because between us and them there intervenes the burning zone, which it is impossible to cross.¹

This notion of an antipodal world in the southern hemisphere will have especial interest for us when we come to deal with the voyages of Vespuccius. The idea seems to have originated in a guess of Hipparchus that Taprobane — the island of Ceylon, about which the most absurd reports were brought to Europe — might be the beginning of another world. This is very probable, says Mela, with delightful *naïveté*, because Taprobane is inhabited, and still we do not know of anybody who has ever made the tour of it.² Mela's con-

¹ "Huic medio terra sublimis cingitur undique mari: eodemque in duo latera, quæ hemisphæria nominantur, ab oriente divisa ad occasum, zonis quinque distinguitur. Mediam æstus infestat, frigus ultimas: reliquæ habitabiles paria agunt anni tempora, verum non pariter. Antichthones alteram, nos alteram incolimus. Illius situ ab ardorem intercedentis plagæ incognito, hujus dicendus est," etc. *De Situ Orbis*, i. 1. A similar theory is set forth by Ovid (*Metamorph.*, i. 45), and by Virgil (*Georg.*, i. 233): —

Quinque tenent cœlum zonæ; quarum una corusco
Semper Sole rubens, et torrida semper ab igni;
Quam circum extremæ dextra lævaque trahuntur,
Cærulea glacie concretæ atque imbribus atris.
Has inter mediamque, duæ mortalibus ægris
Munere concessæ Divûm; et via secta per ambas,
Obliquus qua se signorum verteret ordo.

² "Taprobane aut grandis admodum insula aut prima pars orbis alterius Hipparcho dicitur; sed quia habitata, nec quisquam circummeasse traditur, prope verum est." *De Situ Orbis*, iii. 7.

temporary, the elder Pliny, declares that Taprobane "has long been regarded" as part of another world, the name of which is Antichthon, or Opposite-Earth;¹ at the same time Pliny vouchsafes three closely-printed pages of information about this mysterious country. Throughout the Middle Ages the conception of some sort of an antipodal inhabited world was vaguely entertained by writers here and there, but many of the clergy condemned it as implying the existence of people cut off from the knowledge of the gospel and not included in the plan of salvation.

Curious notions about Ceylon.

As to the possibility of crossing the torrid zone, opinion was not unanimous. Greek explorers from Alexandria (cir. B. C. 100) seem to have gone far up the Nile toward the equator, and the astronomer Geminus quotes their testimony in proof of his opinion that the torrid zone is inhabitable.² Panætius, the friend of the younger Scipio Africanus, had already expressed a similar opinion. But the flaming theory prevailed. Macrobius, writing about six hundred years later, maintained that the southernmost limit of the habitable earth was 850 miles south of Syene, which lies just under the tropic of Cancer.³ Beyond this point no man could go without danger from the

¹ "Taprobanen alterum orbem terrarum esse, diu existimatum est, Antichthonum appellatione." *Hist. Nat.*, vi. 24.

² Geminus, *Isagoge*, cap. 13.

³ Macrobius, *Somnium Scipionis*, ii. 8. Strabo (ii. 5, §§ 7, 8) sets the southern boundary of the Inhabited World 800 miles south of Syene, and the northern boundary at the north of Ireland.

fiery atmosphere. Beyond some such latitude of the ocean no ship could venture without risk of being engulfed in some steaming whirlpool.¹ Such was the common belief before the great voyages of the Portuguese.

Besides this dread of the burning zone, another fanciful obstacle beset the mariner who proposed to undertake a long voyage upon the outer ocean. It had been observed that a ship which disappears in the offing seems to be going downhill; and many people feared that if they should happen thus to descend too far away from the land they could never get back again. Men accustomed to inland sea travel did not feel this dread within the regions of which they had experience, but it assailed them whenever they thought of braving the mighty waters outside.² Thus the

¹ Another notion, less easily explicable and less commonly entertained, but interesting for its literary associations, was the notion of a mountain of loadstone in the Indian ocean, which prevented access to the torrid zone by drawing the nails from ships and thus wrecking them. This imaginary mountain, with some variations in the description, is made to carry a serious geographical argument by the astrologer Pietro d' Abano, in his book *Conciliator Differentiarum*, written about 1312. (See Major, *Prince Henry the Navigator*, p. 100.) It plays an important part in one of the finest tales in the *Arabian Nights*, — the story of the "Third Royal Mendicant."

² Ferdinand Columbus tells us that this objection was urged against the Portuguese captains and afterwards against his father: "E altri di ciò quasi così disputavano, come già i Portoghesi intorno al navigare in Guinea; dicendo che, se si allargasse alenno a far cammino diritto al occidente, come l' Ammiraglio diceva, non potrebbe poi tornare in Ispagna per la rotondità della sfera; tenendo per certissime, che qualunque uscisse del emisferio conosciuto da Tolomeo, anderebbe in giù, e poi gli sarebbe impossibile dar la volta; e affermando che ciò sarebbe quasi uno

master mariner, in the Middle Ages, might contemplate the possible chance of being drawn by force of gravity into the fiery gulf, should he rashly approach too near; and in such misgivings he would be confirmed by Virgil, who was as much read then as he is to-day and esteemed an authority, withal, on scientific questions; for according to Virgil the Inhabited World descends toward the equator and has its apex in the extreme north.¹

To such notions as these, which were supposed to have some sort of scientific basis, we must add the wild superstitious fancies that clustered about all remote and unvisited corners of the world. In maps made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in such places as we should label "Unexplored Region," there were commonly depicted uncouth shapes of "Gorgons and Hydras and Chi-

ascendere all' insù di un monte. Il che non potrebbero fare i navigli con grandissimo vento." *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, Venice, 1571, cap. xii. The same thing is told, in almost the same words, by Las Casas, since both writers followed the same original documents: "Añidian mas, que quien navegase por vía derecha la vuelta del poniente, como el Cristóbal Colon proferia, no podria despues volver, suponiendo que el mundo era redondo y yendo hácia el occidente iban cuesta abajo, y saliendo del hemisferio que Ptolomeo escribiò, á la vuelta érales necesario subir enesta arriba, lo que los navíos era imposible hacer." The gentle but keen sarcasm that follows is very characteristic of Las Casas: "Esta era gentil y profunda razon, y señal de haber bien el negocio entendido!" *Historia de las Indias*, tom. i. p. 230.

¹ Mundus, ut ad Scythiam Rhipæasque arduus arces
 Consurgit, premitur Libyæ devexus in austros,
 Hic vertex nobis semper sublimis; at illum
 Sub pedibus Styx atra videt Manesque profundi.

Georg., i. 240.

For an account of the deference paid to Virgil in the Middle Ages, as well as the grotesque fancies about him, see Tunison's *Master Virgil*, 2d ed., Cincinnati, 1890.

mæras dire," furnishing eloquent testimony to the feelings with which the unknown was regarded.

Superstitious
fancies. The barren wastes of the Sea of Darkness awakened a shuddering dread like that with which children shrink from the gloom of a cellar. When we remember all these things, and consider how the intelligent purpose which urged the commanders onward was scarcely within the comprehension of their ignorant and refractory crews, we can begin to form some idea of the difficulties that confronted the brave mariners who first sought an ocean route to the far-off shores of Cathay.

Less formidable than these obstacles based on fallacious reasoning or superstitious whim were those that were furnished by the clumsiness of the ships and the crudeness of the appliances for navigation. As already observed, the Spanish and Portuguese caravels of the fifteenth century were Clumsiness of
the caravels. less swift and manageable craft than the Norwegian "dragons" of the tenth. Mere yachts in size we should call them, but far from yachtlike in shape or nimbleness. With their length seldom more than thrice their width of beam, with narrow tower-like poops, with broad-shouldered bows and bowsprit weighed down with spritsail yards, and with no canvas higher than a topsail, these clumsy caravels could make but little progress against headwinds, and the amount of tacking and beating to and fro was sometimes enough to quadruple the length of the voyage. For want of metallic sheathing below the waterline the ship was liable to be sunk by the terrible

worm which, in Hakluyt's phrase, "many times peareth and eateth through the strongest oake." For want of vegetable food in the larder, or anything save the driest of bread and beef stiffened with brine, the sailors were sure to be attacked by scurvy, and in a very long voyage the crew was deemed fortunate that did not lose half its number from that foul disease. Often in traversing unknown seas the sturdy men who survived all other perils were brought face to face with starvation when they had ventured too far without turning back.¹ We need not wonder that the first steps in oceanic discovery were slow and painful.

Famine and
scurvy.

First among the instruments without which systematic ocean navigation would have been impossible, the magnetic compass had been introduced into southern Europe and was used by Biscayan and Catalan sailors before the end of the twelfth century.² Parties of Crusaders had learned the virtues of the suspended needle from the Arabs, who are said to have got their knowledge indirectly from China in the course of their eastern voyages.³ It seems to have been

The mariner's
compass.

¹ Or simply because a wrong course happened to be taken, through ignorance of atmospheric conditions, as in the second homeward and third outward voyages of Columbus. See below, pp. 485, 490.

² Navarrete, *Discurso historico sobre los progresos del arte de navegar en España*, p. 28; see also Raymond Lully's treatise, *Libro felix, ó Maravillas del mundo* (A. D. 1286).

³ See Humboldt's *Kosmos*, bd. i. p. 294; Klaproth, *Lettre à M. de Humboldt sur l'invention de la boussole*, pp. 41, 45, 50, 66, 79, 90. But some of Klaproth's conclusions have been doubted: "Pour la boussole, rien ne prouve que les Chinois l'aient em-

at Amalfi that the needle was first enclosed in a box and connected with a graduated compass-card. Apparently it had not come into general use in the middle of the thirteenth century, for in 1258 the famous Brunetto Latini, afterwards tutor of Dante, made a visit to Roger Bacon, of which he gives a description in a letter to his friend the poet Guido Cavalcanti: "The Parliament being summoned to assemble at Oxford, I did not fail to see Friar Bacon as soon as I arrived, and (among other things) he showed me a black ugly stone called a magnet, which has the surprising property of drawing iron to it; and upon which, if a needle be rubbed, and afterwards fastened to a straw so that it shall swim upon water, the needle will instantly turn toward the Pole-star: therefore, be the night ever so dark, so that neither moon nor star be visible, yet shall the mariner be able, by the help of this needle, to steer his vessel aright. This discovery, which appears useful in so great a degree to all who travel by sea, must remain concealed until other times; because no master mariner dares to use it lest he should fall under the imputation of being a magician; nor would the sailors venture themselves out to sea under his command, if he took with him an instrument which carries so great an appearance of being constructed under the influence of some infernal spirit.¹ A

ployée pour la navigation, tandis que nous la trouvons dès le xi^e siècle chez les Arabes qui s'en servent non seulement dans leurs traversées maritimes, mais dans les voyages de caravanes au milieu des déserts," etc. Sédillot, *Histoire des Arabes*, tom. ii. p. 130.

¹ Is it not a curious instance of human perversity that while

time may arrive when these prejudices, which are of such great hindrance to researches into the secrets of nature, will be overcome; and it will be then that mankind shall reap the benefit of the labours of such learned men as Friar Bacon, and do justice to that industry and intelligence for which he and they now meet with no other return than obloquy and reproach." ¹

That time was after all not so long in arriving, for by the end of the thirteenth century the compass had come to be quite generally used,² and the direction of a ship's course could be watched continuously in foul and fair weather alike. For taking the sun's altitude rude astrolabes and jack-staffs were in use, very crazy affairs as compared with the modern quadrant, but sufficiently accurate to enable a well-trained observer, Latitude and longitude. in calculating his latitude, to get somewhere within two or three degrees of the truth. In calculating longitude the error was apt to be much greater, for in the absence of chronometers there were no accurate means for marking differences in time. It was necessary to depend upon the dead-reckoning, and the custom was first to sail due north or south to the parallel of the place of destination and then to turn at right angles and customary usage from time immemorial has characterized as "acts of God" such horrible events as famines, pestilences, and earthquakes, on the other hand when some purely beneficent invention has appeared, such as the mariner's compass or the printing press, it has commonly been accredited to the Devil? The case of Dr. Faustus is the most familiar example.

¹ This version is cited from Major's *Prince Henry the Navigator*, p. 58.

² Hüllmann, *Städtewesen des Mittelalters*, bd. i. pp. 125-137.

sail due east or west. Errors of eight or even ten degrees were not uncommon. Thus at the end of a long outward voyage the ship might find itself a hundred miles or more to the north or south, and six or seven hundred miles to the east or west, of the point at which it had been aimed. Under all these difficulties, the approximations made to correct sailing by the most skilful mariners were sometimes wonderful. Doubtless this very poverty of resources served to sharpen their watchful sagacity.¹ To sail the seas was in those days a task requiring high mental equipment; it was no work for your commonplace skipper. Human faculty was taxed to its utmost, and human courage has never been more grandly displayed than by the glorious sailors of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

We are now prepared to appreciate the character of the work that was done in the course of the first attempts to find an oceanic route from Europe to Asia. Then, as in other great epochs of history, men of genius arose to meet the occasion. In 1394 was born Prince Henry of Portugal, since known as Henry the Navigator.² He was fourth son of King John I.,

Prince Henry
the Navigator,
1394-1463.

¹ Compare the remarks of Mr. Clark Russell on the mariners of the seventeenth century, in his *William Dampier*, p. 12.

² My chief authorities for the achievements of Prince Henry and his successors are the Portuguese historians, Barros and Azurara. The best edition of the former is a modern one, Barros y Couto, *Decadas da Asia, nova edição con Indice geral*, Lisbon, 1778-88, 24 vols. 12mo. I also refer sometimes to the Lisbon, 1752, edition of the *Decada primeira*, in folio. The priceless contemporary work of Azurara, written in 1453 under Prince Henry's direction, was not printed until the present century: Azurara,

the valiant and prudent king under whom began the golden age of Portugal, which lasted until the conquest of that country in 1580 by Philip II. of Spain. Henry's mother was Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt. He was therefore cousin to our own Henry V. of England, whom he quite equalled in genius, while the laurels that he won were more glorious than those of Agincourt. In 1415, being then in his twenty-first year, Prince Henry played a distinguished part in the expedition which captured Ceuta from the Moors. While in Morocco he gathered such information as he could concerning the interior of the continent; he learned something about the oases of Sahara, the distant river Gambia, and the caravan trade between Tunis and Timbuctoo, whereby gold was carried from the Guinea coast to Mussulman ports on the Mediterranean. If this coast could be reached by sea, its gold might be brought to Lisbon as well. To divert such treasure from the infidel and secure it for a Christian nation was an enterprise fitted to kindle a prince's enthusiasm. While Henry felt the full force of these considerations, his thoughts took a wider range. The views of Pomponius Mela had always been held in high esteem by scholars of the Spanish peninsula,¹ and down past that Gold Coast Prince Henry saw

Chronica do Descobrimento e Conquista de Guiné, Paris, 1841, a superb edition in royal quarto, edited by the Viscount da Carreira, with introduction and notes by the Viscount de Santarem.

¹ Partly, perhaps, because Mela was himself a Spaniard, and partly because his opinions had been shared and supported by St. Isidore, of Seville (A. D. 570-636), whose learned works exercised immense authority throughout the Middle Ages. It is in one of

the ocean route to the Indies, the road whereby
His idea of an ocean route to the Indies, and what it might bring. a vast empire might be won for Portugal and millions of wandering heathen souls might be gathered into the fold of Christ. To doubt the sincerity of the latter motive, or to belittle its influence, would be to do injustice to Prince Henry, — such cynical injustice as our hard-headed age is only too apt to mete out to that romantic time and the fresh enthusiasm which inspired its heroic performances. Prince Henry was earnest, conscientious, large-minded, and in the best sense devout; and there can be no question that in his mind, as in that of Columbus, and (with somewhat more alloy) in the minds of Cortes and others, the desire of converting the heathen and strengthening the Church served as a most powerful incentive to the actions which in the course of little more than a century quite changed the face of the world.

Filled with such lofty and generous thoughts, Prince Henry, on his return from Morocco, in 1418, chose for himself a secluded place of abode where he could devote himself to his purposes undisturbed by the court life at Lisbon or by political solicitations of whatever sort. In the Morocco campaign he had won such military renown that he was now invited by Pope Martin V. to take chief command of the papal army; and presently he received similar flattering offers from his own cousin, Henry V. of England, from John II. of

St. Isidore's books (*Etymologiarum*, xiii. 16, apud Migne, *Patrologia*, tom. lxxxii. col. 484) that we first find the word "Mediterranean" used as a proper name for that great land-locked sea.

Castile, and from the Emperor Sigismund, who, for shamefully violating his imperial word and permitting the burning of John Huss, was now sorely pressed by the enraged and rebellious Bohemians. Such invitations had no charm for Henry. Refusing them one and all, he retired to the promontory of Sagres, in the southernmost province of Portugal, the ancient kingdom of Algarve, of which his father now appointed him governor. That lonely and barren rock, protruding into the ocean, had long ago impressed the imagination of Greek and Roman writers; they called it the Sacred Promontory, and supposed it to be the westernmost limit of the habitable earth.¹ There the young prince proceeded to build an astronomical observatory, the first that his country had ever seen, and to gather about him a school of men competent to teach and men eager to learn the mysteries of map-making and the art of navigation. There he spent the greater part of his life; thence he sent forth his captains to plough the southern seas; and as year after year the weather-beaten ships returned from their venturesome pilgrimage, the first glimpse of home that greeted them was likely to be the beacon-light in the tower where the master sat poring over problems of Archimedes or watching the stars. For Henry, whose motto was “*Talent de bien faire*,” or (in the old French usage) “*Desire*² to do well,”

¹ Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἔξω στηλῶν λέγεται· δυσμικώτατον μὲν γὰρ σημείον τῆς οἰκουμένης, τὸ τῶν Ἰβήρων ἀκρωτήριον, ὃ καλοῦσιν Ἰερόν. Strabo, ii. 5, § 14; cf. Dionysius Periegetes, v. 161. In reality it lies not quite so far west as the country around Lisbon.

² See Littré, *Dictionnaire*, s. v. “*Talent* ;” Du Cange, *Glossa-*

was wont to throw himself whole-hearted into whatever he undertook, and the study of astronomy and mathematics he pursued so zealously as to reach a foremost place among the experts of his time. With such tastes and such ambition, he was singularly fortunate in wielding ample pecuniary resources; if such a combination could be more often realized, the welfare of mankind would be notably enhanced. Prince Henry was Grand Master of the Order of Christ, an organization half military, half religious, and out of its abundant revenues he made the appropriations needful for the worthy purpose of advancing the interests of science, converting the heathen, and winning a commercial empire for Portugal. At first he had to encounter the usual opposition to lavish expenditure for a distant object without hope of immediate returns; but after a while his dogged perseverance began to be rewarded with such successes as to silence all adverse comment.

The first work in hand was the rediscovery of coasts and islands that had ceased to be visited even before the breaking up of the Roman Empire. For more than a thousand years the Madeira and Canaries had been wellnigh forgotten, and upon the coast of the African continent no ship ventured beyond Cape Non, the headland so named because it said "No!" to the wistful mariner.¹ There

The Madeira
and Canary
islands.

rium, "talentum, animi decretum, voluntas, desiderium, cupiditas," etc.; cf. Raynonard, *Glossaire Provençale*, tom. v. p. 296. French was then fashionable at court, in Lisbon as well as in London.

¹ The Portuguese proverb was "Quem passar o Cabo de Não

had been some re-awakening of maritime activity in the course of the fourteenth century, chiefly due, no doubt, to the use of the compass. Between 1317 and 1351 certain Portuguese ships, with Genoese pilots, had visited not only the Madeiras and Canaries, but even the Azores, a thousand miles out in the Atlantic; and these groups of islands are duly laid down upon the so-called Medici map of 1351, preserved in the Laurentian library at Florence.¹ The voyage to the Azores was probably the greatest feat of ocean navigation that had been performed down to that time, but it was not followed by colonization. Again, somewhere about 1377 Madeira seems to have been visited by Robert Machin, an Englishman, whose adventures make a most romantic story; and in 1402 the Norman knight, Jean de Béthencourt, had begun to found a colony in the Canaries, for which, in return for aid and supplies, he did homage to the King of Castile.² As for the African

ou voltará ou não," i. e. "Whoever passes Cape *Non* will return or not." See Las Casas, *Hist. de las Indias*, tom. i. p. 173; Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. i. p. 91; Barros, tom. i. p. 36.

¹ An engraved copy of this map may be found in Major's *Prince Henry the Navigator*, London, 1868, facing p. 107. I need hardly say that in all that relates to the Portuguese voyages I am under great obligation to Mr. Major's profoundly learned and critical researches. He has fairly conquered this subject and made it his own, and whoever touches it after him, however lightly, must always owe him a tribute of acknowledgment.

² See Bontier and Le Verrier, *The Canarian, or, Book of the Conquest and Conversion of the Canaries*, translated and edited by R. H. Major, London, 1872 (Hakluyt Soc.). In 1414, Béthencourt's nephew, left in charge of these islands, sold them to Prince Henry, but Castile persisted in claiming them, and at length in 1479 her claim was recognized by treaty with Portugal.

coast, Cape Non had also been passed at some time during the fourteenth century, for Cape Bojador is laid down on the Catalan map of 1375 ; but beyond that point no one had dared take the risks of the unknown sea.

The first achievement under Prince Henry's guidance was the final rediscovery and colonization of Porto Santo and Madeira in 1418-25 by Gonsalvez Zarco, Tristam Vaz, and Bartholomew Perestrelo.¹ This work occupied the prince's attention for some years, and then came up the problem of Cape Bojador. The difficulty was twofold ;

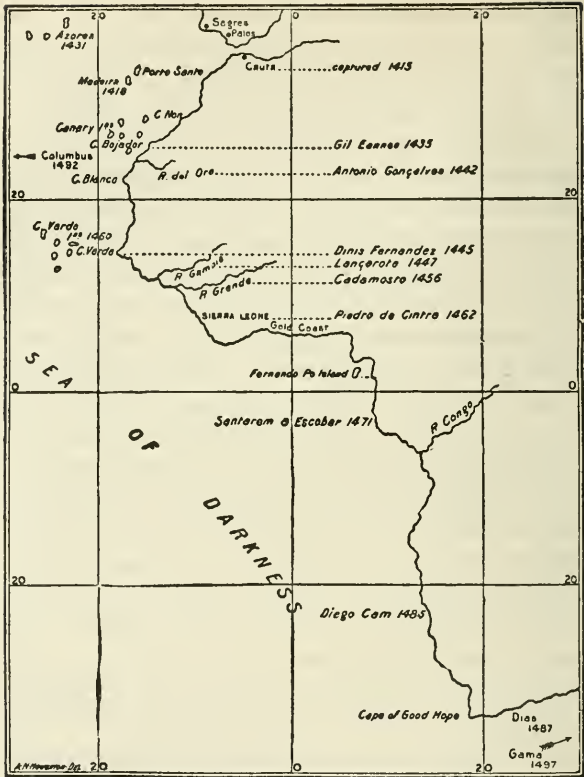
Of all the African islands, therefore, the Canaries alone came to belong, and still belong, to Spain.

¹ Perestrelo had with him a female rabbit which littered on the voyage, and being landed, with her young, at Porto Santo, forthwith illustrated the fearful rate of multiplication of which organisms are capable in the absence of enemies or other adverse circumstances to check it. (Darwin, *Origin of Species*, chap. iii.) These rabbits swarmed all over the island and devoured every green and succulent thing, insomuch that they came near converting it into a desert. Prince Henry's enemies, who were vexed at the expenditure of money in such colonizing enterprises, were thus furnished with a wonderful argument. They maintained that God had evidently created those islands for beasts alone, not for men ! "En este tiempo habia en todo Portugal grandísimas murmuraciones del Infante, viéndole tan cudicioso y poner tanta diligencia en el descubrir de la tierra y costa de África, diciendo que destruia el reino en los gastos que hacia, y consumia los vecinos dél en poner en tanto peligro y daño la gente portoguesa, donde muchos morian, enviándolos en demanda de tierras que nunca los reyes de España pasados se atrevieron á emprender, donde habia de hacer muchas viudas y huérfanos con esta su porfia. Tomaban por argumento, que Dios no habia criado aquellas tierras sino para bestias, pues en tan poco tiempo en aquella isla tantos conejos habia multiplicado, que no dejaban cosa que para sustentacion de los hombres fuese menester." Las Casas, *Hist. de las Indias*, tom. i. p. 180. See also Azurara, *Chronica do descobrimento e conquista de Guiné*, cap. lxxiii.

the waves about that headland were apt to be boisterous, and wild sailor's fancies were apt to enkindle a mutinous spirit in the crews. It was not until 1433-35 that Gil Eannes, Gil Eannes passes Cape Bojador. a commander of unusually clear head and steady nerves, made three attempts and fairly passed the dreaded spot. In the first attempt he failed, as his predecessors had done, to double the cape; in the second attempt he doubled it; in the third he sailed nearly two hundred miles beyond.

This achievement of Gil Eannes (*anglicè*, plain Giles Jones) marks an era. It was the beginning of great things. When we think of the hesitation with which this step was taken, and the vociferous applause that greeted the successful captain, it is strange to reflect that babes were already born in 1435 who were to live to hear of the prodigious voyages of Columbus and Gama, Vesputius and Magellan. After seven years a further step was taken in advance; in 1442 Antonio Gonçalves brought gold and negro slaves Beginning of the modern slave-trade, 1442. from the Rio d' Ouro, or Rio del Oro, four hundred miles beyond Cape Bojador. Of this beginning of the modern slave-trade I shall treat in a future chapter.¹ Let it suffice here to observe that Prince Henry did not discourage but sanctioned it. The first aspect which this baleful traffic assumed in his mind was that of a means for converting the heathen, by bringing black men and women to Portugal to be taught the true faith and the ways of civilized people, that they might in due season be sent back to their native

¹ See below, vol. ii. pp. 429-431.



Portuguese voyages on the coast of Africa.

land to instruct their heathen brethren. The kings of Portugal should have a Christian empire in Africa, and in course of time the good work might be extended to the Indies. Accordingly a special message was sent to Pope Eugenius IV., informing him of the discovery of the country of these barbar-

Papal grant of heathen countries to the Portuguese crown.

ous people beyond the limits of the Mussulman world, and asking for a grant in perpetuity to Portugal of all heathen lands that might be discovered in further voyages beyond Cape Bojador, even so far as to include the Indies.¹ The request found favour in the eyes of Eugenius, and the grant was solemnly confirmed by succeeding popes. To these proceedings we shall again have occasion to refer. We have here to observe that the discovery of gold and the profits of the slave-trade — though it was as yet conducted upon a very small scale — served to increase the interest of the Portuguese people in Prince Henry's work and to diminish the obstacles in his way. A succession of gallant captains, whose names make a glorious roll of honour, carried on the work of exploration, reaching the farthest point that had been attained by the ancients. In 1445 Dinis Fernandez passed

¹ "En el año de 1442, viendo el Infante que se había pasado el cabo del Bojador y que la tierra iba muy adelante, y que todos los navíos que inviaba traian muchos esclavos moros, con que pagaba los gastos que hacia y que cada dia crecia más el provecho y se prosperaba su amada negociacion, determinó de inviar á suplicar al Papa Martino V., . . . que hiciese gracia á la Corona real de Portogal de los remos y señoríos que habia y hobiese desde el cabo del Bojador adelante, hácia el Oriente y la India inclusive ; y así se las concedió, . . . con todas las tierras, puertos, islas, tratos, rescates, pesquerías y cosas á esto pertenecientes, poniendo censuras y penas á todos los reyes cristianos, príncipes, y señores y comunidades que á esto le perturbasen; despues, dicen, que los sumos pontífices, sucesores de Martino, como Eugenio IV. y Nicolas V. y Calixto IV. lo confirmaron." Las Casas, *Hist. de las Indias*, tom. i. p. 185. The name of Martin V. is a slip of the memory on the part of Las Casas. That pope had died of apoplexy eleven years before. It was Eugenius IV. who made this memorable grant to the crown of Portugal. The error is repeated in Irving's *Columbus*, vol. i. p. 339.

Cape Verde, and two years later Lançarote found the mouth of the Gambia. In 1456 Luigi Cada-mosto — a Venetian captain in the service of Portugal — went as far as the Rio Grande; in 1460 Diego Gomez discovered the Cape Verde islands; and in 1462 Piedro de Cintra reached Advance to Sierra Leone. Sierra Leone.¹ At the same time, in various expeditions between 1431 and 1466, the Azores (i. e. “Hawk” islands) were re-discovered and colonized, and voyages out into the Sea of Darkness began to lose something of their manifold terrors.

Prince Henry did not live to see Africa circum-navigated. At the time of his death, in 1463, his ships had not gone farther than the spot where Hanno found his gorillas two thousand years before. But the work of this excellent prince did not end with his death. His adventurous spirit lived on in the school of accomplished navigators he had trained. Many voyages were made after 1462, of which we need mention only those that marked new stages of discovery. In 1471 two knights of the royal household, João de Santarem and Pedro de Escobar, sailed down the Gold Coast and crossed the equator; three years later the line was again crossed by Fernando Po, discoverer of the island that bears his Advance to the Hottentot coast. name. In 1484 Diego Cam went on as far as the mouth of the Congo, and entered into

¹ The first published account of the voyages of Cadamosto and Cintra was in the *Paesi nouamente retrouati*, Vicenza, 1507, a small quarto which can now sometimes be bought for from twelve to fifteen hundred dollars. See also Grynæus, *Novvs Orbis*, Basel, 1532.

very friendly relations with the negroes there. In a second voyage in 1485 this enterprising captain pushed on a thousand miles farther, and set up a cross in 22° south latitude on the coast of the Hot-tentot country. Brisk trading went on along the Gold Coast, and missionaries were sent to the Congo.¹

¹ It was in the course of these voyages upon the African coast that civilized Europeans first became familiar with people below the upper status of barbarism. Savagery and barbarism of the lower types were practically unknown in the Middle Ages, and almost, though probably not quite unknown, to the civilized peoples of the Mediterranean in ancient times. The history of the two words is interesting. The Greek word *βάρβαρος*, whence Eng. *barbarian* (= Sanskrit *barbara*, Latin *balbus*), means "a stammerer," or one who talks gibberish, i. e. in a language we do not understand. Aristophanes (*Aves*, 199) very prettily applies the epithet to the inarticulate singing of birds. The names *Welsh*, *Walloon*, *Wallachian*, and *Belooch*, given to these peoples by their neighbours, have precisely the same meaning (Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, ii. 252); and in like manner the Russians call the Germans *Nyemetch*, or people who cannot talk (Schafarik, *Slawische Alterthum*, i. 443; Pott, *Etym. Forsch.*, ii. 521). The Greeks called all men but themselves barbarians, including such civilized people as the Persians. The Romans applied the name to all tribes and nations outside the limits of the Empire, and the Italians of the later Middle Ages bestowed it upon all nations outside of Italy. Upon its lax use in recent times I have already commented (above, pp. 25-35). The tendency to apply the epithet to savages is modern. The word *savage*, on the other hand, which came to us as the Old French *sauvage* or *salvage* (Ital. *selvaggio*, *salvatico*), is the Latin *silvaticus*, *sylvaticus*, *salvaticus*, that which pertains to a forest and is sylvan or wild. In its earliest usage it had reference to plants and beasts rather than to men. Wild apples, pears, or laurels are characterized by the epithet *sylvaticus* in Varro, *De re rustica*, i. 40; and either this adjective, or its equivalent *silvestris*, was used of wild animals as contrasted with domesticated beasts, as wild sheep and wild fowl, in Columella, vii. 2; viii. 12, or wolves, in Propertius, iii. 7, or mice, in Pliny, xxx. 22. (Occasionally it is used of men, as in Pliny, viii. 79.) The meaning was the same in

These voyages into the southern hemisphere dealt a damaging blow to the theory of an impas-

mediæval Latin (Du Cange, *Glossarium*, Niort, 1886, tom. vii. p. 686) and in Old French, as "La douce voiz du loussignol sauvage" (Michel, *Chansons de chatelain de Coucy*, xix.). In the romance of *Robert le Diable*, in the verses

Sire, se vos fustes Sauvages
Viers moi, je n'i pris mie garde, etc.,

the reference is plainly to degenerate civilized men frequenting the forests, such as bandits or outlaws, not to what we call savages.

Mediæval writers certainly had some idea of savages, but it was not based upon any actual acquaintance with such people, but upon imperfectly apprehended statements of ancient writers. At the famous ball at the Hotel de Saint Pol in Paris, in 1393, King Charles VI. and five noblemen were dressed in close-fitting suits of linen, thickly covered from head to foot with tow or flax, the colour of hair, so as to look like "savages." In this attire nobody recognized them, and the Duke of Orleans, in his eagerness to make out who they were, brought a torch too near, so that the flax took fire, and four of the noblemen were burned to death. See Froissart's *Chronicles*, tr. Johnes, London, 1806, vol. xi. pp. 69-76. The point of the story is that savages were supposed to be men covered with hair, like beasts, and Froissart, in relating it, evidently knew no better. Whence came this notion of hairy men? Probably from Hanno's gorillas (see above, p. 301), through Pliny, whose huge farrago of facts and fancies was a sort of household Peter Parley in mediæval monasteries. Pliny speaks repeatedly of men covered with hair from head to foot, and scatters them about according to his fancy, in Carmania and other distant places (*Hist. Nat.*, vi. 28, 36, vii. 2).

Greek and Roman writers seem to have had some slight knowledge of savagery and the lower status of barbarism as prevailing in remote places ("Ptoloméé dit que es extremités de la terre habitable sont gens sauvages," Oresme, *Les Éthiques d'Aristote*, Paris, 1488), but their remarks are usually vague. Seldom do we get such a clean-cut statement as that of Tacitus about the Finns, that they have neither horses nor houses, sleep on the ground, are clothed in skins, live by the chase, and for want of iron use bone-tipped arrows (*Germania*, cap. 46). More often we have unconscionable yarns about men without noses, or with only one

sable fiery zone; but as to the circumnavigability of the African continent, the long stretch of coast beyond the equator seemed more in harmony with Ptolemy's views than with those of Mela. The eastward trend of the Guinea coast was at first in favour of the latter geographer, but when Santarem and Escobar found it turning southward to the equator the facts began to refute him. According to Mela

Effect of these discoveries upon the theories of Ptolemy and Mela.

eye, tailed men, solid-hoofed men, Amazons, and parthenogenesis. The Troglodytes, or Cave-dwellers, on the Nubian coast of the Red Sea seem to have been in the middle status of barbarism (Diodorus, iii. 32; Agatharchides, 61-63), and the Ichthyophagi, or Fish-eaters, whom Nearchus found on the shores of Gedrosia (Arrian, *Indica*, cap. 29), were probably in a lower stage, perhaps true savages. It is exceedingly curious that Mela puts a race of pygmies at the headwaters of the Nile (see map above, p. 304). Is this only an echo from *Iliad*, iii. 6, or can any ancient traveller have penetrated far enough inland toward the equator to have heard reports of the dwarfish race lately visited by Stanley (*In Darkest Africa*, vol. ii. pp. 100-104, 164)? Strabo had no real knowledge of savagery in Africa (cf. Bunbury, *Hist. Ancient Geog.*, ii. 331). Sataspes may have seen barbarians of low type, possibly on one of the Canary isles (see description of Canarians in Major's *Prince Henry*, p. 212). Ptolemy had heard of an island of cannibals in the Indian ocean, perhaps one of the Andaman group, visited A. D. 1293 by Marco Polo. The people of these islands rank among the lowest savages on the earth, and Marco was disgusted and horrified; their beastly faces, with huge prognathous jaws and projecting canine teeth, he tried to describe by calling them a dog-headed people. Sir Henry Yule suggests that the mention of Cynocephali, or Dog-heads, in ancient writers may have had an analogous origin (*Marco Polo*, vol. ii. p. 252). This visit of the Venetian traveller to Andaman was one of very few real glimpses of savagery vouchsafed to Europeans before the fifteenth century; and a general review of the subject brings out in a strong light the truthfulness and authenticity of the description of American Indians in Eric the Red's Saga, as shown above, pp. 185-192.

they should have found it possible at once to sail eastward to the gulf of Aden. What if it should turn out after all that there was no connection between the Atlantic and Indian oceans? Every added league of voyaging toward the tropic of Capricorn must have been fraught with added discouragement, for it went to prove that, even if Ptolemy's theory was wrong, at any rate the ocean route to Asia was indefinitely longer than had been supposed. But was it possible to imagine any other route that should be more direct? To a trained mariner of original and imaginative mind, sojourning in Portugal and keenly watching the progress of African discovery, the years just following the voyage of Santarem and Escobar would be a period eminently fit for suggesting such a question. Let us not forget this date of 1471 while we follow Prince Henry's work to its first grand climax.

About the time that Diego Cam was visiting the tribes on the Congo, the negro king of Benin, a country by the mouth of the Niger, sent an embassy to John II. of Portugal (Prince Henry's nephew), with a request that missionary priests might be sent to Benin. It has been thought that the woolly-haired chieftain was really courting an alliance with the Portuguese, or perhaps he thought their "medicine men" might have the knack of confounding his foes. The negro envoy told King John that a thousand miles or so east of Benin there was an august sovereign who ruled over many subject peoples, and at whose court there was an order of chivalry whose badge or emblem was

a brazen cross. Such, at least, was the king's interpretation of the negro's words, and forthwith he jumped to the conclusion that this African potentate must be Prester John, News of Prester John. whose name was redolent of all the marvels of the mysterious East. To find Prester John would be a long step toward golden Cathay and the isles of spice. So the king of Portugal rose to the occasion, and attacked the problem on both flanks at once. He sent Pedro de Covilham by way of Egypt to Aden, and he sent Bartholomew Dias, with three fifty-ton caravels, to make one more attempt to find an end to the Atlantic coast of Africa.

Covilham's journey was full of interesting experiences. He sailed from Aden to Hindustan, and on his return visited Abyssinia, where Covilham's journey. the semi-Christian king took such a liking to him that he would never let him go. So Covilham spent the rest of his life, more than thirty years, in Abyssinia, whence he was able now and then to send to Portugal items of information concerning eastern Africa that were afterwards quite serviceable in voyages upon the Indian ocean.¹

The daring captain, Bartholomew Dias, started in August, 1486, and after passing nearly four hundred miles beyond the tropic of Capricorn, was driven due south before heavy winds for thirteen days without seeing land. At the end of this stress of weather he turned his prows eastward, expecting soon to reach the coast. But as he had passed the southernmost point of Africa

¹ See Major's *India in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. lxxxv.-xc.

and no land appeared before him, after a while he steered northward and landed near the mouth of Gauritz river, more than two hundred miles east of the Cape of Good Hope. Thence he pushed on about four hundred miles farther eastward as far as the Great Fish river (about $33^{\circ} 30' S.$, $27^{\circ} 10' E.$), where the coast begins to have a steady trend to the northeast. Dias was now fairly in the Indian ocean, and could look out with wistful triumph upon that waste of waters, but his worn-out crews refused to go any farther and he was compelled reluctantly to turn back. On the way homeward the ships passed in full sight of the famous headland which Dias called the Stormy Cape; but after arriving at Lisbon, in December, 1487, when the report of this noble voyage was laid before King John II., his majesty said, Nay, let it rather be called the Cape of Good Hope, since there was now much reason to believe that they had found the long-sought ocean route to the Indies.¹ Though this opinion turned out to be correct, it is well for us to remember that the proof was not yet com-

¹ The greatest of Portuguese poets represents the Genius of the Cape as appearing to the storm-tossed mariners in cloud-like shape, like the Jinni that the fisherman of the Arabian tale released from a casket. He expresses indignation at their audacity in discovering his secret, hitherto hidden from mankind: —

Eu sou aquelle occulto e grande Cabo,
 A quem chamais vós outros Tormentorio,
 Que nunca á Ptolomeo, Pomponio, Estrabo,
 Plinio, e quantos passaram, fui notorio:
 Aqui toda a Africana costa acabo
 Neste meu nunca vista promontorio,
 Que para o polo Antartico se estende,
 A quem vossa ousadia tanto offende.

Camoens, *Os Lusíadas*, v. 50.

plete. No one could yet say with certainty that the African coast, if followed a few miles east of Great Fish river, would not again trend southward and run all the way to the pole. The completed proof was not obtained until Vasco da Gama crossed the Indian ocean ten years later.

This voyage of Bartholomew Dias was longer and in many respects more remarkable than any that is known to have been made before that time. From Lisbon back to Lisbon, reckoning the sinuosities of the coast, but making no allowance for tacking, the distance run by those tiny craft was not less than thirteen thousand miles.

This voyage completed the overthrow of the fiery-zone doctrine, so far as Africa

Some effects
of the discov-
ery.

was concerned ; it penetrated far into the southern temperate zone where Mela had placed his antipodal world ; it dealt a staggering blow to the continental theory of Ptolemy ; and its success made men's minds readier for yet more daring enterprises. Among the shipmates of Dias on this ever memorable voyage was a well-trained and enthusiastic Italian mariner, none other than Bartholomew, the younger brother

Bartholomew
Columbus.

of Christopher Columbus. There was true dramatic propriety in the presence of that man at just this time ; for not only did all these later African voyages stand in a direct causal relation to the discovery of America, but as an immediate consequence of the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope we shall presently find Bartholomew Columbus in the very next year on his way to England, to enlist the aid of King Henry VII. in behalf of

a scheme of unprecedented boldness for which his elder brother had for some years been seeking to obtain the needful funds. Not long after that disappointing voyage of Santarem and Escobar in 1471, this original and imaginative sailor, Christopher Columbus, had conceived (or adopted and made his own) a new method of solving the problem of an ocean route to Cathay. We have now to sketch the early career of this epoch-making man, and to see how he came to be brought into close relations with the work of the Portuguese explorers.

CHAPTER V.

THE SEARCH FOR THE INDIES.

WESTWARD OR SPANISH ROUTE.

OUR information concerning the life of Columbus before 1492 is far from being as satisfactory as one could wish. Unquestionably he is to be deemed fortunate in having had for his biographers two such men as his friend Las Casas, one of the noblest characters and most faithful historians of that or any age, and his own son Ferdinand Columbus, a most accomplished scholar and bibliographer. The later years of Ferdinand's life were devoted, with loving care, to the preparation of a biography of his father; and his book — which unfortunately survives only in the Italian translation of Alfonso Ulloa,¹ published in Venice in 1571 — is of priceless value. As Washington Irving long ago wrote, it is “an invaluable document, entitled to great faith, and is the corner-

Sources of information concerning the life of Columbus: Las Casas and Ferdinand Columbus.

¹ *Historie del S. D. Fernando Colombo; Nelle quali s' ha particolare, & vera relatione della vita, & de' fatti dell' Ammiraglio D. Christoforo Colombo, suo padre: Et dello scoprimento, ch' egli fece dell' Indie Occidentali, dette Monde - Nvovo, hora possedute dal Sereniss. Re Catolico: Nuouamente di lingua Spagnuola tradotte nell' Italiana dal S. Alfonso Vlloa. Con. privilegio.* IN VENETIA, M D LXXI. Appresso Francesco de' Franceschi Sanese. The principal reprints are those of Milan, 1614; Venice, 1676 and 1678; London, 1867. I always cite it as *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*.

stone of the history of the American continent.”¹ After Ferdinand’s death, in 1539, his papers seem to have passed into the hands of Las Casas, who, from 1552 to 1561, in the seclusion of the college of San Gregorio at Valladolid, was engaged in writing his great “History of the Indies.”² Ferdinand’s superb library, one of the finest in Europe, was bequeathed to the cathedral at Seville.³ It contained some twenty thousand volumes in print and manuscript, four fifths of which, through shameful neglect or vandalism, have perished or been scattered. Four thousand volumes, however, are still preserved, and this library (known as the “Biblioteca Colombina”) is full of interest for the historian. Book-buying was to Ferdinand Columbus one of the most important occupations in life. His books were not only carefully numbered, but on the last leaf of each one he wrote a memorandum of the time and place of its purchase and the sum of money paid for it.⁴ This habit of Ferdinand’s has fur-

The Biblioteca Colombina at Seville.

¹ Irving’s *Life of Columbus*, New York, 1868, vol. iii. p. 375. My references, unless otherwise specified, are to this, the “Geoffrey Crayon,” edition.

² Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias, ahora por primera vez dada á luz por el Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle y D. José Sancho Rayon*, Madrid, 1875, 5 vols. 8vo.

³ “Fu questo D. Ernando di non minor valore del padre, ma di molte più lettere et scienze dotato che quelle non fu; et il quale lasciò alla Chiesa maggiore di Siviglia, dove hoggi si vede onorevolmente sepolto, una, non sola numerosissima, ma richissi ma libreria, et piena di molti libri in ogni facoltà et scienza rarissimi: laquale da coloro che l’han veduta, vien stimata delle più rare cose di tutta Europa.” Moletto’s prefatory letter to *Vita dell’ Ammiraglio*, April 25, 1571.

⁴ For example, “*Manuel de la Sancta Fe católica*, Sevilla, 1495,

nished us with clues to the solution of some interesting questions. Besides this, he was much given to making marginal notes and comments, which are sometimes of immense value, and, more than all, there are still to be seen in this library a few books that belonged to Christopher Columbus himself, with very important notes in his own handwriting and in that of his brother Bartholomew. Las Casas was familiar with this grand collection in the days of its completeness, he was well acquainted with all the members of the Columbus family, and he had evidently read the manuscript sources of Ferdinand's book; for a comparison with Ulloa's version shows that considerable portions of the original Spanish text — or of the documents upon which it rested — are preserved in the work of Las Casas.¹ The citation and adoption of Ferdinand's statements by the latter writer, who was able independently to verify them, is therefore in most cases equivalent to corroboration, and the two writers together form an authority of the weightiest kind, and not lightly to be questioned or set aside.

in-4. Costó en Toledo 34 maravedis, año 1511, 9 de Octubre, No. 3004." " *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*, Sevilla, 1502, in-4. Muchas figuras. Costó en Roma 25 cuatrines, por Junio de 1515. No. 2417," etc. See HARRISSE, *Fernand Colomb*, Paris, 1872, p. 13.

¹ "L' autorita di Las Casas è d' una suprema e vitale importanza tanto nella storia di Cristoforo Colombo, come nell' esame delle *Historie* di Fernando suo figlio. . . . E dal confronto tra questi due scrittori emergerà una omogeneità sì perfetta, che si potrebbe coi termini del frate domenicano ritrovare o rifare per due terzi il testo originale spagnuolo delle *Historie* di Fernando Colombo." PERAGALLO, *L' autenticità delle Historie di Fernando Colombo*, Genoa, 1884, p. 23.

Besides these books of most fundamental importance, we have valuable accounts of some parts of the life of Columbus by his friend Andres Bernaldez, the curate of Los Palacios near Seville.¹ Peter Martyr, of Anghiera, by Lago Maggiore, was an intimate friend of Columbus, and gives a good account of his voyages, besides mentioning him in sundry epistles.² Columbus himself, moreover, was such a voluminous writer that his contemporaries laughed about it. "God grant," says Zuñiga in a letter to the Marquis de Pescara, "God grant that Gutierrez may never come short for paper, for he writes more than Ptolemy, more than Columbus, the man who discovered the Indies."³ These writings are in great part lost, though doubtless a good many things will yet be brought to light in Spain by persistent rummaging. We have, however, from sixty to seventy letters and reports by Columbus, of which twenty-three at least are in his own handwriting; and all these have been published.⁴

Nevertheless, while these contemporary mate-

¹ *Historia de los Reyes Católicos D. Fernando y D^a Isabel. Crónica inédita del siglo XV, escrita por el Bachiller Andrés Bernaldez, cura que fué de Los Palacios, Granada, 1856, 2 vols. small 4to.* It is a book of very high authority.

² *De orbe novo Decades*, Alcalá, 1516; *Opus epistolarum*, Compluti (Alcalá), 1530; HARRISSE, *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, Nos. 88, 160.

³ "A Gutierrez vuestro solicitador, ruego à Dios que nunca le falte papel, porque escribe mas que Tolomeo y que Colon, el que halló las Indias." Rivadeneyra, *Curiosidades bibliográficas*, p. 59, apud HARRISSE, *Christophe Colomb*, tom. i. p. 1.

⁴ HARRISSE, *loc. cit.*, in 1884, gives the number at sixty-four.

rials give us abundant information concerning the great discoverer, from the year 1492 until his death, it is quite otherwise with his earlier years, especially before his arrival in Spain in 1484. His own allusions to these earlier years are sometimes hard to interpret;¹ and as for his son Ferdinand, that writer confesses, with characteristic and winning frankness, that his information is imperfect, inasmuch as filial respect had deterred him from closely interrogating his father on such points, or, to tell the plain truth, being still very young when his father died, he had not then come to recognize their importance.² This does not seem strange when we reflect that Ferdinand must have seen very little of his father until in 1502, at the age of fourteen, he accompanied him on that last difficult and disastrous voyage, in which the sick and harassed old man could have had but little time or strength for aught but the work in hand. It is not strange that when, a quarter of a century later, the son set about his literary task, he should now and then have got a date wrong, or have narrated some inci-

Defects in
Ferdinand's
information.

¹ Sometimes from a slip of memory or carelessness of phrasing, on Columbus's part, sometimes from our lacking the clue, sometimes from an error in numerals, common enough at all times.

² "Ora, l' Ammiraglio avendo cognizione delle dette scienze, cominciò ad attendere al mare, e a fare alcuni viaggi in levante e in ponente; de' quali, e di molte altre cose di quei primi dì io non ho piena notizia; perciocchè egli venne a morte a tempo che io non aveva tanto ardire, o pratica, per la riverenza filiale, che io ardisi di richiederlo di cotali cose; o, per parlare più veramente, allora mi ritrovava io, come giovane, molto lontano da cotal pensiero." *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, cap. iv.

dents in a confused manner, or have admitted some gossipping stories, the falsehood of which can now plainly be detected. Such blemishes, which occur chiefly in the earlier part of Ferdinand's book, do not essentially detract from its high authority.¹ The limits which bounded the son's

¹ Twenty years ago M. HARRISSE published in Spanish and French a critical essay maintaining that the *Vita dell' Ammiraglio* was not written by Ferdinand Columbus, but probably by the famous scholar Perez de Oliva, professor in the university of Salamanca, who died in 1530 (*D. Fernando Colon, historiador de su padre*, Seville, 1871; *Fernand Colomb: sa vie, ses œuvres*, Paris, 1872). The Spanish manuscript of the book had quite a career. As already observed, it is clear that Las Casas used it, probably between 1552 and 1561. From Ferdinand's nephew, Luis Columbus, it seems to have passed in 1568 into the hands of Baliano di Fornari, a prominent citizen of Genoa, who sent it to Venice with the intention of having it edited and published with Latin and Italian versions. All that ever appeared, however, was the Italian version made by Ulloa and published in 1571. HARRISSE supposes that the Spanish manuscript, written by Oliva, was taken to Genoa by some adventurer and palmed off upon Baliano di Fornari as the work of Ferdinand Columbus. But inasmuch as HARRISSE also supposes that Oliva probably wrote the book (about 1525) at Seville, under Ferdinand's eyes and with documents furnished by him, it becomes a question, in such case, how far was Oliva anything more than an amanuensis to Ferdinand? and there seems really to be precious little wool after so much loud crying. If the manuscript was actually written "sous les yeux de Fernand et avec documents fournis par lui," most of the arguments alleged to prove that it could not have emanated from the son of Columbus fall to the ground. It becomes simply a question whether Ulloa may have here and there tampered with the text, or made additions of his own. To some extent he seems to have done so, but wherever the Italian version is corroborated by the Spanish extracts in Las Casas, we are on solid ground, for Las Casas died five years before the Italian version was published. M. HARRISSE does not seem as yet to have convinced many scholars. His arguments have been justly, if somewhat severely, characterized by my old friend, the lamented Henry Stevens (*Historical Collections*,

accurate knowledge seem also to have bounded that of such friends as Bernaldez, who did not become acquainted with Columbus until after his arrival in Spain.

In recent years elaborate researches have been made, by Henry Harrisse and others, in the archives of Genoa, Savona, Seville, and other places with which Columbus was connected, in the hope of supplementing this imperfect information concerning his earlier years.¹ A number of data have thus been obtained, which, while clearing up the subject most remarkably in some directions, have been made to mystify and embroil it in others. There is scarcely a date or a fact relating to Columbus before 1492 but has been made the subject of hot dispute; and some pretty wholesale reconstructions of his biography have been attempted.² The general impression, however, which the discussions of the past twenty years have left upon my mind, is that the more violent hypotheses are not likely

Researches of
Henry Har-
rissime.

London, 1881, vol. i. No. 1379), and have been elaborately refuted by M. d'Avezac, *Le livre de Ferdinand Colomb: revue critique des allegations proposées contre son authenticité*, Paris, 1873; and by Prospero Peragallo, *L'autenticità delle Historie di Fernando Colombo*, Genoa, 1884. See also Fabié, *Vida de Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas*, Madrid, 1869, tom. i. pp. 360-372.

¹ See Harrisse, *Christophe Colomb*, Paris, 1884, 2 vols., a work of immense research, absolutely indispensable to every student of the subject, though here and there somewhat over-ingenuous and hypercritical, and in general unduly biased by the author's private crotchet about the work of Ferdinand.

² One of the most radical of these reconstructions may be found in the essay by M. d'Avezac, "Canevas chronologique de la vie de Christophe Colomb," in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, Paris, 1872, 6^e série, tom. iv. pp. 5-59.

to be sustained, and that the newly-ascertained facts do not call for any very radical interference with the traditional lines upon which the life of Columbus has heretofore been written.¹ At any rate there seems to be no likelihood of such interference as to modify our views of the causal sequence of events that led to the westward search for the Indies; and it is this relation of cause and effect that chiefly concerns us in a history of the Discovery of America.

The date of the birth of Columbus is easy to determine approximately, but hard to determine with precision. In the voluminous discussion upon this subject the extreme limits assigned have been 1430 and 1456, but neither of these extremes is admissible, and our choice really lies somewhere between 1436 and 1446. Among the town archives of Savona is a deed of sale executed August 7, 1473, by the father of Christopher Columbus, and ratified by Christopher and his next brother Giovanni.² Both brothers must then have attained

Date of the birth of Columbus: archives of Savona.

¹ Washington Irving's *Life of Columbus*, says HARRISSE, "is a history written with judgment and impartiality, which leaves far behind it all descriptions of the discovery of the New World published before or since." *Christophe Colomb*, tom. i. p. 136. Irving was the first to make use of the superb work of NAVARRETE, *Coleccion de los viages y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde fines del siglo XV.*, Madrid, 1825-37, 5 vols. 4to. Next followed Alexander von Humboldt, with his *Examen critique de l'histoire de la géographie de Nouveau Continent*, Paris, 1836-39, 5 vols. 8vo. This monument of gigantic erudition (which, unfortunately, was never completed) will always remain indispensable to the historian.

² HARRISSE, *op. cit.* tom. i. p. 196.

their majority, which in the republic of Genoa was fixed at the age of twenty-five. Christopher, therefore, can hardly have been less than seven and twenty, so that the latest probable date for his birth is 1446, and this is the date accepted by Muñoz, Major, HARRISSE, and AVEZAC. There is no documentary proof, however, to prevent our taking an earlier date; and the curate of Los Palacios — strong authority on such a point — says expressly that at the time of his death, Statement of Bernaldez. in 1506, Columbus was “in a good old age, seventy years a little more or less.”¹ Upon this statement NAVARRETE and HUMBOLDT have accepted 1436 as the probable date of birth.² The most plausible objection to this is a statement made by Columbus himself in a letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, written in 1501. In this letter, as first given in the biography by his son, Columbus says that he was of “very tender age” when he began to sail the seas, an occupation which he has kept up until the present moment; and in the next sentence but one he adds that “now for forty years I have been

¹ “In *senectute bona*, de edad de setenta años poco mas o menos.” Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, tom. i. p. 334.

² M. d’Avezac (*Canevas chronologique*, etc.) objects to this date that we have positive documentary evidence of the birth of Christopher’s youngest brother Giacomo (afterwards spanished into Diego) in 1468, which makes an interval of 32 years; so that if the mother were (say) 18 in 1436 she must have borne a child at the age of 50. That would be unusual, but not unprecedented. But M. HARRISSE (tom. ii. p. 214), from a more thorough sifting of this documentary evidence, seems to have proved that while Giacomo cannot have been born later than 1468 he may have been born as early as 1460; so that whatever is left of M. d’Avezac’s objection falls to the ground.

in this business and have gone to every place where there is any navigation up to the present time.”¹ The expression “very tender age” agrees with Ferdinand’s statement that his father was fourteen years old when he first took to the sea.² Since $1446 + 14 + 40 = 1500$, it is argued that Columbus was probably born about 1446; some sticklers for extreme precision say 1447. But now there were eight years spent by Columbus in Spain, from 1484 to 1492, without any voyages at all; they were years, as he forcibly says, “dragged out in disputations.”³ Did he mean to include those eight years in his forty spent upon the sea? Navarrete thinks he did not. When he wrote under excitement, as in this letter, his language was apt to be loose, and it is fair to construe it according to the general probabilities of the case. This addition of eight years brings his statement substantially into harmony with that of Bernaldez, which it really will not do to set aside lightly. Moreover, in the original text of the letter, since published by Navarrete, Columbus appears to say, “now for *more than* forty years,” so that the agreement with Bernaldez becomes practically complete.⁴ The good curate

¹ “Serenissimi principi, di età molto tenera io entrai in mare navigando, et vi ho continovato fin’ hoggi: . . . et hoggimai passano quaranta anni che io uso per tutte quelle parti che fin hoggia si navigano.” *Vita dell’ Ammiraglio*, cap. iv.

² *Op. cit.* cap. iv. *ad fin.*

³ “Traido en disputas,” Navarrete, *Coleccion*, tom. ii. p. 254.

⁴ “Muy altos Reyes, de muy pequeña edad entré en la mar navegando, é lo he continuado fasta hoy. . . . Yá pasan de cuarenta años que yo voy en este uso: todo lo que hoy se navega, todo lo he andado.” Navarrete, *Coleccion*, tom. ii. p. 262. Ob-

Columbus's
letter of Sep-
tember, 1501.

spoke from direct personal acquaintance, and his phrases "seventy years" and "a good old age" are borne out by the royal decree of February 23, 1505, permitting Columbus to ride on a mule, instead of a horse, by reason of his old age (*ancianidad*) and infirmities.¹ Such a phrase applies much better to a man of sixty-nine than to a man of fifty-nine. On the whole, I think that Washington Irving showed

The balance of probability is in favour of 1436.

serve the lame phrase "pasan de cuarenta;" what business has that "de" in such a place without "mas" before it? "Pasan mas de cuarenta," i. e. "more than forty;" writing in haste and excitement, Columbus left out a little word; or shall we blame the proof-reader? Avezac himself translates it "il y a plus de quarante ans," and so does Eugène Müller, in his French version of Ferdinand's book, *Histoire de la vie de Christophe Colomb*, Paris, 1879, p. 15.

¹ That was the golden age of sumptuary laws. Because Alfonso XI. of Castile (1312-1350), when he tried to impress horses for the army, found it hard to get as many as he wanted, he took it into his head that his subjects were raising too many mules and not enough horses. So he tried to remedy the evil by a wholesale decree prohibiting all Castilians from riding upon mules! In practice this precious decree, like other villainous prohibitory laws that try to prevent honest people from doing what they have a perfect right to do, proved so vexatious and ineffective withal that it had to be perpetually fussed with and tinkered. One year you could ride a mule and the next year you could n't. In 1492, as we shall see, Columbus immortalized one of these patient beasts by riding it a few miles from Granada. But in 1494 Ferdinand and Isabella decreed that nobody except women, children, and clergymen could ride on mules, — "dont la marche est beaucoup plus douce que celle des chevaux" (Humboldt, *Examen critique*, tom. iii. p. 338). This edict remained in force in 1505, so that the Discoverer of the New World, the inaugurator of the greatest historic event since the birth of Christ, could not choose an easy-going animal for the comfort of his weary old weather-shaken bones without the bother of getting a special edict to fit his case. *Eheu, quam parva sapientia regitur mundus!*

good sense in accepting the statement of the curate of Los Palacios as decisive, dating as it does the birth of Columbus at 1436, "a little more or less."

With regard to the place where the great discoverer was born there ought to be no dispute, since we have his own most explicit and unmistakable word for it, as I shall presently show. Nevertheless there has been no end of dispute. He has been claimed by as many places as Homer,¹ but the only real question is whether he was born in the city of Genoa or in some neighbouring village within the boundaries of the Genoese republic. It is easy to understand how doubt has arisen on this point, if we trace the changes of residence of his family. The grandfather of Columbus seems to have been Giovanni Colombo, of Terrarossa, an inland hamlet some twenty miles east by north from

¹ "Nous avons démontré l'inanité des théories qui le font naître à Pradello, à Cuccaro, à Cogoleto, à Savona, à Nervi, à Albisola, à Bogliasco, à Cosseria, à Finale, à Oneglia, voire même en Angleterre ou dans l'isle de Corse." HARRISSE, tom. i. p. 217. In Cogoleto, about sixteen miles west of Genoa on the Corniche road, the visitor is shown a house where Columbus is said first to have seen the light. Upon its front is a quaint inscription in which the discoverer is compared to the dove (*Colomba*) which, when sent by Noah from the ark, discovered dry land amid the waters:—

Con generoso ardir dall' Arca all' onde
Ubbidente il vol Colomba prende,
Corre, s' aggira, terren scopre, e fronde
D' olivo in segno, al gran Noè ne rende.
L' imita in ciò Colombo, ne' s' asconde,
E da sua patria il mar solcando fende;
Terreno al fin scoprendo diede fondo,
Offerendo all' Ispano un Nuovo Mondo.

This house is or has been mentioned in Baedeker's *Northern Italy* as the probable birthplace, along with Peschel's absurd date 1456. It is pretty certain that Columbus was *not* born in that house or in Cogoleto. See HARRISSE, tom. i. pp. 148-155.

Genoa. Giovanni's son, Domenico Colombo, was probably born at Terrarossa, and moved thence with his father, somewhere between 1430 and 1445, to Quinto al Mare, four miles east of Genoa on the coast. All the family seem to have been weavers. Before 1445, but how many years before is not known, Domenico married Susanna Fontanarossa, who belonged to a family of weavers, probably of Quezzi, four miles northeast of Genoa. Between 1448 and 1451 Domenico, with his wife and three children, moved into the city of Genoa, where he became the owner of a house and was duly qualified as a citizen. In 1471 Domenico moved to Savona, thirty miles west on the Corniche road, where he set up a weaving establishment and also kept a tavern. He had then five children, Cristoforo, Giovanni, Bartolommeo, Giacomo, and a daughter. Domenico lived in Savona till 1484. At that time his wife and his son Giovanni were dead, Giacomo was an apprentice, learning the weaver's trade, Christopher and Bartholomew had long been domiciled in Portugal, the daughter had married a cheese merchant in Genoa, and to that city Domenico returned in the autumn of 1484, and lived there until his death, at a great age, in 1499 or 1500. He was always in pecuniary difficulties, and died poor and in debt, though his sons seem to have sent him from Portugal and Spain such money as they could spare.¹

The family of Domenico Colombo, and its changes of residence.

The reader will observe that Christopher and his two next brothers were born before the family

¹ HARRISSE, tom. i. pp. 166-216.

went to live in the city of Genoa. It has hence been plausibly inferred that they were born either in Quinto or in Terrarossa; more likely the latter, since both Christopher and Bartholomew, as well as their father, were called, and sometimes signed themselves, Columbus of Terrarossa.¹ In this opinion the most indefatigable modern investigator, HARRISSE, agrees with LAS CASAS.² Nevertheless, in a solemn legal instrument executed February 22, 1498, establishing a *mayorazgo*, or right of succession to his estates and emoluments in the

Christopher
tells us that
he was born in
the city of
Genoa.

Indies, Columbus expressly declares that he was born in the city of Genoa: "I enjoin it upon my son, the said Don Diego, or whoever may inherit the said *mayorazgo*, always to keep and maintain in the City of Genoa one person of our lineage, because from thence I came and in it I was born."³ I do not see how such a definite and positive statement, occurring in such a document, can be doubted or explained away. It seems clear that the son was born while the parents were dwelling either at

¹ HARRISSE, tom. i. p. 188; *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, cap. xi.

² "Fué este varon escogido de nacion genovés, de algun lugar de la provincia de Génova; cual fuese, donde nació ó qué nombre tuvo el tal lugar, no consta la verdad dello más de que se solia llamar ántes que llegase al estado que llegó, Cristobal Colombo de Terra-rubia y lo mismo su hermano Bartolomé Colon." LAS CASAS, *Historia de las Indias*, tom. i. p. 42; cf. HARRISSE, tom. i. pp. 217-222.

³ "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 . . . pues que della salí y en ella nací" [*italics mine*]. NAVARRETE, *Coleccion*, tom. ii. p. 232.

Terrarossa or at Quinto, but what is to hinder our supposing that the event might have happened when the mother was in the city on some errand or visit? The fact that Christopher and his brother were often styled "of Terrarossa" does not prove that they were born in that hamlet. A family moving thence to Quinto and to Genoa would stand in much need of some such distinctive epithet, because the name Colombo was extremely common in that part of Italy; insomuch that the modern historian, who prowls among the archives of those towns, must have a care lest he get hold of the wrong person, and thus open a fresh and prolific source of confusion. This has happened more than once.

On the whole, then, it seems most probable that the Discoverer of America was born in the city of Genoa in 1436, or not much later. Of his childhood we know next to nothing. Las Casas tells us that he studied at the University of Pavia and acquired a good knowledge of Latin.¹ This has been doubted, as incompatible with the statement of Columbus that he began a seafaring life at the age of fourteen. It is clear, however, Christopher's early years. that the earlier years of Columbus, before his departure for Portugal, were not all spent in seafaring. Somewhere, if not at Pavia, he not only learned Latin, but found time to study geography, with a little astronomy and mathematics, and to become an expert draughtsman. He seems to have gone to and fro upon the Mediterranean in merchant voyages, now and then

¹ Las Casas, *Historia*, tom. i. p. 46.

taking a hand in sharp scrimmages with Mussulman pirates.¹ In the intervals of this adventurous life he was probably to be found in Genoa, earning his bread by making maps and charts, for which there was a great and growing demand. About 1470, having become noted for his skill in such work, he followed his younger brother Bartholomew to Lisbon,² whither Prince Henry's

¹ The reader must beware, however, of some of the stories of adventure attaching to this part of his life, even where they are confirmed by Las Casas. They evidently rest upon hearsay, and the incidents are so confused that it is almost impossible to extract the kernel of truth.

² The date 1470 rests upon a letter of Columbus to King Ferdinand of Aragon in May, 1505. He says that God must have directed him into the service of Spain by a kind of miracle, since he had already been in Portugal, whose king was more interested than any other sovereign in making discoveries, and yet God closed his eyes, his ears, and all his senses to such a degree that *in fourteen years* Columbus could not prevail upon him to lend aid to his scheme. "Dije milagrosamente porque fui á aportar á Portugal, adonde el Rey de allí entendia en el descubrir mas que otro: él le atajó la vista, oído y todos los sentidos, que en catorce años no le pude hacer entender lo que yo dije." Las Casas, *op. cit.* tom. iii. p. 187; Navarrete, tom. iii. p. 528. Now it is known that Columbus finally left Portugal late in 1484, or very early in 1485, so that fourteen years would carry us back to before 1471 for the first arrival of Columbus in that country. M. HARRISSE (*op. cit.* tom. i. p. 263) is unnecessarily troubled by the fact that the same person was not king of Portugal during the whole of that period. Alfonso V. (brother of Henry the Navigator) died in 1481, and was succeeded by his son John II.; but during a considerable part of the time between 1475 and 1481 the royal authority was exercised by the latter. Both kings were more interested in making discoveries than any other European sovereigns. Which king did Columbus mean? Obviously his words were used loosely; he was too much preoccupied to be careful about trifles; he probably had John in his mind, and did not bother himself about Alfonso; King Ferdinand, to whom he was writing, did not need to have such points minutely specified, and

undertakings had attracted able navigators and learned geographers until that city had come to be the chief centre of nautical science in Europe.

could understand an elliptical statement; and the fact stated by Columbus was simply that during a residence of fourteen years in Portugal he had not been able to enlist even that enterprising government in behalf of his novel scheme.

In the town archives of Savona we find Christopher Columbus witnessing a document March 20, 1472, endorsing a kind of promissory note for his father August 26, 1472, and joining with his mother and his next brother Giovanni, August 7, 1473, in relinquishing all claims to the house in Genoa sold by his father Domenico by deed of that date. It will be remembered that Domenico had moved from Genoa to Savona in 1471. From these documents (which are all printed in his *Christophe Colomb*, tom. ii. pp. 419, 420, 424-426) M. HARRISSE concludes that Christopher cannot have gone to Portugal until after August 7, 1473. Probably not, so far as to be domiciled there; but inasmuch as he had long been a sailor, why should he not have been in Portugal, or upon the African coast in a Portuguese ship, in 1470 and 1471, and nevertheless have been with his parents in Savona in 1472 and part of 1473? His own statement "fourteen years" is not to be set aside on such slight grounds as this. Furthermore, from the fact that Bartholomew's name is not signed to the deed of August 7, 1473, M. HARRISSE infers that he was then a minor; i. e. under five and twenty. But it seems to me more likely that Bartholomew was already domiciled at Lisbon, since we are expressly told by two good contemporary authorities — both of them Genoese writers withal — that he moved to Lisbon and began making maps there at an earlier date than Christopher. See ANTONIO GALLO, *De navigatione Columbi per inaccessum antea Oceanum Commentariolus*, apud MURATORI, tom. xxiii. col. 301-304; GIUSTINIANI, *Psalterium*, Milan, 1516 (annotation to Psalm xix.); HARRISSE, *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 88. To these statements M. HARRISSE objects that he finds (in BELLORO, *Notizie*, p. 8) mention of a document dated Savona, June 16, 1480, in which Domenico Colombo gives a power of attorney to his son Bartholomew to act for him in some matter. The document itself, however, is not forthcoming, and the notice cited by M. HARRISSE really affords no ground for the assumption that Bartholomew was in 1480 domiciled at Savona or at Genoa.

Las Casas assures us that Bartholomew was quite equal to Christopher as a sailor, and surpassed him in the art of making maps and globes, as well as in the beauty of his handwriting.¹ In Portugal, as before in Italy, the work of the brothers Columbus was an alternation of map-making on land and adventure on the sea. We have Christopher's own word for it that he sailed with more than one of those Portuguese expeditions down the African coast; ² and I think it not altogether unlikely that he may have been with Santarem and Escobar in their famous voyage of 1471.

He had not been long in Portugal before he found a wife. We have already met the able Italian navigator, Bartholomew Perestrelo, who was sent by Prince Henry to the island of Porto Santo with Zarco and Vaz, about 1425. In recognition of eminent services Prince Henry afterwards, in 1446, appointed him governor of Porto Santo. Perestrelo died in 1457, leaving a widow (his second wife, Isabella Moñiz) and a charming daughter Philippa,³

Christopher
and Bartholo-
mew at Lis-
bon.

Philippa
Moñiz de
Perestrelo.

¹ Las Casas, *op. cit.* tom. i. p. 224; tom. ii. p. 80. He possessed many maps and documents by both the brothers.

² "Spesse volte navigando da Lisbona a Guinea," etc. *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, cap. iv. The original authority is Columbus's marginal note in his copy of the *Imago Mundi* of Alliacus, now preserved in the Colombina at Seville: "Nota quod sepius navigando ex Ulixbona ad anstrum in Guineam, notavi cum diligentia viam, etc. Compare the allusions to Guinea in his letters, Navarrete, *Colección*, tom. i. pp. 55, 71, 101.

³ There are some vexed questions concerning this lady and the connections between the Moñiz and Perestrelo families, for which see *Harrisse*, tom. i. pp. 267-292.

whom Columbus is said to have first met at a religious service in the chapel of the convent of All Saints at Lisbon. From the accounts of his personal appearance, given by Las Casas and others who knew him, we can well understand how Columbus should have won the heart of this lady, so far above him at that time in social position. He was a man of noble and commanding presence, tall and powerfully built, with fair ruddy complexion and keen blue-gray eyes that easily kindled; while his waving white hair must have been quite picturesque. His manner was at once courteous and cordial and his conversation charming, so that strangers were quickly won, and in friends who knew him well he inspired strong affection and respect.¹ There was an indefinable air of authority about him, as befitted a man of great heart and lofty thoughts.² Out of those kindling eyes looked a grand and poetic soul, touched with that divine spark of religious enthusiasm which makes true genius.

Personal appearance of Columbus.

The acquaintance between Columbus and Philippa Moñiz de Perestrello was not long in ripening into affection, for they were married in 1473. As there was a small estate at Porto Santo, Columbus went home thither with his bride to live for a while in quiet and seclusion. Such repose we may believe to have been

His marriage, and life upon the island of Porto Santo.

¹ Las Casas, *Historia*, tom. i. p. 43. He describes Bartholomew as not unlike his brother, but not so tall, less affable in manner, and more stern in disposition, *id.* tom. ii. p. 80.

² "Christoval Colon . . . persona de gran corazon y altos pensamientos." Mariana, *Historia de España*, tom. viii. p. 341.

favourable to meditation, and on that little island, three hundred miles out on the mysterious ocean, we are told that the great scheme of sailing westward to the Indies first took shape in the mind of Columbus.¹ His father-in-law Perestrelo had left a quantity of sailing charts and nautical notes, and these Columbus diligently studied, while ships on their way to and from Guinea every now and then stopped at the island, and one can easily imagine the eager discussions that must have been held over the great commercial problem of the age, — how far south that African coast extended and whether there was any likelihood of ever finding an end to it.

How long Columbus lived upon Porto Santo is not known, but he seems to have gone from time to time back to Lisbon, and at length to have made his home — or in the case of such a rover we might better say his headquarters — in that city. We come now to a document of supreme importance for our narrative. Paolo del Pozzo dei Toscanelli, born at Florence in 1397, was one of the most famous astronomers and cosmographers of his time, a man to whom it was natural that questions involving the size and shape of the earth

¹ Upon that island his eldest son Diego was born. This whole story of the life upon Porto Santo and its relation to the genesis of Columbus's scheme is told very explicitly by Las Casas, who says that it was told to him by Diego Columbus at Barcelona in 1519, when they were waiting upon Charles V., just elected Emperor and about to start for Aachen to be crowned. And yet there are modern critics who are disposed to deny the whole story. (See HARRISSE, tom. i. p. 298.) The grounds for doubt are, however, extremely trivial when confronted with Las Casas, *Historia*, tom. i. p. 54.

should be referred. To him Alfonso V. of Portugal made application, through a gentleman of the royal household, Fernando Martinez, who happened to be an old friend of Toscanelli. What Alfonso wanted to know was whether there could be a shorter oceanic route to the Indies than that which his captains were seeking by following the African coast; if so, he begged that Toscanelli would explain the nature and direction of such a route. The Florentine astronomer replied with the letter presently to be quoted in full, dated June 25, 1474; and along with the letter he sent to the king a sailing chart, exhibiting his conception of the Atlantic ocean, with Europe on the east and Cathay on the west. The date of this letter is eloquent. It was early in 1472 that Santarem and Escobar brought back to Lisbon the news that beyond the Gold Coast the African shore turned southwards and stretched away in that direction beyond the equator. As I have already observed, this was the moment when the question as to the possibility of a shorter route was likely to arise;¹ and this is precisely the question we find the king of Portugal putting to Toscanelli some time before the middle of 1474. Now about this same time, or not long afterwards, we find Columbus himself appealing to Toscanelli. An aged Florentine merchant, Lorenzo Giraldi, then settled in Lisbon, was going back to his native city for a visit, and to him Columbus entrusted a letter for the eminent astronomer. He received the following answer:

Alfonso V.
asks advice of
the great
astronomer
Toscanelli.

¹ See above, p. 330.

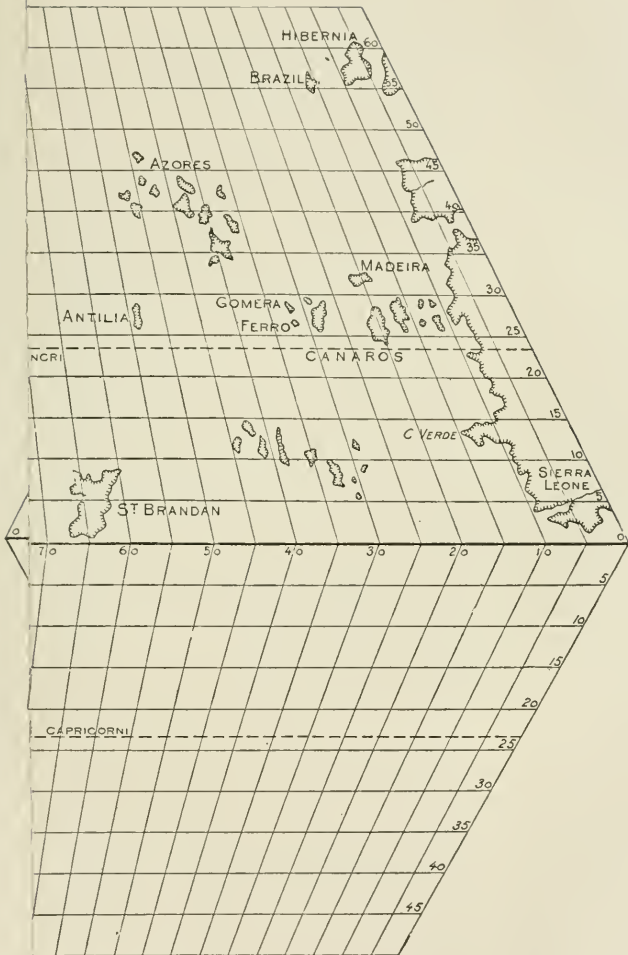
“Paul, the physicist, to Christopher Columbus greeting.¹ I perceive your great and noble desire to go to the place where the spices grow; wherefore in reply to a letter of yours, I send you a copy of another letter, which I wrote a few days ago [or some time ago] to a friend of mine, a gentleman of the household of the most gracious king of Portugal before the wars of Castile,² in reply to another, which by command of His Highness he wrote me concerning that matter: and I send you another sailing chart, similar to the one I sent him, by which your demands will be satisfied. The copy of that letter of mine is as follows:—

“Paul, the physicist, to Fernando Martinez, canon, at Lisbon, greeting.³ I was glad to hear

¹ I translate this prologue from the Italian text of the *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, cap. viii. The original Latin has nowhere been found. A Spanish version of the whole may be found in Las Casas, *Historia*, tom. i. pp. 92-96. Las Casas, by a mere slip of the pen, calls “Paul, the physicist,” *Marco Paulo*, and fifty years later Mariana calls him *Marco Polo*, *physician*: “por aviso que le dió un cierto Marco Polo médico Florentin,” etc. *Historia de España*, tom. viii. p. 343. Thus step by step doth error grow.

² He means that his friend Martinez has been a member of King Alfonso's household ever since the time before the civil wars that began with the attempted deposition of Henry IV. in 1465 and can hardly be said to have come to an end before the death of that prince in December, 1474. See Humboldt, *Examen critique*, tom. i. p. 225.

³ I translate this enclosed letter from the original Latin text, as found, a few years ago, in the handwriting of Columbus upon the fly-leaves of his copy of the *Historia rerum ubique gestarum* of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II.), published at Venice in 1477, in folio, and now preserved in the Colombina at Seville. This Latin text is given by HARRISSE, in his *Fernand Colomb*, pp. 178-180, and also (with more strict regard to the



BUS IN HIS FIRST VOYAGE ACROSS THE ATLANTIC.

of your intimacy and favour with your most noble and illustrious king. I have formerly spoken with you about a shorter route to the places of Spices by ocean navigation than that which you are pursuing by Guinea. The most gracious king now desires from me some statement, or rather an exhibition to the eye, so that even slightly educated persons can grasp and comprehend that route. Although I am well aware that this can be proved from the spherical shape of the earth, nevertheless, in order to make the point clearer and to facilitate the enterprise, I have decided to exhibit that route by means of a sailing chart. I therefore send to his majesty a chart made by my own hands,¹ upon which are laid down your coasts, and

Toscanelli's copy of his former letter to Martinez—enclosed in his first letter to Columbus.

abbreviations of the original) in his *Bibliotheca Americana Vetusissima—Additions*, Paris, 1872, pp. xvi.-xviii. Very likely Columbus had occasion to let the original MS. go out of his hands, and so preserved a copy of it upon the fly-leaves of one of his books. These same fly-leaves contain extracts from Josephus and Saint Augustine. The reader will rightly infer from my translation that the astronomer's Latin was somewhat rugged and lacking in literary grace. Apparently he was anxious to jot down quickly what he had to say, and get back to his work.

¹ A sketch of this most memorable of maps is given opposite. Columbus carried it with him upon his first voyage, and shaped his course in accordance with it. Las Casas afterwards had it in his possession (*Hist. de las Indias*, tom. i. pp. 96, 279). It has since been lost, that is to say, it may still be in existence, but nobody knows where. But it has been so well described that the work of restoring its general outlines is not difficult and has several times been done. The sketch here given is taken from Winsor (*Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, ii. 103), who takes it from *Das Ausland*, 1867, p. 5. Another restoration may be found in St. Martin's *Atlas*, pl. ix. This map was the source of the western part of Martin Behaim's globe, as given below, p. 422.

the islands from which you must begin to shape your course steadily westward, and the places at which you are bound to arrive, and how far from the pole or from the equator you ought to keep away, and through how much space or through how many miles you are to arrive at places most fertile in all sorts of spices and gems; and do not wonder at my calling *west* the parts where the spices are, whereas they are commonly called *east*, because to persons sailing persistently westward those parts will be found by courses on the under side of the earth. For if [you go] by land and by routes on this upper side, they will always be found in the east. The straight lines drawn lengthwise upon the map indicate distance from east to west, while the transverse lines show distances from south to north. I have drawn upon the map various places upon which you may come, for the better information of the navigators in case of their arriving, whether through accident of wind or what not, at some different place from what they had expected; but partly in order that they may show the inhabitants that they have some knowledge of their country, which is sure to be a pleasant thing. It is said that none but merchants dwell in the islands.¹ For so great there is the number of navigators with their merchandise that in all the rest of the world there are not so many as in one very splendid port called Zaiton.² For they say that a

¹ All the description that follows is taken by Toscanelli from the book of Marco Polo.

² On modern maps usually called Chang-chow, about 100 miles S. W. from Fou-chow.

hundred great ships of pepper unload in that port every year, besides other ships bringing other spices. That country is very populous and very rich, with a multitude of provinces and kingdoms and cities without number, under one sovereign who is called the Great Khan, which name signifies King of Kings, whose residence is for the most part in the province of Cathay. His predecessors two hundred years ago desired an alliance with Christendom; they sent to the pope and asked for a number of persons learned in the faith, that they might be enlightened; but those who were sent, having encountered obstacles on the way, returned.¹ Even in the time of Eugenius² there came one to Eugenius and made a declaration concerning their great goodwill toward Christians, and I had a long talk with him about many things, about the great size of their royal palaces and the remarkable length and breadth of their rivers, and the multitude of cities on the banks of the rivers, such that on one river there are about two hundred cities, with marble bridges very long and wide and everywhere adorned with columns. This country is worth seeking by the Latins, not only because great treasures may be obtained from it, — gold, silver, and all sorts of jewels and spices, — but on account of its learned men, philosophers, and skilled astrologers, and [in order that we may see] with what arts and devices so powerful and splendid a province is governed, and also [how] they conduct their wars. This for some sort of answer

¹ I have given an account of this mission, above, p. 281.

² Eugenius IV., pope from 1431 to 1447.

to his request, so far as haste and my occupations have allowed, ready in future to make further response to his royal majesty as much as he may wish. Given at Florence 25th June, 1474.'

“From¹ the city of Lisbon due west there are 26 spaces marked on the map, each of which contains 250 miles, as far as the very great and splendid city of Quinsay.² For it is a hundred miles in circumference and has ten bridges, and its name means City of Heaven, and many wonderful things are told about it and about the multitude of its arts and revenues. This space is almost a third part of the whole sphere. That city is in the province of Mangi, or near the province of Cathay in which land is the royal residence. But from the island of Antilia, which you know, to the very splendid island of

Conclusion of
Toscanelli's
first letter to
Columbus.

¹ This paragraph is evidently the conclusion of the letter to Columbus, and not a part of the letter to Martinez, which has just ended with the date. In *Vita dell' Ammiraglio* the two letters are mixed together.

² On modern maps Hang-chow. After 1127 that city was for some time the capital of China, and Marco Polo's name *Quinsay* represents the Chinese word *King-sse* or “capital,” now generally applied to Peking. Marco Polo calls it the finest and noblest city in the world. It appears that he does not overstate the circumference of its walls at 100 Chinese miles or *li*, equivalent to about 30 English miles. It has greatly diminished since Polo's time, while other cities have grown. Toscanelli was perhaps afraid to repeat Polo's figure as to the number of stone bridges; Polo says there were 12,000 of them, high enough for ships to pass under! We thus see how his Venetian fellow-citizens came to nickname him “Messer Marco Milione.” As Colonel Yule says, “I believe we must not bring Marco to book for the literal accuracy of his statements as to the bridges; but all travellers have noticed the number and elegance of the bridges of cut stone in this part of China.” *Marco Polo*, vol. ii. p. 144.

Cipango¹ there are ten spaces. For that island abounds in gold, pearls, and precious stones, and they cover the temples and palaces with solid gold. So through the unknown parts of the route the stretches of sea to be traversed are not great. Many things might perhaps have been stated more clearly, but one who duly considers what I have said will be able to work out the rest for himself. Farewell, most esteemed one.”

Some time after the receipt of this letter Columbus wrote again to Toscanelli, apparently sending him either some charts of his own, or some notes, or something bearing upon the subject in hand. No such letter is preserved, but Toscanelli replied as follows :—

“Paul, the physicist, to Christopher Columbus greeting.² I have received your letters, with the things which you sent me, for which I thank you very much. I regard as noble and grand your project of sailing from east to west according to the indications furnished by the map which I sent you, and which would appear still more plainly upon a sphere. I am much pleased to see that I have been well understood, and that the voyage has become not only possible

Toscanelli's
second letter
to Columbus.

¹ For Cipango, or Japan, see Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. ii. pp. 195–207. The venerable astronomer's style of composition is amusing. He sets out to demonstrate to Columbus that the part of the voyage to be accomplished through new and unfamiliar stretches of the Atlantic is not great; but he is so full of the glories of Cathay and Cipango that he keeps reverting to that subject, to the manifest detriment of his exposition. His argument, however, is perfectly clear.

² The original of this letter is not forthcoming. I translate from *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, cap. viii.

but certain,¹ fraught with honour as it must be, and inestimable gain, and most lofty fame among all Christian people. You cannot take in all that it means except by actual experience, or without such copious and accurate information as I have had from eminent and learned men who have come from those places to the Roman court, and from merchants who have traded a long time in those parts, persons whose word is to be believed (*persone di grande autorità*). When that voyage shall be accomplished, it will be a voyage to powerful kingdoms, and to cities and provinces most wealthy and noble, abounding in all sorts of things most desired by us; I mean, with all kinds of spices and jewels in great abundance. It will also be advantageous for those kings and princes who are eager to have dealings and make alliances with the Christians of our countries, and to learn from the erudite men of these parts,² as well in religion as in all other branches of knowledge. For these reasons, and many others that might be mentioned, I do not wonder that you, who are of great courage, and the whole Portuguese nation, which has always had men distinguished in all such enterprises, are now inflamed with desire³ to execute the said voyage."

¹ Yet poor old Toscanelli did not live to see it accomplished; he died in 1482, before Columbus left Portugal.

² That is, of Europe, and especially of Italy. Toscanelli again refers to Kublai Khan's message to the pope which — more or less mixed up with the vague notions about Prester John — had evidently left a deep impression upon the European mind. In translating the above sentence I have somewhat retrenched its excessive verbiage without affecting the meaning.

³ In including the "whole Portuguese nation" as feeling this

These letters are intensely interesting, especially the one to Martinez, which reveals the fact that as early as 1474 the notion that a westward route to the Indies would be shorter than the southward route had somehow been suggested to Alfonso V.; and had, moreover, sufficiently arrested his attention to lead him to make inquiries of the most eminent astronomer within reach. Who could have suggested this notion to the king of Portugal? Was it Columbus, the trained mariner and map-maker, who might lately have been pondering the theories of Ptolemy and Mela as affected by the voyage of Santarem and Escobar, and whose connection with the Moñiz and Perestrelo families would now doubtless facilitate his access to the court? On some accounts this may seem probable, especially if we bear in mind Columbus's own statement implying that his appeals to the crown dated almost from the beginning of his fourteen years in Portugal.

Who first suggested the feasibility of a westward route? Was it Columbus?

All the circumstances, however, seem to be equally consistent with the hypothesis that the first suggestion of the westward route may have come from Toscanelli himself, through the medium of the canon Martinez, who had for so many years been a member of King Alfonso's household. The words at the beginning of the letter lend some probability to this view: "I have formerly spoken with you about a shorter route to the places of Spices by desire, the good astronomer's enthusiasm again runs away with him.

Perhaps it was Toscanelli.

ocean navigation than that which you are pursuing by Guinea." It was accordingly earlier than 1474 — how much earlier does not appear — that such discussions between Toscanelli and Martinez must probably have come to the ears of King Alfonso ; and now, very likely owing to the voyage of Santarem and Escobar, that monarch began to think it worth while to seek for further information, "an exhibition to the eye," so that mariners not learned in astronomy like Toscanelli might "grasp and comprehend" the shorter route suggested. It is altogether probable that the Florentine astronomer, who was seventy-seven years old when he wrote this letter, had already for a long time entertained the idea of a westward route ; and a man in whom the subject aroused so much enthusiasm could hardly have been reticent about it. It is not likely that Martinez was the only person to whom he descanted ¹ upon the glory

¹ Luigi Pulci, in his famous romantic poem published in 1481, has a couple of striking stanzas in which Astarotte says to Rinaldo that the time is at hand when Hercules shall blush to see how far beyond his Pillars the ships shall soon go forth to find another hemisphere, for although the earth is as round as a wheel, yet the water at any given point is a plane, and inasmuch as all things tend to a common centre so that by a divine mystery the earth is suspended in equilibrium among the stars, just so there is an antipodal world with cities and castles unknown to men of olden time, and the sun in hastening westwards descends to shine upon those peoples who are awaiting him below the horizon : —

Sappi che questa opinione è vana
 Perchè più oltre navicar si puote,
 Però che l' acqua in ogni parte è piana,
 Benchè la terra abbi forma di ruote ;
 Era più grossa allor la gente umana,
 Tal che potrebbe arrossirne le gote
 Ercule ancor, d' aver posti que' segni,
 Perchè più oltre passeranno i legni.

and riches to be found by sailing "straight to Cathay," and there were many channels through which Columbus might have got some inkling of his views, even before going to Portugal.

However this may have been, the letter clearly proves that at that most interesting period, in or about 1474, Columbus was already meditating upon the westward route.¹ Whether he owed the

E puossi andar giù nell' altro emisperio,
 Però che al centro ogni cosa reprime :
 Sicchè la terra per divin misterio
 Sospesa sta fra le stelle sublime,
 E laggiù son città, castella, e imperio ;
 Ma nol cognobbon quelle gente prime.
 Vedi che il sol di camminar s' affretta,*
 Dove io dico che laggiù s' aspetta.

Pulci, *Morgante Maggiore*, xxv. 229, 230.

This prophecy of western discovery combines with the astronomical knowledge here shown, to remind us that the Florentine Pulci was a fellow-townsmen and most likely an acquaintance of Toscanelli.

¹ It was formerly assumed, without hesitation, that the letter from Toscanelli to Columbus was written and sent in 1474. The reader will observe, however, that while the enclosed letter to Martinez is dated June 25, 1474, the letter to Columbus, in which it was enclosed, has no date. But according to the text as given in *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, cap. viii., this would make no difference, for the letter to Columbus was sent only a few days later than the original letter to Martinez: "I send you a copy of another letter, which I wrote a few days ago (*alquanti giorni fa*) to a friend of mine, a gentleman of the household of the king of Portugal before the wars of Castile, in reply to another," etc. This friend, Martinez, had evidently been a gentleman of the household of Alfonso V. since before the civil wars of Castile, which in 1474 had been going on intermittently for nine years under the feeble Henry IV., who did not die until December 12, 1474. Toscanelli apparently means to say "a friend of mine who has for ten years or more been a gentleman of the royal household," etc.; only instead of mentioning the number of years, he alludes less precisely (as most people, and perhaps especially old people, are apt to do) to the most notable, mentionable, and glaring fact in

idea to Toscanelli, or not, is a question of no great importance so far as concerns his own originality; for the idea was already in the air. The originality of Columbus did not consist in his conceiving the

The idea was suggested by the globular form of the earth;

the history of the Peninsula for that decade, — namely, the civil wars of Castile. As if an American writer in 1864 had said, “a friend of mine, who has been secretary to A. B. since before the war,” instead of saying “for four years or more.” This is the only reasonable interpretation of the phrase as it stands above, and it was long ago suggested by Humboldt (*Examen critique*, tom. i. p. 225). Italian and Spanish writers of that day, however, were lavish with their commas and sprinkled them in pretty much at haphazard. In this case Ferdinand’s translator, Ulloa, sprinkled in one comma too many, and it fell just in front of the clause “before the wars of Castile;” so that Toscanelli’s sentence was made to read as follows: “I send you a copy of another letter, which I wrote a few days ago to a friend of mine, a gentleman of the household of the king of Portugal, before the wars of Castile, in reply to another,” etc. Now this unhappy comma, coming after the word “Portugal,” has caused ream after ream of good paper to be inked up in discussion, for it has led some critics to understand the sentence as follows: “I send you a copy of another letter, which I wrote a few days ago, before the wars of Castile, to a friend of mine,” etc. This reading brought things to a pretty pass. Evidently a letter dated June 25, 1474, could not have been written before the civil wars of Castile, which began in 1465. It was therefore assumed that the phrase must refer to the “War of Succession” between Castile and Portugal (in some ways an outgrowth from the civil wars of Castile) which began in May, 1475, and ended in September, 1479. M. d’Avezac thinks that the letter to Columbus must have been written after the latter date, or more than five years later than the enclosed letter. M. HARRISSE is somewhat less exacting, and is willing to admit that it may have been written at any time after this war had fairly begun, — say in the summer of 1475, not more than a year or so later than the enclosed letter. Still he is disposed on some accounts to put the date as late as 1482. The phrase *al-quantı giorni fa* will not allow either of these interpretations. It means “a few days ago,” and cannot possibly mean a year ago, still less five years ago. The Spanish retranslator from Ulloa

possibility of reaching the shores of Cathay by sailing west, but in his conceiving it in such distinct

renders it exactly *algunos días há* (Navarrete, *Coleccion*, tom. ii. p. 7), and Humboldt (*loc. cit.*) has it *il y a quelques jours*. If we could be sure that the expression is a correct rendering of the lost Latin original, we might feel sure that the letter to Columbus must have been written as early as the beginning of August, 1474. But now the great work of Las Casas, after lying in manuscript for 314 years, has at length been published in 1875. Las Casas gives a Spanish version of the Toscanelli letters (*Historia de las Indias*, tom. i. pp. 92-97), which is unquestionably older than Ulloa's Italian version, though perhaps not necessarily more accurate. The phrase in Las Casas is not *algunos días há*, but *há días*, i. e. not "a few days ago," but "some time ago." Just which expression Toscanelli used cannot be determined unless somebody is fortunate enough to discover the lost Latin original. The phrase in Las Casas admits much more latitude of meaning than the other. I should suppose that *há días* might refer to an event a year or two old, which would admit of the interpretation considered admissible by M. HARRISSE. I should hardly suppose that it could refer to an event five or six years old; if Toscanelli had been referring in 1479 or 1480 to a letter written in 1474, his phrase would probably have appeared in Spanish as *algunos años há*, i. e. "a few years ago," not as *há días*. M. d'Avezac's hypothesis seems to me not only inconsistent with the phrase *há días*, but otherwise improbable. The frightful anarchy in Castile, which began in 1465 with the attempt to depose Henry IV. and alter the succession, was in great measure a series of ravaging campaigns and raids, now more general, now more local, and can hardly be said to have come to an end before Henry's death in 1474. The war which began with the invasion of Castile by Alfonso V. of Portugal, in May, 1475, was simply a later phase of the same series of conflicts, growing out of disputed claims to the crown and rivalries among great barons, in many respects similar to the contemporary anarchy in England called the Wars of the Roses. It is not likely that Toscanelli, writing at any time between 1475 and 1480, and speaking of the "wars of Castile" in the plural, could have had 1474 in his mind as a date previous to those wars; to his mind it would have rightly appeared as a date in the midst of them. In any case, therefore, his reference must be to a time before 1465, and Humboldt's interpretation is in all

and practical shape as to be ready to make the adventure in his own person. As a matter of theory the possibility of such a voyage could not fail to be suggested by the globular form of the earth; and ever since the days of Aristotle that had been generally admitted by men learned in physical science. Aristotle proved, from the different altitudes of the pole-star in different places, that the earth must necessarily be a globe. Moreover, says Aristotle, "some stars are seen in Egypt or at Cyprus, but are not seen in the countries to the north of these; and the stars that in the north are visible while they make a complete circuit, there undergo a setting. So that from this it is manifest, not only that the form of the earth is round, but also that it is part of not a very large sphere; for otherwise the difference would not be so obvious to persons making so small a change of place. Wherefore we may judge that *those persons who connect the region in the neighbourhood of the Pillars of Hercules with that towards India, and who assert that in this way the sea is ONE*, do not assert things very improbable." ¹ It

probability correct. The letter from Toscanelli to Columbus was probably written within a year or two after June 25, 1474.

On account of the vast importance of the Toscanelli letters, and because the early texts are found in books which the reader is not likely to have at hand, I have given them entire in the Appendix at the end of this work.

¹ "Ὅστε τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἄστρα μεγάλην ἔχειν τὴν μεταβολὴν, καὶ μὴ ταῦτα φαίνεσθαι πρὸς ἄρκτον τε καὶ μεσημβρίαν μεταβαίνουσιν· ἔνιοι γὰρ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μὲν ἀστέρες ὀρῶνται, καὶ περὶ Κύπρον· ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἄρκτον δὲ χωρίοις οὐχ ὀρῶνται καὶ τὰ διὰ παντὸς ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἄρκτον φαινόμενα τῶν ἀστρῶν, ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς τόποις ποιεῖται δύσιν. Ὅστ' οὐ μόνον ἐκ τούτων δῆλον περιφερὲς ὂν τὸ σχῆμα

thus appears that more than eighteen centuries before Columbus took counsel of Toscanelli, "those persons" to whom Aristotle ^{and was as old as Aristotle.} alludes were discussing, as a matter of theory, this same subject. Eratosthenes held that it would be easy enough to sail from Spain to India on the same parallel were it not for the vast extent of the Atlantic ocean.¹ On the other hand, Seneca maintained that the distance was probably not so very great, and that with favouring winds a ship might make the voyage in a few days.² In one of his tragedies Seneca has a striking passage³ which has been repeatedly quoted as referring to the discovery of America, and is certainly one of

τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφαίρας οὐ μεγάλης. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὕτω ταχύ ἐπιδηλον ἐποίει μεθιστεμένοις οὕτω βραχύ. Διὸ τοὺς ὑπολαμβάνοντας συνάπτειν τὸν περὶ τὰς Ἡρακλείους στήλας τόπον τῷ περὶ τὴν Ἰνδικήν, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἶναι τὴν Θάλατταν μίαν, μὴ λίαν ὑπολαμβάνειν ἄπιστα δοκεῖν. Aristotle, *De Cælo*, ii. 14. He goes on to say that "those persons" allege the existence of elephants alike in Mauretania and in India in proof of their theory.

¹ "Ὄστ' εἰ μὴ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ Ἀτλαντικοῦ πελάγους ἐκάλυε, καὶ πλείν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικήν διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραλλήλου. Strabo, i. 4, § 6.

² "Quantum enim est, quod ab ultimis litoribus Hispaniæ usque ad Indos jacet? Paucissimorum dierum spatium, si navem suus ventus implevit." Seneca, *Nat. Quæst.*, i. præf. § 11.

³ Venient annis sæcula seris,
Quibus Oceanus vincula rerum
Laxet, et ingens pateat tellus,
Tethysque novos detegat orbes,
Nec sit terris ultima Thule.

Seneca, *Medea*, 376.

In the copy of Seneca's tragedies, published at Venice in 1510, bought at Valladolid by Ferdinand Columbus in March, 1518, for 4 reals (plus 2 reals for binding), and now to be seen at the Biblioteca Colombina, there is a marginal note attached to these verses: "hæc prophetia expleta ē per patrē meuz cristoforū colō almiratō anno 1492."

the most notable instances of prophecy on record. There will come a time, he says, in the later years, when Ocean shall loosen the bonds by which we have been confined, when an immense land shall lie revealed, and Tethys shall disclose new worlds, and Thule will no longer be the most remote of countries. In Strabo there is a passage, less commonly noticed, which hits the truth — as we know it to-day — even more closely. Having argued that the total length of the Inhabited World is only about a third part of the circumference of the earth in the temperate zone, he suggests it as possible, or even probable, that within this space there may be another Inhabited World, or even more than one; but such places would be inhabited by different races of men, with whom the geographer, whose task it is to describe the *known* world, has no concern.¹ Nothing could better illustrate the philosophical character of Strabo's mind. In such speculations, so far as his means of verification went, he was situated somewhat as we are to-day with regard to the probable inhabitants of Venus or Mars.

Early in the Christian era we are told by an

¹ Καλοῦμεν γὰρ οἰκουμένην ἣν οἰκοῦμεν καὶ γνωρίζομεν · ἐνδέκεται δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ εὐκράτῳ ζώνῃ καὶ δύο οἰκουμένας εἶναι ἢ καὶ πλείους. Strabo, i. 4, § 6; καὶ γὰρ εἰ οὕτως ἔχει, οὐχ ὑπὸ τούτων γε οἰκεῖται τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν · ἀλλ' ἐκείνην ἄλλην οἰκουμένην θετέον. Ὕπερ ἐστὶ πιθανόν. Ἡμῖν δὲ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ταῦτα λεκτέον. Id. ii. 5, § 13. This has always seemed to me one of the most remarkable anticipations of modern truth in all ancient literature. Mr. Bunsbury thinks it may have suggested the famous verses of Seneca just quoted. *History of Ancient Geography*, vol. ii. p. 224.

eminent Greek astronomer that the doctrine of the earth's sphericity was accepted by all competent persons except the Epicureans.¹ Among the Fathers of the Church there was some difference of opinion; while in general they denied the existence of human beings beyond the limits of their Œcumene, or Inhabited World, this denial did not necessarily involve disbelief in the globular figure of the earth.² The views of the great mass of people, and of the more ignorant of the clergy, down to the time of Columbus, were probably well represented in the book of Cosmas Indicopleustes already cited.³ Nevertheless among the more enlightened clergy the views of the ancient astronomers were never quite forgotten, and in the great revival of intellectual life in the thirteenth century the doctrine of the earth's sphericity was again brought prominently into the foreground. We find Dante basing upon it the cosmical theory elaborated in his immortal poem.⁴ In 1267 Roger Bacon — stimulated, no doubt, by the reports of the ocean east of Cathay — collected passages from ancient writers

Opinions of
Christian
writers.

Roger Bacon.

¹ Οἱ δὲ ἡμέτεροι [i. e. the Stoics] καὶ ἀπὸ μαθημάτων πάντες, καὶ οἱ πλείους τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Σωκρατικοῦ διδασκαλεῖου σφαιρικὸν εἶναι τὸ σχῆμα τῆς γῆς δεβειώσαντο. Cleomedes, i. 8; cf. Lucretius, *De Rerum Nat.*, i. 1052-1082; Stobæus, *Eclog.* i. 19; Plutarch, *De facie in Orbe Luna*, cap. vii.


² See Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xvi. 9; Lactantius, *Inst. Div.*, iii. 23; Jerome, *Comm. in Ezechiel*, i. 6; Whewell's *History of the Inductive Sciences*, vol. i. p. 196.

³ See above, p. 266.

⁴ For an account of the cosmography of the Divine Comedy illustrated with interesting diagrams, see Artaud de Montor's *Histoire de Dante Alighieri*, Paris, 1841.

to prove that the distance from Spain to the eastern shores of Asia could not be very great. Bacon's argument and citations were copied in an extremely curious book, the "Imago Mundi," published in 1410 by the Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly, Bishop of Cambrai, better known by the Latinized form of his name as Petrus Alliacus. This treatise, which throughout the fifteenth century enjoyed a great reputation, was a favourite book with Columbus, and his copy of it, covered with marginal annotations in his own handwriting, is still preserved among the priceless treasures of the Biblioteca Colombina.¹ He found in it strong confirmation of his views, and it is not impossible that the reading of it may have first put such ideas into his head. Such a point, however, can hardly be determined. As I have already observed, these ideas were in the air. What Columbus did was not to originate them, but to incarnate them in facts and breathe into them the breath of life. It was one thing to suggest, as a theoretical

¹ It was first printed without indication of place or date, but probably the place was Paris and the date somewhere from 1483 to 1490. Manuscript copies were very common, and Columbus probably knew the book long before that time. There is a good account of it in Humboldt's *Examen critique*, tom. i. pp. 61-76, 96-108. Humboldt thinks that such knowledge as Columbus had of the opinions of ancient writers was chiefly if not wholly obtained from Alliacus. It is doubtful if Columbus had any direct acquaintance with the works of Roger Bacon, but he knew the *Liber Cosmographicus* of Albertus Magnus and the *Speculum Naturale* of Vincent de Beauvais (both about 1250), and drew encouragement from them. He also knew the book of Mandeville, first printed in French at Lyons in 1480, and a Latin translation of Marco Polo, published in 1485, a copy of which, with marginal MS. notes, is now in the Colombina.

 inter motus istos scilicet salubres amovibiles.
inter quas sunt quippe motus gressus et lapsus
procalis.

Orferat Ensam et Argiream au-
tem folus nunquam carentem. ba-
strantes Indos. Terra
met fruges vice hyemis
homines. dephantas in
Edmuz quoque lignum. et plu-
ra preciosa plurimos. Ibi
drones et griffes ac immenso
India valde magna est. Hanc
est tertia pars habitabi-
ipse dicat Europam esse ma-
Dico igitur quod fons Indice
propter regionem Iudha-
maris magnam descendens
iam inferiorem seu Africae
Indice descendit a tropi-
uo montem Afaledum. et regi-
ne nunc Arym vocatur. Hanc
est Syene. una sub solsti-
tio de qua nunc est sermo.
fici in medio habitationis
occidente septentrione et meri-
dionis ponentis Hierusalem
est salutem in medio terre.

tropobaniam hanc gressus et lapsus
ensa et argiream auro et argenteo
tali.

india multas res habet ut perlas
aromaticas et lapides preciosos
plurimos et motus auri et
argentei per habitabilis

+
fons indicis descendit usque ad
epicuri caput
ambit brachium maris magnum
indiam et spaniam //

duplex est fons una sub
solstitio alia sub aequinoctio

falsitas ponitur hierusalem
in medio terre

re habitabilis ut ostendit
sicut supra dictum est
in libris Indice. Ca. xvi.
India in quantitate. Sed ex-
mirabiliu varietate. Hanc
stigma duorum cubitorum
partit octavo senescunt.
tamen serpentem qui ibi
acrobium. xii. cubitorum longi-
tudo et unguis perferunt

hanc duorum cubitorum
gravis. Hanc aene per d. sinas
piper albu
ayacobi. i. z. cubitorum longi-
tudo et unguis

possibility, that Cathay might be reached by sailing westward ; and it was quite another thing to prove that the enterprise was feasible with the ships and instruments then at command.

The principal consideration, of course, was the distance to be traversed ; and here Columbus was helped by an error which he shared with many geographers of his day. He somewhat underestimated the size of the earth, and at the same time greatly overestimated the length of Asia. The first astronomer to calculate, by scientific methods, the circumference of our planet at the equator was Eratosthenes (B. C. 276–196), and he came — all things considered — fairly near the truth ; he made it 25,200 geographical miles (of ten stadia), or about one seventh too great. The true figure is 21,600 geographical miles, equivalent to 24,899 English statute miles.¹ Curiously enough, Posidonius, in revising this calculation a century later, reduced the figure to 18,000 miles, or about one seventh too small. The circumference in the latitude of Gibraltar he estimated at 14,000 miles ; the length of the *Æcumene*, or Inhabited World, he called 7,000 ; the distance across the Atlantic from the Spanish strand to the eastern shores of Asia was the other 7,000. The error of Posidonius was partially rectified by Ptolemy, who made the equatorial circumference 20,400 geographical miles, and

Ancient estimates of the size of the globe and the length of the *Æcumene*.

¹ See Herschel's *Outlines of Astronomy*, p. 140. For an account of the method employed by Eratosthenes, see Delambre, *Histoire de l'astronomie ancienne*, tom. i. pp. 86–91 ; Lewis, *Astronomy of the Ancients*, p. 198.

the length of a degree 56.6 miles.¹ This estimate, in which the error was less than one sixteenth, prevailed until modern times. Ptolemy also supposed the Inhabited World to extend over about half the circumference of the temperate zone, but the other half he imagined as consisting largely of bad lands, quagmires, and land-locked seas, instead of a vast and open ocean.²

Ptolemy's opinion as to the length of the Inhabited World was considerably modified in the minds of those writers who toward the end of the Middle Ages had been strongly impressed by the book of Marco Polo. Among these persons was Toscanelli. This excellent astronomer calculated the earth's equatorial circumference at almost exactly the true figure; his error was less than 124 English miles in excess. The circumference in the latitude of Lisbon he made $26 \times 250 \times 3 = 19,500$ miles.³ Two thirds of this figure, or 13,000 miles, he allowed

Toscanelli's
calculation of
the size of the
earth,

¹ See Bunbury's *History of Ancient Geography*, vol. ii. pp. 95-97, 546-579; Müller and Donaldson, *History of Greek Literature*, vol. iii. p. 268.

² Strabo, in arguing against this theory of bad lands, etc., as obstacles to ocean navigation—a theory which seems to be at least as old as Hipparchus—has a passage which finely expresses the loneliness of the sea:—*Ὅτε γὰρ περιπλεῖν ἐπιχειρήσαντες, εἶτα ἀναστρέψαντες, οὐχ ὑπὸ ἠπείρου τινὸς ἀντιπιπτούσης καὶ κωλυούσης, τὸν ἐπέκεινα πλοῦν ἀνακρουσθῆναι φασιν, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ ἀπορίας καὶ ἐρημίας, οὐδὲν ἦττον τῆς θαλάττης ἐχούσης τὸν πόρον* (lib. i. cap. i. § 8). When one thinks of this ἀπορία and ἐρημία, one fancies oneself far out on the Atlantic, alone in an open boat on a cloudy night, bewildered and hopeless.

³ See above, p. 360. Toscanelli's mile was nearly equivalent to the English statute mile. See the very important note in Winor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 51.

for the length of the *Œcumene*, from Lisbon eastward to Quinsay (i. e. Hang-chow), leaving 6,500 for the westward voyage from Lisbon to Quinsay. Thus Toscanelli elongated Asia by nearly the whole width of the Pacific ocean. His Quinsay would come about 130° W., a few hundred miles west of the mouth of the Columbia river. Zaiton (i. e. Chang-chow), the easternmost city in Toscanelli's China, would come not far from the tip end of Lower California. Thus the eastern coast of Cipango, about a thousand miles east from Zaiton, would fall in the Gulf of Mexico somewhere near the ninety-third meridian, and that island, being over a thousand miles in length north and south, would fill up the space between the parallel of New Orleans and that of the city of Guatemala. The westward voyage from the Canaries to Cipango, according to Toscanelli, would be rather more than 3,250 miles, but at a third of the distance out he placed the imaginary island of "Antilia," with which he seems to have supposed Portuguese sailors to be familiar.¹ "So through the unknown parts of the route," said the venerable astronomer, "the stretches of sea to be traversed are not great,"

and of the
position of
Cipango.

¹ The reader will also notice upon Toscanelli's map the islands of Brazil and St. Brandan. For an account of all these fabulous islands see Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, vol. i. pp. 46-51. The name of "Antilia" survives in the name "Antilles," applied since about 1502 to the West India islands. All the islands west of Toscanelli's ninetieth meridian belong in the Pacific. He drew them from his understanding of the descriptions of Marco Polo, Friar Odoric, and other travellers. These were the islands supposed, rightly, though vaguely, to abound in spices.

— not much more than 2,000 English miles, not so long as the voyage from Lisbon to the Guinea coast.

While Columbus attached great importance to these calculations and carried Toscanelli's map with him upon his first voyage, he improved somewhat upon the estimates of distance, and thus made his case still more hopeful. Columbus was not enough of an astronomer to adopt Toscanelli's improved measurement of the size of the earth. He accepted Ptolemy's figure of 20,400 geographical miles for the equatorial girth,¹ which would make the circumference in the latitude of

Columbus's opinion of the size of the globe, the length of the *Ecumene*, and the width of the Atlantic ocean.

¹ Columbus was confirmed in this opinion by the book of the Arabian astronomer Alfragan, written about A. D. 950, a Latin translation of which appeared in 1447. There is a concise summary of it in Delambre, *Histoire de l'astronomie du Moyen Age*, pp. 63-73. Columbus proceeded throughout on the assumption that the length of a degree at the equator is 56.6 geographical miles, instead of the correct figure 60. This would oblige him to reduce all Toscanelli's figures by about six per cent., to begin with. Upon this point we have the highest authority, that of Columbus himself, in an autograph marginal note in his copy of the *Imago Mundi*, where he expresses himself most explicitly: "Nota quod sepius navigando ex Ulixbona ad Austrum in Guineam, notavi cum diligentia viam, ut solitum naucleris et malineriis, et preterea accepi altitudinem solis cum quadrante et aliis instrumentis plures vices, et inveni concordare cum Alfragano, videlicet respondere quemlibet gradum milliariis 56 $\frac{2}{3}$. Quare ad hanc mensuram fidem adhibendam. Tunc igitur possumus dicere quod circuitus Terræ sub aræ equinoctiali est 20,400 milliariorum. Similiter que id invenit magister Josephus phisicus et astrologus et alii plures missi specialiter ad hoc per serenissimum regem Portugalie," etc.; *anglicè*, "Observe that in sailing often from Lisbon southward to Guinea, I carefully marked the course, according to the custom of skippers and mariners, and moreover I took the sun's altitude several times with a quadrant and other instru-

the Canaries about 18,000; and Columbus, on the strength of sundry passages from ancient authors which he found in Alliacus (cribbed from Roger Bacon), concluded that six sevenths of this circumference must be occupied by the $\text{\O}c$ umene, including Cipango, so that in order to reach that wonderful island he would only have to sail over one seventh, or not much more than 2,500 miles from the Canaries.¹ An authority upon which he

ments, and in agreement with Alfragan I found that each degree [i. e. of longitude, measured on a great circle] answers to $56\frac{2}{3}$ miles. So that one may rely upon this measure. We may therefore say that the equatorial circumference of the earth is 20,400 miles. A similar result was obtained by Master Joseph, the physicist [or, perhaps, physician] and astronomer, and several others sent for this special purpose by the most gracious king of Portugal." — Master Joseph was physician to John II. of Portugal, and was associated with Martin Behaim in the invention of an improved astrolabe which greatly facilitated ocean navigation. — The exact agreement with Ptolemy's figures shows that by a mile Columbus meant a geographical mile, equivalent to ten Greek stadia.

¹ One seventh of 18,000 is 2,571 geographical miles, equivalent to 2,963 English miles. The actual length of Columbus's first voyage, from last sight of land in the Canaries to first sight of land in the Bahamas, was according to his own dead reckoning about 3,230 geographical miles. See his journal in Navarrete, *Coleccion*, tom. i. pp. 6–20.

I give here in parallel columns the passage from Bacon and the one from Alliacus upon which Columbus placed so much reliance. In the Middle Ages there was a generous tolerance of much that we have since learned to stigmatize as plagiarism.

<p>From Roger Bacon, <i>Opus Majus</i> (A. D. 1267), London, 1733, ed. Jebb, p. 183: — "Sed Aristoteles vult in fine secundi Cœli et Mundi quod plus [terræ] habitetur quam quarta pars. Et Averroes hoc confirmat. Dicit</p>	<p>From Petrus Alliacus, <i>De imagine Mundi</i> (A. D. 1410), Paris, cir. 1490, cap. viii. fol. 13 b: — "Summus Aristoteles dicit quod mare parvum est inter finem Hispaniæ a parte occidentis et inter principium Indiæ</p>
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placed great reliance in this connection was the fourth book of Esdras, which although not a canonical part of the Bible was approved by holy men, and which ex-

The fourth
book of
Esdras.

Aristoteles quod mare parvum est inter finem Hispaniæ a parte occidentis et inter principium Indiæ a parte orientis. Et Seneca, libro quinto Naturalium, dicit quod mare hoc est navigabile in paucissimis diebus si ventus sit conveniens. Et Plinius docet in Naturalibus quod navigatum est a sinu Arabico usque ad Gades: unde refert quendam fugisse a rege suo præ timore et intravit sinum Maris Rubri . . . qui circiter spatium navigationis annualis distat a Mari Indico: . . . ex quo patet principium Indiæ in oriente multum a nobis distare et ab Hispania, postquam tantum distat a principio Arabiæ versus Indiam. A fine Hispaniæ sub terra tam parvum mare est quod non potest cooperire tres quartas terræ. Et hoc per auctoritatem alterius considerationis probatur. Nam Esdras dicit quarto libro, quod sex partes terræ sunt habitatæ et septima est cooperta aquis. Et ne aliquis impediatur hanc auctoritatem, dicens quod liber ille est apocryphus et ignotæ auctoritatis, dicendum est quod sancti habuerunt illum librum in usu et confirmant veritates sacras per illum librum."

a parte orientis, et vult quod plus habitetur quam quarta pars, et Averroes hoc confirmat. Insuper Seneca, libro quinto Naturalium, dicit quod mare est navigabile in paucis diebus si ventus sit conveniens. Et Plinius docet in Naturalibus, libro secundo, quod navigatum est a sinu Arabico usque ad Gades Herculis non multum magno tempore,

unde concludunt aliqui, quod mare non est tantum quod possit cooperire tres quartas terræ. Accedit ad hoc auctoritas Esdræ libro suo quarto, dicentis quod sex partes terræ sunt habitatæ et septima est cooperta aquis,

cujus libri auctoritatem sancti habuerunt in reverentia."

Columbus must either have carried the book of Alliacus with

pressly asserted that six parts of the earth (i. e. of the length of the *Œcumene*, or north temperate zone) are inhabited and only the seventh part covered with water. From the general habit of Columbus's mind it may be inferred that it was chiefly upon this scriptural authority that he based his confident expectation of finding land soon after accomplishing seven hundred leagues from the Canaries. Was it not as good as written in the Bible that land was to be found there?

Thus did Columbus arrive at his decisive conclusion, estimating the distance across the Sea of Darkness to Japan at something less than the figure which actually expresses the distance to the West Indies. Many a hopeful enterprise has been ruined by errors in figuring, but this wrong cal-

him on his voyages, or else have read his favourite passages until he knew them by heart, as may be seen from the following passage of a letter, written from Hispaniola in 1498 to Ferdinand and Isabella (Navarrete, tom i. p. 261): — “El Aristotel dice que este mundo es pequeño y es el agua muy poca, y que facilmente se puede pasar de España à las Indias, y esto confirma el Avenryz [Averroes], y le alega el cardenal Pedro de Aliaco, autorizando este decir y aquel de Seneca, el qual conforma con estos. . . . À esto trae una autoridad de Esdras del tercero libro suyo, adonde dice que de siete partes del mundo las seis son descubiertas y la una es cubierta de agua, la cual autoridad es aprobada por Santos, los cuales dan autoridad al 3º é 4º libro de Esdras, ansí come es S. Agustin é S. Ambrosio en su *exámeron*,” etc. — “Singular period,” exclaims Humboldt, “when a mixture of testimonies from Aristotle and Averroes, Esdras and Seneca, on the small extent of the ocean compared with the magnitude of continental land, afforded to monarchs guarantees for the safety and expediency of costly enterprises!” *Cosmos*, tr. Sabine, vol. ii. p. 250. The passages cited in this note may be found in Humboldt, *Examen critique*, tom. i. pp. 65–69. Another interesting passage from *Imago Mundi*, cap. xv., is quoted on p. 78 of the same work.

ulation was certainly a great help to Columbus.

When we consider how difficult he found it to obtain men and ships for a voyage supposed to be not more than 2,500

Fortunate
mixture of
truth and
error.

miles in this new and untried direction, we must admit that his chances would have been poor indeed if he had proposed to sail westward on the Sea of Darkness for nearly 12,000 miles, the real distance from the Canaries to Japan. It was a case where the littleness of the knowledge was not a dangerous but a helpful thing. If instead of the somewhat faulty astronomy of Ptolemy and the very hazy notions prevalent about "the Indies," the correct astronomy of Toscanelli had prevailed and had been joined to an accurate knowledge of eastern Asia, Columbus would surely never have conceived his great scheme, and the discovery of America would probably have waited to be made by accident.¹ The whole point of his scheme lay in its promise of a shorter route to the Indies than that which the Portuguese were seeking by way of Guinea. Unless it was probable that it could furnish such a shorter route, there was no reason for such an extraordinary enterprise.

The whole
point and
purport of
Columbus's
scheme.

The years between 1474 and 1480 were not favourable for new maritime ventures on the part of the Portuguese government. The war with Castile absorbed the energies of Alfonso V. as well as his money, and he was badly beaten into the bargain. About this time Columbus was writing a treatise

¹ See below, vol. ii. p. 96.

on “the five habitable zones,” intended to refute the old notions about regions so fiery or so frozen as to be inaccessible to man.

Columbus's
speculations
on climate.

As this book is lost we know little or nothing of its views and speculations, but it appears that in writing it Columbus utilized sundry observations made by himself in long voyages into the torrid and arctic zones. He spent some time

His voyage
to Guinea.

at the fortress of San Jorge de la Mina, on the Gold Coast, and made a study of that equinoctial climate.¹ This could not have been earlier than 1482, the year in which the fortress was built. Five years before this he seems to have gone far in the opposite direction. In a fragment of a letter or diary, preserved by his son and by

Las Casas, he says : — “In the month of February, 1477, I sailed a hundred leagues beyond

His voyage
into the Arctic
ocean, 1477.

the island of Thule, [to ?] an island of which the south part is in latitude 73°, not 63°, as some say ; and it [i. e. Thule] does not lie within Ptolemy's western boundary, but much farther west. And to this island, which is as big as England, the English go with their wares, especially from Bristol. When I was there the sea was not frozen. In some places the tide rose and fell twenty-six fathoms. It is true that the Thule mentioned by Ptolemy lies where he says it does, and this by the moderns is called Frislanda.”²

¹ *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, cap. iv. ; Las Casas, *Historia*, tom. i. p. 49.

² “Io navigai l' anno M CCCC LXXVII nel mese di Febraio oltra Tile isola cento leghe, la cui parte Australe è lontana dall' Equinoctiale settantatrè gradi, e non sessantatrè, come alessi vogliono ; nè giace dentro della linea, che include l' Occidente di Tolomeo,

Taken as it stands this passage is so bewildering that we can hardly suppose it to have come in just this shape from the pen of Columbus. It looks as if it had been abridged from some diary of his by some person unfamiliar with the Arctic seas; and I have ventured to insert in brackets a little preposition which may perhaps help to straighten out the meaning. By Thule Columbus doubtless means Iceland, which lies between latitudes 64° and 67° , and it looks as if he meant to say that he ran beyond it as far as the little island, just a hundred leagues from Iceland and in latitude 71° , since discovered by Jan Mayen in 1611. The rest of the paragraph is more intelligible. It is true that Iceland lies thirty degrees farther west than Ptolemy placed Thule; and that for a century before the discovery of the Newfoundland fisheries the English did much fishing in the waters about Iceland,

He may have reached Jan Mayen island,

ma è molto più Occidentale. Et a questa isola, che è tanto grande, come l' Inghilterra, vanno gl' Inglesi con le loro mercatantie, specialmente quelli di Bristol. Et al tempo che io vi andai, non era congelato il mare, quantunque vi fossero sì grosse maree, che in alcuni luoghi ascendeva ventisei braccia, e discendeva altrettanti in altezza. È bene il vero, che Tile, quella, di cui Tolomeo fa mentione, giace dove egli dice; & questa da' moderni è chiamata Frislanda." *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, cap. iv. In the original edition of 1571, there are no quotation-marks; and in some modern editions, where these are supplied, the quotation is wrongly made to end just before the last sentence, so as to make it appear like a gloss of Ferdinand's. This is, however, impossible. Ferdinand died in 1539, and the Zeno narrative of Frislanda was not published till 1558, so that the only source from which that name could have come into his book was his father's document. The genuineness of the passage is proved by its recurrence, almost word for word, in Las Casas, *Historia*, tom. i. p. 48.

and carried wares thither, especially from Bristol.¹ There can be no doubt that by Frislanda Columbus means the Færoe islands,² which do lie in the latitude though not in the longitude mentioned by Ptolemy. As for the voyage into the Jan Mayen waters in February, it would be dangerous but by no means impossible.³ In another letter Columbus mentions visiting England, apparently in connection with this voyage,⁴ and it is highly probable that he went in an English ship from Bristol.

The object of Columbus in making these long voyages to the equator and into the polar circle was, as he tells us, to gather observations upon climate. From the circumstance of his having made a stop at some point in Iceland, it was conjectured by Finn Magnusson that Columbus might have learned something about Vinland which served to guide him to his own enterprise or to encourage him in it. Starting from this suggestion, it has been argued⁵ that Columbus must have read the geographical appendix to Adam of Bremen's "Ecclesiastical History;" that he must

The hypothesis that Columbus "must have" heard and understood the story of the Vinland voyages.

¹ See Thorold Rogers, *The Economic Interpretation of History*, London, 1888, pp. 103, 319.

² See above, p. 236.

³ See the graphic description of a voyage in these waters in March, 1882, in Nansen's *The First Crossing of Greenland*, London, 1890, vol. i. pp. 149-152.

⁴ "E vidi tutto il Levante, e tutto il Ponente, che si dice per andare verso il Settentrione, cioè l' Inghilterra, e ho camminato per la Guinea." *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, cap. iv.

⁵ See Anderson's *America not discovered by Columbus*, Chicago, 1874; 3d ed. enlarged, Chicago, 1883.

have understood, as we now do, the reference therein made to Vinland; that he made his voyage to Iceland in order to obtain further information; that he there not only heard about Vinland and other localities mentioned in the sagas, but also mentally placed them about where they were placed in 1837 by Professor Rafn; that, among other things, he thus obtained a correct knowledge of the width of the Atlantic ocean in latitude 28° N.; and that during fifteen subsequent years of weary endeavour to obtain ships and men for his westward voyage, he sedulously refrained from using the most convincing argument at his command, — namely that land of continental dimensions had actually been found (though by a very different route) in the direction which he indicated.

I have already given an explanation of the process by which Columbus arrived at the firm belief that by sailing not more than about 2,500 geographical miles due west from the Canaries he should reach the coast of Japan. Every step of that explanation is sustained by documentary evidence, and as his belief is thus completely accounted for, the hypothesis that he may have based it upon information obtained in Iceland is, to say the least, superfluous. We do not need it in order to explain his actions, and accordingly his actions do not afford a presumption in favour of it. There is otherwise no reason, of course, for refusing to admit that he might have obtained information in Iceland, were there any evidence that he did. But not a scrap

That hypothesis has no evidence in its favour.

of such evidence has ever been produced. Every step in the Scandinavian hypothesis is a pure assumption.

First it is assumed that Columbus *must* have read the appendix to Adam of Bremen's history. But really, while it is not impossible that he should

have read that document, it is, on the whole, improbable. The appendix was first printed in Lindenbrog's edition, published at Leyden, in 1595. The eminent Norwegian historian, Gustav Storm, finds that in the sixteenth century just six MSS. of Adam's works can now be traced. Of these, two were preserved in Denmark, two in Hamburg, one had *perhaps* already wandered southward to Leyden, and one as far as Vienna.

Dr. Storm, therefore, feels sure that Columbus never saw Adam's mention of Vinland, and pithily adds that "had Columbus known it, it would not have been able to show him the way to the West Indies, but perhaps to the North Pole."¹ From the account of this mention and its context, which I have already given,² it is in the highest degree improbable that if Columbus had read the passage he could have understood it as bearing upon his own problem. There is, therefore, no ground for the

It is not probable that Columbus knew of Adam of Bremen's allusion to Vinland,

or that he would have understood it if he had read it.

¹ "Det er derfor sikkert, at Columbus ikke, som nogle har formodet, kan have kjendt Adam af Bremens Beretning om Vinland; vi kan gjerne tilføie, at havde Columbus kjendt den, vilde den ikke have kunnet vise ham Vei til Vesten (Indien), men kanske til Nordpolen." *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1887, ii. 2, p. 301.

² See above, p. 210.

assumption that Columbus went to Iceland in order to make inquiries about Vinland.

It may be argued that even if he did not go for such a purpose, nevertheless when once there he could hardly have failed incidentally to get the information. This, however, is not at all clear. Observe that our sole authority for the journey to Iceland is the passage above quoted at second-hand from Columbus himself; and there is nothing in it to show whether he staid a few hours or several weeks ashore, or met with any one likely to be possessed of the knowledge in question. The absence of any reference to Vinland in the Zeno narrative is an indication that the memory of it had faded away before 1400, and it was not distinctly and generally revived until the time of Torfæus in 1705.¹

It is doubtful if Columbus would have stumbled upon the story in Iceland.

¹ In 1689 the Swedish writer, Ole Rudbeck, could not understand Adam of Bremen's allusion to Vinland. The passage is instructive. Rudbeck declares that in speaking of a wine-growing country near to the Arctic ocean, Adam must have been misled by some poetical or figurative phrase; he was deceived either by his trust in the Danes, or by his own credulity, for he manifestly refers to *Finland*, for which the form *Vinland* does not once occur in Sturleson, etc.: — "Ne tamen poetis solis hoc loquendi genus in suis regionum laudationibus familiare fuisse quis existimet, sacras adeat literas quæ Palæstinæ fœcunditatem appellatione *fluentorum lactis & mellis* designant. Tale aliquid, sine omne dubio, Adamo Bremensi quondam persuaserat insulam esse in ultimo septentrione sitam, mari glaciali vicinam, vini feracem, & ea propter fide tamen Danorum, *Vinlandiam* dictam prout ipse . . . fateri non dubitat. Sed deceptum eum hac sive Danorum fide, sive credulitate sua planum facit affine isti vocabulum *Finlandiæ* provinciæ ad Regnum nostrum pertinentis, pro quo apud Snorronem & in Hist. Regum non semel occurrit *Vinlandiæ* nomen, cujus promontorium ad ultimum septentrionem & usque ad mare glaciale sese extendit." Rudbeck, *Atland eller Manheim*, Upsala, cir. 1689, p. 291.

But to hear about Vinland was one thing, to be guided by it to Japan was quite another affair. It was not the mention of timber and peltries and Skrælings that would fire the imagination of Columbus; his dreams were of stately cities with busy wharves where ships were laden with silks

If he had heard it, he would probably have classed it with such tales as that of St. Brandan's isle.

and jewels, and of Oriental magnates decked out with "barbaric pearl and gold," dwelling in pavilions of marble and jasper amid flowery gardens in "a summer fanned with spice." The mention of Vinland was no more likely to excite Columbus's attention than that of St. Brandan's isle or other places supposed to lie in the western ocean. He was after higher game.

To suppose that Columbus, even had he got hold of the Saga of Eric the Red and conned it from beginning to end, with a learned interpreter at his elbow, could have gained from it a know-

He could not have obtained from such a source his opinion of the width of the ocean.

ledge of the width of the Atlantic ocean, is simply preposterous. It would be impossible to extract any such knowledge from that document to-day without the aid of our modern maps. The most diligent critical study of all the Icelandic sources of information, with all the resources of modern scholarship, enables us with some confidence to place Vinland somewhere between Cape Breton and Point Judith, that is to say, somewhere between two points distant from each other more than four degrees in latitude and more than eleven degrees in longitude! When we have got thus far, knowing as we do that the coast in question be

longs to the same continental system as the West Indies, we can look at our map and pick up our pair of compasses and measure the width of the ocean at the twenty-eighth parallel. But it is not the mediæval document, but our modern map that guides us to this knowledge. And yet it is innocently assumed that Columbus, without any knowledge or suspicion of the existence of America, and from such vague data concerning voyages made five hundred years before his time, by men who had no means of reckoning latitude and longitude, could have obtained his figure of 2,500 miles for the voyage from the Canaries to Japan! ¹ The fallacy here is that which underlies the whole Scandinavian hypothesis and many other fanciful geo-

¹ The source of such a confusion of ideas is probably the ridiculous map in Rafn's *Antiquitates Americanæ*, upon which North America is represented in all the accuracy of outline attainable by modern maps, and then the Icelandic names are put on where Rafn thought they ought to go, i. e. Markland upon Nova Scotia, Vinland upon New England, etc. Any person using such a map is liable to forget that it cannot possibly represent the crude notions of locality to which the reports of the Norse voyages must have given rise in an ignorant age. (The reader will find the map reproduced in Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, i. 95.) Rafn's fault was, however, no greater than that committed by the modern makers of so-called "ancient atlases" — still current and in use in schools — when, for example, they take a correct modern map of Europe, with parts of Africa and Asia, and upon countries so dimly known to the ancients as Scandinavia and Hindustan, but now drawn with perfect accuracy, they simply print the ancient names!! Nothing but confusion can come from using such wretched maps. The only safe way to study the history of geography is to reproduce the ancient maps themselves, as I have done in the present work. Many of the maps given below in the second volume will illustrate the slow and painful growth of the knowledge of the North American coast during the two centuries after Columbus.

graphical speculations. It is the fallacy of projecting our present knowledge into the past.

We have next to inquire, if Columbus had heard of Vinland and comprehended its relation to his own theory about land at the west, why in the

If he had known and understood the Vinland story, he had the strongest motives for proclaiming it and no motive for concealing it.

world should he have concealed this valuable knowledge? The notion seems to be that he must have kept it secret through an unworthy desire to claim a priority in discovery to which he knew that he was not entitled.¹ This is projecting our present knowledge into the

past with a vengeance. Columbus never professed to have discovered America; he died in the belief that what he had done was to reach the eastern shores of Asia by a shorter route than the Portuguese. If he had reason to suppose that the Northmen had once come down from the Arctic seas to some unknown part of the Asiatic coast, he had no motive for concealing such a fact, but the strongest of motives for proclaiming it, inasmuch as it would have given him the kind of inductive argument which he sorely needed. The chief obstacle for Columbus was that for want of tangible evidence he was obliged to appeal to men's reason with scientific arguments. When you show things to young children they are not content with looking; they crave a more intimate acquaintance than the eyes alone can give, and so they reach out and

¹ "The fault that we find with Columbus is, that he was not honest and frank enough to tell where and how he had obtained his previous information about the lands which he pretended to discover." Anderson, *America not discovered by Columbus*, p. 90.

handle the things. So when ideas are presented to grown-up men, they are apt to be unwilling to trust to the eye of reason until it has been supplemented by the eye of sense; and indeed in most affairs of life such caution is wholesome. The difference between Columbus and many of the "practical" men whom he sought to convince was that he could see with his mind's eye solid land beyond the Sea of Darkness while they could not. To them the ocean, like the sky, had nothing beyond, unless it might be the supernatural world.¹ For while the argument from the earth's rotundity was intelligible enough, there were few to whom, as to Toscanelli, it was a living truth. Even of those who admitted, in theory, that Cathay lay to the west of Europe, most deemed the distance untraversable. Inductive proof of the existence of accessible land to the west was thus what Columbus chiefly needed, and what he sought every opportunity to find and produce; but it was not easy to find anything more substantial than sailors' vague mention of driftwood of foreign aspect or other outlandish jetsam washed up on the Portuguese strand.² What a

¹ See below, p. 398, note.

² For example, the pilot Martin Vicenti told Columbus that 1,200 miles west of Cape St. Vincent he had picked up from the sea a piece of carved wood evidently not carved with iron tools. Pedro Correa, who had married Columbus's wife's sister, had seen upon Porto Santo a similar piece of carving that had drifted from the west. Huge reeds sometimes floated ashore upon those islands, and had not Ptolemy mentioned enormous reeds as growing in eastern Asia? Pine-trees of strange species were driven by west winds upon the coast of Fayal, and two corpses of men of an unknown race had been washed ashore upon the neighbouring island of Flores. Certain sailors, on a voyage from the Azores to Ireland,

godsend it would have been for Columbus if he could have had the Vinland business to hurl at the heads of his adversaries! If he could have said, "Five hundred years ago some Icelanders coasted westward in the polar regions, and then coasted southward until they reached a country beyond the ocean and about opposite to France or Portugal; therefore that country must be Asia, and I can reach it by striking boldly across the ocean, which will obviously be shorter than going down by Guinea," — if he could have said this, he would have had precisely the unanswerable argument for lack of which his case was waiting and suffering. In persuading men to furnish hard cash for his commercial enterprise, as Colonel Higginson so neatly says, "an ounce of Vinland would have been worth a pound of cosmography."¹ We may be sure that the silence of Columbus about the Norse voyages proves that he knew nothing about them or quite failed to see their bearings upon his own undertaking. It seems to me absolutely decisive.

Furthermore, this silence is in harmony with the fact that in none of his four voyages across the Atlantic did Columbus betray any consciousness that there was anything for him to gain by steering toward the northwest. If he could correctly have conceived the position of Vinland he surely would not have conceived it as south of the forehead had caught glimpses of land on the west, and believed it to be the coast of "Tartary;" etc., etc. See *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, cap. ix. Since he cited these sailors, why did he not cite the Northmen also, if he knew what they had done?

¹ *Larger History of the United States*, p. 54.

tieth parallel. On his first voyage he steered due west in latitude 28° because Toscanelli placed Japan opposite the Canaries. When at length some doubts began to arise and he altered his course, as we shall hereafter see, the change was toward the southwest. His first two voyages did not reveal to him the golden cities for which he was looking, and when on his third and fourth voyages he tried a different course it was farther toward the equator, not farther away from it, that he turned his prows. Not the slightest trace of a thought of Vinland appears in anything that he did.

No trace of a thought of Vinland appears in the voyages of Columbus.

Finally it may be asked, if the memory of Vinland was such a living thing in Iceland in 1477 that a visitor would be likely to be told about it, why was it not sufficiently alive in 1493 to call forth a protest from the North? When the pope, as we shall presently see, was proclaiming to the world that the Spanish crown was entitled to all heathen lands and islands already discovered or to be discovered in the ocean west of the Azores, why did not some zealous Scandinavian at once jump up and cry out, "Look here, old Columbus, *we* discovered that western route, you know! Stop thief!" Why was it necessary to wait more than a hundred years longer before the affair of Vinland was mentioned in this connection?

Why did not Norway or Iceland utter a protest in 1493?

Simply because it was not until the seventeenth century that the knowledge of North American geography had reached such a stage of completeness as to suggest to anybody the true significance

of the old voyages from Greenland. That significance could not have been understood by Leif and Thorfinn themselves, or by the compilers of Hauksbók and Flateyar-bók, or by any human being, until about the time of Henry Hudson. Not earlier than that time should we expect to find it mentioned, and it is just then, in 1610, that we do find it mentioned by Arngrim Jonsson, who calls Vinland "an island of *America*, in the region of Greenland, perhaps the modern Estotilandia."¹ This is the earliest glimmering of an association of the idea of Vinland with that of America.

The idea of Vinland was not associated with the idea of America until the seventeenth century.

¹ "Terram veró Landa Rolfoni quæsitam existimarem esse Vinlandiam olim Islandis sic dictam; de qua alibi insulam nempe Americæ e regione Gronlandiæ, quæ fortè hodie Estotilandia," etc. *Crymogæa*, Hamburg, 1610, p. 120.

Abraham Ortelius in 1606 speaks of the Northmen coming to America, but bases his opinion upon the Zeno narrative (published in 1558) and upon the sound of the name *Norumbega*, and apparently knows nothing of Vinland: — "Iosephus Acosta in his books *De Natura noui orbis* induors by many reasons to proue, that this part of *America* was originally inhabited by certaine Indians, forced thither by tempestuous weather ouer the South sea which now they call Mare del Zur. But to me it seemes more probable, out of the historie of the two Zeni, gentlemen of Venice, . . . that this New World many ages past was entred upon by some islanders of *Europe*, as namely of *Grænland*, Island, and Frisland; being much neerer thereunto than the Indians, nor disioyned thence . . . by an Ocean so huge, and to the Indians so vnauigable. Also, what else may we coniecture to be signified by this *Norumbega* [the name of a North region of *America*] but that from *Norway*, signifying a North land, some Colonie in times past hath hither beene transplanted?" *Theatre of the Whole World*, London, 1606, p. 5. These passages are quoted and discussed by Reeves, *The Finding of Wineland the Good*, pp. 95, 96. The supposed connection of *Norumbega* with *Norway* is very doubtful. Possibly Stephanius, in his map of 1570 (*Torfæus, Gronlandia antiqua*, 1706), may have had reference to Labrador or the north of Newfoundland.

The genesis of the grand scheme of Columbus has now been set forth, I believe, with sufficient fulness. The cardinal facts are 1, that the need for some such scheme was suggested in 1471, by the discovery that the Guinea coast extended south of the equator; 2, that by 1474 advice had been sought from Toscanelli by the king of Portugal, and not very long after 1474 by Columbus; 3, that upon Toscanelli's letters and map, amended by the Ptolemaic estimate of the earth's size and by the authority of passages quoted in the book of Alliacus (one of which was a verse from the Apocrypha), Columbus based his firm conviction of the feasibility of the western route. How or by whom the suggestion of that route was first made — whether by Columbus himself or by Toscanelli or by Fernando Martinez or, as Antonio Gallo declares, by Bartholomew Columbus,¹ or by some person in Portugal whose name we know not — it would be difficult to decide. Neither can we fix the date when Columbus first sought aid for his scheme from the Portuguese government. There seems to be no good reason why he should not have been talking about it before 1474; but the affair did not come to any kind of a climax until after his return from Guinea, some time after 1482 and certainly not later than 1484. It was on some accounts a favourable time. The war with Castile was out of the way, and Martin Behaim had just invented an improved astrolabe which

Résumé of the
genesis of
Columbus's
scheme.

Martin
Behaim's
improved
astrolabe.

¹ Gallo, *De navigatione Columbi*, apud Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, tom. xxiii. col. 302.

made it ever so much easier to find and keep one's latitude at sea. It was in 1484 that Portuguese discoveries took a fresh start after a ten years' lull, and Diego Cam, with the learned Behaim and his bran-new astrolabe on board, was about to sail a thousand miles farther south than white men had ever gone before. About this time the scheme of Columbus was formally referred by King John II. to the junto of learned cosmographers from whom the crown had been wont to seek advice. The project was condemned as "visionary,"¹ as indeed it was, — the outcome of vision that saw farther than those men could see. But the king, who had some of his uncle Prince Henry's love for bold enterprises, was more hospitably inclined toward the ideas of Columbus, and he summoned a council of

Negotiations
of Columbus
with John II.
of Portugal.

the most learned men in the kingdom to discuss the question.² In this council the new scheme found some defenders, while others correctly urged that Columbus must be wrong in supposing Asia to extend so far to the east, and it must be a much longer voyage than he supposed to Cipango and Cathay.³ Others

¹ Lafuente, *Historia de España*, tom. ix. p. 428.

² Vasconcellos, *Vida del rey Don Juan II.*, lib. iv.; La Clède, *Histoire de Portugal*, lib. xiii.

³ The Portuguese have never been able to forgive Columbus for discovering a new world for Spain, and their chagrin sometimes vents itself in amusing ways. After all, says Cordeiro, Columbus was no such great man as some people think, for he did not discover what he promised to discover; and, moreover, the Portuguese geographers were right in condemning his scheme, because it really is not so far by sea from Lisbon around Africa to Hindustan as from Lisbon by any practicable route westward to Japan! See Luciano Cordeiro, *De la part prise par les Portugais*

argued that the late war had impoverished the country, and that the enterprises on the African coast were all that the treasury could afford. Here the demands of Columbus were of themselves an obstacle to his success. He never at any time held himself cheap,¹ and the rewards and honours for which he insisted on stipulating were greater than the king of Portugal felt inclined to bestow upon a plain Genoese mariner. It was felt that if the enterprise should prove a failure, as very likely it would, the less heartily the government should have committed itself to it beforehand, the less it would expose itself to ridicule. King John was not in general disposed toward unfair and dishonest dealings, but on this occasion, after much parley, he was persuaded to sanction a proceeding

dans la découverte d'Amérique, Lisbon, 1876, pp. 23, 24, 29, 30. Well, I don't know that there is any answer to be made to this argument. Logic is logic, says the wise Autocrat:—

“End of the wonderful one-hoss shay,
Logic is logic, that 's all I say.”

Cordeiro's book is elaborately criticised in the learned work of Prospero Peragallo, *Cristoforo Colombo in Portogallo: studi critici*, Genoa, 1882.

¹ “Perciocchè essendo l' Ammiraglio di generosi ed alti pensieri, volle capitolare con suo grande onore e vantaggio, per lasciar la memoria sua, e la grandezza della sua casa, conforme alla grandezza delle sue opere e de' suoi meriti.” *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, oap. xi. The jealous Portuguese historian speaks in a somewhat different tone from the affectionate son:—“Veó requerer á el rey Dom João que le desse alguns navios pera ir á descobrir a ilha de Gypango [*sic*] per esta mar occidental. . . . El rey, porque via ser este Christovão Colom homem falador e glorioso em mostrar suas habilidades, e mas fantastico et de imaginacão com sua ilha de Cypango, que certo no que dezia: davalhe pouco credito.” Barros, *Decada primeira da Asia*, Lisbon, 1752, liv. iii. cap. xi. fol. 56.

quite unworthy of him. Having obtained Columbus's sailing plans, he sent out a ship A shabby trick. secretly, to carry some goods to the Cape Verde islands, and then to try the experiment of the westward voyage. If there should turn out to be anything profitable in the scheme, this would be safer and more frugal than to meet the exorbitant demands of this ambitious foreigner. So it was done; but the pilots, having no grand idea to urge them forward, lost heart before the stupendous expanse of waters that confronted them, and beat an ignominious retreat to Lisbon; whereupon Columbus, having been informed Columbus leaves Portugal, of the trick,¹ departed in high dudgeon, to lay his proposals before the crown of Castile. He seems to have gone rather suddenly,

¹ It has been urged in the king's defence that "such a proceeding was not an instance of bad faith or perfidy (!) but rather of the policy customary at that time, which consisted in distrusting everything that was foreign, and in promoting by whatever means the national glory." Yes, indeed, whether the means were fair or foul. Of course it was a common enough policy, but it was lying and cheating all the same. "Não foi sem duvida por mà fè ou perfidia que tacitamente se mandon armar hum navio à enjo capitão se confion o plano que Colombo havia proposto, e cuja execucao se lhe encarregou; mas sim por seguir a politica naquelle tempo usada, que toda consistia em olhar com desconfiança para tudo o que era estrangeiro, e em promover por todos os modos a gloria nacional. O capitão nomeado para a empreza, como não tivesse nem o espirito, nem a convicção de Colombo, depois de huma curta viagem nos mares do Oeste, fez-se na volta da terra: e arribou à Lisboa descontente e desanimado." Campe, *Historia do descobrimento da America*, Paris, 1836, tom. i. p. 13. The frightened sailors protested that YOU MIGHT AS WELL EXPECT TO FIND LAND IN THE SKY AS IN THAT WASTE OF WATERS! See Las Casas, *Hist. de las Indias*, tom. i. p. 221. Las Casas calls the king's conduct by its right name, *dobladura*, "trickery."

leaving his wife, who died shortly after, and one or two children who must also have died, for he tells us that he never saw them again. But his son Diego, aged perhaps four or five years, he took with him as far as the town of Huelva, near the little port of Palos in Andalusia, where he left him with one of his wife's sisters, who had married a man of that town named Muliar.¹ This arrival in Spain was probably late in the autumn of 1484, and Columbus seems to have entered into the service of Ferdinand and Isabella January 20, 1486. What he was doing in the interval of rather more than a year is not known. There is a very doubtful tradition

and enters the service of the Spanish sovereigns, 1486.

¹ It has generally been supposed, on the authority of *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, cap. xi., that his wife had lately died; but an autograph letter of Columbus, in the possession of his lineal descendant and representative the present Duke of Veraguas, proves that this is a mistake. In this letter Columbus says expressly that when he left Portugal he left wife and children, and never saw them again. (Navarrete, *Coleccion*, tom. ii. doc. cxxxvii. p. 255.) As Las Casas, who knew Diego so well, also supposed his mother to have died before his father left Portugal, it is most likely that she died soon afterwards. Ferdinand Columbus says that Diego was left in charge of some friars at the convent of La Rábida near Palos (*loc. cit.*); Las Casas is not quite so sure; he thinks Diego was left with some friend of his father at Palos, or perhaps (*por ventura*) at La Rábida. (*Historia*, tom. i. p. 227.) These mistakes were easy to make, for both La Rábida and Huelva were close by Palos, and we know that Diego's aunt Muliar was living at Huelva. (Las Casas, *op. cit.* tom. i. p. 241; Harrisse, tom. i. pp. 279, 356, 391; tom. ii. p. 229.) It is pretty clear that Columbus never visited La Rábida before the autumn of 1491 (see below, p. 412). My own notion is that Columbus may have left his wife with an infant and perhaps one older child, relieving her of the care of Diego by taking him to his aunt, and intending as soon as practicable to reunite the family. He clearly did not know at the outset whether he should stay in Spain or not.

that he tried to interest the republic of Genoa in his enterprise,¹ and a still more doubtful rumour that he afterwards made proposals to the Venetian senate.² If these things ever happened, there was time enough for them in this year, and they can hardly be assigned to any later period. In 1486 we find Columbus at Cordova, where the sovereigns were holding court. He was unable to effect anything until he had gained the ear of Isabella's finance minister Alonso de Quintanilla, who had a mind hospitable to large ideas. The two sovereigns had scarcely time to attend to such things, for there was a third king in Spain, the Moor at Granada, whom there now seemed a fair prospect of driving to Africa, and thus ending the struggle that had lasted with few intermissions for nearly eight centuries. The final war with Granada had been going on since the end of 1481, and considering how it weighed upon the minds of Ferdinand and Isabella it is rather remarkable that cosmography got any hearing at all. The affair was referred to the queen's confessor Fernando de Talavera, whose first impression was that if what Columbus said was true, it was very strange that other geographers should have failed to know all about it long ago. Ideas of evolution had not yet begun to exist in those days, and it was thought that what the ancients did not know was not worth

¹ It rests upon an improbable statement of Ramusio, who places the event as early as 1470. The first Genoese writer to allude to it is Casoni, *Annali della Repubblica di Genova*, Genoa, 1708, pp. 26-31. Such testimony is of small value.

² First mentioned in 1800 by Marin, *Storia del commercio de' Veneziani*, Venice, 1798-1808, tom. vii. p. 236.

knowing. Toward the end of 1486 the Spanish sovereigns were at Salamanca, and Talavera referred the question to a The junto at Salamanca. junto of learned men, including professors of the famous university.¹ There was no lack of taunt and ridicule, and a whole arsenal of texts from Scripture and the Fathers were discharged at Columbus, but it is noticeable that quite a number were inclined to think that his scheme might be worth trying, and that some of his most firmly convinced supporters were priests. No decision had been reached when the sovereigns started on the Malaga campaign in the spring of 1487.

After the surrender of Malaga in August, 1487, Columbus visited the court in that city. For a year or more after that time silken chains seem to have bound him to Cordova. He had formed a connection with a lady of noble family, Beatriz Enriquez de Arana, who gave Birth of Ferdinand Columbus, Aug. 15, 1488. birth to his son Ferdinand on the 15th of August, 1488.² Shortly after this event, Columbus made a visit to Lisbon, in all probability for

¹ The description usually given of this conference rests upon the authority of Remesal, *Historia de la prouincia de Chyapa*, Madrid, 1619, lib. ii. cap. vii. p. 52. Las Casas merely says that the question was referred to certain persons at the court, *Hist. de las Indias*, tom. i. p. 228. It is probably not true that the project of Columbus was officially condemned by the university of Salamanca as a corporate body. See Camara, *Religion y Ciencia*, Valladolid, 1880, p. 261.

² Some historians, unwilling to admit any blemishes in the character of Columbus, have supposed that this union was sanctioned by marriage, but this is not probable. He seems to have been tenderly attached to Beatriz, who survived him many years. See HARRISSE, tom. ii. pp. 353-357.

the purpose of meeting his brother Bartholomew, who had returned in the last week of December, 1487, in the Dias expedition, with the proud news of the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope,¹ which was

Bartholomew
Columbus
returns from
the Cape of
Good Hope,
Dec., 1487.

¹ The authority for Bartholomew Columbus having sailed to the Cape of Good Hope with Dias is a manuscript note of his own in Christopher's copy of the *Imago Mundi*: "Nota quod hoc anno de 88 [it should be 87] in mense decembri appulit in Ulixbona Bartholomeus Didacus capitaneus trium carabelarum quem miserat serenissimus rex Portugalie in Guineam ad tentandum terram. Et renunciavit ipse serenissimo regi prout navigaverat ultra jam navigata leuchas 600, videlicet 450 ad austrum et 150 ad aquilonem usque montem per ipsum nominatum *Cabo de boa esperança* quem in Agesimba estimamus. Qui quidem in eo loco invenit se distare per astrolabium ultra lineam equinoctialem gradus 35. Quem viagium pictavit et scripsit de leucha in leucham in una carta navigationis ut oculi visum ostenderet ipso serenissimo regi. In quibus omnibus interfui." M. Varnhagen has examined this note and thinks it is in the handwriting of Christopher Columbus (*Bulletin de Géographie*, janvier, 1858, tom. xv. p. 71); and M. d'Avezac (*Canevas chronologique*, p. 58), accepting this opinion, thinks that the words *in quibus omnibus interfui*, "in all of which I took part," only mean that Christopher was present in Lisbon when the expedition returned, and heard the whole story! With all possible respect for such great scholars as MM. d'Avezac and Varnhagen, I submit that the opinion of Las Casas, who first called attention to this note, must be much better than theirs on such a point as the handwriting of the two brothers. When Las Casas found the note he wondered whether it was meant for Bartholomew or Christopher, i. e. wondered which of the two was meant to be described as having "taken part;" but at all events, says Las Casas, the handwriting is Bartholomew's:—"Estas son palabras escritas de la mano de Bartolomé Colon, no sé si las escribió de sí ó de su letra por su hermano Cristóbal Colon." Under these circumstances it seems idle to suppose that Las Casas could have been mistaken about the handwriting; he evidently put his mind on that point, and in the next breath he goes on to say, "la letra yo conozco ser de Bartolomé Colon, porque tuve muchas suyas," i. e. "I know it is Bartholomew's writing, for I have had many letters of his;" and again "estas

rightly believed to be the extremity of Africa; and we can well understand how Christopher, on seeing the success of Prince Henry's method of reaching the Indies so nearly vindicated, must have become more impatient than ever to prove the superiority of his own method. It was probably not long

palabras . . . de la misma letra y mano de Bartolomé Colon, la cual muy bien conocí y agora tengo hartas cartas y letras suyas, tratando deste viaje," i. e. "these words . . . from the very writing and hand of Bartholomew Columbus, which I knew very well, and I have to-day many charts and letters of his, treating of this voyage." (*Hist. de las Indias*, tom. i. pp. 213, 214.) This last sentence makes Las Casas an independent witness to Bartholomew's presence in the expedition, a matter about which he was not likely to be mistaken. What puzzled him was the question, not whether Bartholomew went, but whether Christopher could have gone also, "pudo ser tambien que se hallase Cristóbal Colon." Now Christopher certainly did not go on that voyage. The expedition started in August, 1486, and returned to Lisbon in December, 1487, after an absence of sixteen months and seventeen days, "auendo dezaseis meses et dezasete dias que erão partidos delle." (Barros, *Decada primeira da Asia*, Lisbon, 1752, tom. i. fol. 42, 44.) The account-book of the treasury of Castile shows that sums of money were paid to Christopher at Seville, May 5, July 3, August 27, and October 15, 1487; so that he could not have gone with Dias (see HARRISSE, tom. ii. p. 191). Neither could Christopher have been in Lisbon in December, 1487, when the little fleet returned, for his safe-conduct from King John is dated March 20, 1488. It was not until the autumn of 1488 that Columbus made this visit to Portugal, and M. d'Avezac has got the return of the fleet a year too late. Bartholomew's note followed a custom which made 1488 begin at Christmas, 1487.

In reading a later chapter of Las Casas for another purpose (tom. i. p. 227), I come again upon this point. He rightly concludes that Christopher could not have gone with Dias, and again declares most positively that the handwriting of the note was Bartholomew's and not Christopher's.

This footnote affords a good illustration of the kind of difficulties that surround such a subject as the life of Columbus, and the ease with which an excess of ingenuity may discover mare's nests.

after Bartholomew's return that Christopher determined to go and see him, for he applied to King John II. for a kind of safe-conduct, which was duly granted March 20, 1488. This document¹ guarantees Christopher against arrest or arraignment or detention on any charge civil or criminal whatever, during his stay in Portugal, and commands all magistrates in that kingdom to respect it. From this it would seem probable that in the eagerness of his geographical speculations he had neglected his business affairs and left debts behind him in Portugal for which he was liable to be arrested. The king's readiness to grant the desired privilege seems to indicate that he may have cherished a hope of regaining the services of this accomplished chart-maker and mariner. Christopher did not avail himself of the privilege until late in the summer,² and it is only fair to suppose that he waited for the birth of his child and some assurance of its mother's safety. On meeting Bartholomew he evidently set him to work forthwith in making overtures to the courts of England and France. It was natural enough that Bartholomew should first set out for Bristol, where old shipmates and acquaintances were sure to be found. It appears that on the way he was captured by pirates, and thus some delay was occasioned before he arrived in London

Christopher visits Bartholomew at Lisbon, cir. Sept., 1488;

and sends him to England.

¹ It may be found in Navarrete, *Coleccion de viages*, tom. ii. pp. 5, 6.

² The account-book of the treasury shows that on June 16 he was still in Spain. See HARRISSE, tom. i. p. 355.

and showed the king a map, probably similar to Toscanelli's and embellished with quaint Latin verses. An entry on this map informs us that it was made by Bartholomew Columbus in London, February 10, 1488, which I think should be read 1489 or even 1490, so we may suppose it to have been about that time or perhaps later that he approached the throne.¹ Henry VII. was intelligent enough

Bartholomew,
after mishaps,
reaches Eng-
land cir. Feb.,
1490;

¹ The entry, as given by Las Casas, is "Pro authore, seu picture, || Gennua cui patria est, nomen cui Bartolomeus || Columbus de terra ruhea, opus edidit istud || Londonijs: anno domini millesimo quatercentesimo octiesque uno || Atque insuper anno octavo: decimaque die mensis Februarii. || Laudes Christo cantentur abunde." *Historia*, tom. i. p. 225. Now since Bartholomew Columbus was a fairly educated man, writing this note in England on a map made for the eyes of the king of England, I suppose he used the old English style which made the year begin at the vernal equinox instead of Christmas, so that his February, 1488, means the next month but one after December, 1488, i. e. what in our new style becomes February, 1489. Bartholomew returned to Lisbon from Africa in the last week of December, 1487, and it is not likely that his plans could have been matured and himself settled down in London in less than seven weeks. The logical relation of the events, too, shows plainly that Christopher's visit to Lisbon was for the purpose of consulting his brother and getting first-hand information about the greatest voyage the world had ever seen. In the early weeks of 1488 Christopher sends his request for a safe-conduct, gets it March 20, waits till his child is born, August 15, and then presently goes. Bartholomew may have sailed by the first of October for England, where (according to this reading of his date) we actually find him four months later. What happened to him in this interval? Here we come to the story of the pirates. M. Harrisse, who never loses an opportunity for throwing discredit upon the *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, has failed to make the correction of date which I have here suggested. He puts Bartholomew in London in February, 1488, and is thus unable to assign any reason for Christopher's visit to Lisbon. He also finds that in the forty-six days between Christmas, 1487, and February, 10, 1488, there is hardly room enough for any delay

to see the bearings of Bartholomew's arguments, and at the same time, as a good man of business, due to so grave a cause as capture by pirates. (*Christophe Colomb*, vol. ii. p. 192.) He therefore concludes that the statement in the *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, cap. xi., is unworthy of credit, and it is upon an accumulation of small difficulties like this that he bases his opinion that Ferdinand Columbus cannot have written that book. But Las Casas also gives the story of the pirates, and adds the information that they were "Easterlings," though he cannot say of what nation, i. e. whether Dutch, German, or perhaps Danes. He says that Bartholomew was stripped of his money and fell sick, and after his recovery was obliged to earn money by map-making before he could get to England. (*Historia*, tom. i. p. 225.) Could all this have happened within the four months which I have allowed between October, 1488, and February, 1489? Voyages before the invention of steamboats were of very uncertain duration. John Adams in 1784 was fifty-four days in getting from London to Amsterdam (see my *Critical Period of American History*, p. 156). But with favourable weather a Portuguese caravel in 1488 ought to have run from Lisbon to Bristol in fourteen days or less, so that in four months there would be time enough for quite a chapter of accidents. Las Casas, however, says it was *a long time* before Bartholomew was able to reach England: — "Esto fué causa que enfermase y viniese á mucha pobreza, y estuviese mucho tempo sin poder llegar á Inglaterra, hasta tanto que quiso Dios sanarle; y reformado algo, por su industria y trabajos de sus manos, haciendo cartas de marear, llegó á Inglaterra, y, pasados un dia y otros, hobo de alcanzar que le oyese Enrique VII." It is impossible, I think, to read this passage without feeling that at least a year must have been consumed; and I do not think we are entitled to disregard the words of Las Casas in such a matter. But how shall we get the time?

Is it possible that Las Casas made a slight mistake in deciphering the date on Bartholomew's map? Either that mariner did not give the map to Henry VII., or the king gave it back, or more likely it was made in duplicate. At any rate Las Casas had it, along with his many other Columbus documents, and for aught we know it may still be tumbling about somewhere in the Spanish archives. It was so badly written (*de muy mala é corrupta letra*), apparently in abbreviations (*sin ortografía*), that Las Casas says he found extreme difficulty in making it out. Now let us observe that date, which is given in fantastic style, apparently because the

he was likely to be cautious about investing money in remote or doubtful enterprises. What arguments were used we do not know, but the spring of 1492 had arrived before any decisive answer had been given. Meanwhile and goes thence to France before 1492. Bartholomew had made his way to France, and found a powerful protector in a certain Madame de Bourbon,¹ while he made maps for

inscription is in a rude doggerel, and the writer seems to have wished to keep his "verses" tolerably even. (They don't scan much better than Walt Whitman's.) As it stands, the date reads *anno domini millesimo quatercentesimo octiesque uno atque insuper anno octavo*, i. e. "in the year of our Lord the thousandth, four hundredth, AND EIGHT-TIMES-ONE, and thereafter the eighth year." What business has this cardinal number *octiesque uno* in a row of ordinals? If it were translatable, which it is not, it would give us $1,000 + 400 + 8 + 8 = 1416$, an absurd date. The most obvious way to make the passage readable is to insert the ordinal *octogesimo primo* instead of the incongruous *octiesque uno*; then it will read "in the year of our Lord the one-thousand-four-hundred-and-eighty-first, and thereafter the eighth year," that is to say 1489. Now translate old style into new style, and February, 1489, becomes February, 1490, which I believe to be the correct date. This allows sixteen months for Bartholomew's mishaps; it justifies the statement in which Las Casas confirms Ferdinand Columbus; and it harmonizes with the statement of Lord Bacon: "For Christopherus Columbus, refused by the king of Portugal (who would not embrace at once both east and west), employed his brother Bartholomew Columbus unto King Henry to negotiate for his discovery. And it so fortun'd that he was taken by pirates at sea; by which accidental impediment he was long ere he came to the king; so long that before he had obtained a capitulation with the king for his brother the enterprise was achieved, and so the West Indies by Providence were then reserved for the crown of Castilia." *Historie of the Raygne of K. Henry the Seventh, Bacon's Works*, Boston, 1860, vol. xi. p. 296. Lord Bacon may have taken the statement from Ferdinand's biography; but it probably agreed with English traditions, and ought not to be slighted in this connection.

¹ One of the sisters of Charles VIII. See HARRISSE, tom. ii. p. 194.

people at the court and waited to see if there were any chances of getting help from Charles VIII.

As for Christopher Columbus, we find him back in Spain again, in May, 1489, attending court at Cordova. In the following autumn there was much suffering in Spain from floods and famine,¹ and the sovereigns were too busy with the Moorish war to give ear to Columbus. It was no time for new undertakings, and the weary suitor began to think seriously of going in person to the French court. First, however, he thought it worth while to make an attempt to get private capital enlisted in his enterprise, and in the Spain of that day such private capital meant a largess from some wealthy grandee. Accordingly about Christmas of 1489, after the Beza campaign in which Columbus is said to have fought with distinguished valour,² he seems to have applied to the most powerful nobleman in Spain, the Duke of Medina-Sidonia, but without success. But at the hands of Luis de la Cerda, Duke of Medina-Celi, he met with more encouragement than he had as yet found in any quarter. That nobleman entertained Columbus most hospitably at his castle at Puerto de Santa Maria for nearly two years, until the autumn of 1491. He became convinced that the scheme of Columbus was feasible, and decided to fit up two or three caravels at his own expense, if necessary, but first he thought it proper to ask the queen's consent, and to offer her another chance to take part in the

The Duke of Medina-Celi proposes to furnish the ships for Columbus,

¹ Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. xci.

² Zuñiga, *Anales de Sevilla*, lib. xii. p. 404.

enterprise.¹ Isabella was probably unwilling to have the duke come in for a large share of the profits in case the venture should prove successful. She refused the royal license, saying that she had not quite made up her mind whether to take up the affair or not, but if she should decide to do so she would be glad to have the duke take part in it.² Meanwhile she referred the question to Alonso de Quintanilla, comptroller of the treasury of Castile. This was in the spring of 1491, when the whole country was in a buzz of excitement with the preparations for the siege of Granada. The baffled Columbus visited the sovereigns in camp, but could not get them to attend to him, and early in the autumn, thoroughly disgusted and sick at heart, he made up his mind to shake the dust of Castile from his feet and see what could be done in France. In October or November he went to Huelva, apparently to get his son Diego, who had been left there, in charge of his aunt. It was probably his intention to take all the family he had — Beatriz

but Isabella withholds her consent.

Columbus makes up his mind to get his family together and go to France, Oct., 1491.

¹ See the letter of March 19, 1493, from the Duke of Medina-Celi to the Grand Cardinal of Spain (from the archives of Simancas) in Navarrete *Coleccion de viages*, tom. ii. p. 20.

² This promise was never fulfilled. When Columbus returned in triumph, arriving March 6, 1493, at Lisbon, and March 15 at Palos, the Duke of Medina-Celi wrote the letter just cited, recalling the queen's promise and asking to be allowed to send to the Indies once each year an expedition on his own account; for, he says, if he had not kept Columbus with him in 1490 and 1491 he would have gone to France, and Castile would have lost the prize. There was some force in this, but Isabella does not appear to have heeded the request.

and her infant son Ferdinand, of whom he was extremely fond, as well as Diego — and find a new home in either France or England, besides ascertaining what had become of his brother Bartholomew, from whom he had not heard a word since the latter left Portugal for England.¹

But now at length events took a favourable turn. Fate had grown tired of fighting against such indomitable perseverance. For some years now the stately figure of Columbus had been a familiar sight in the streets of Seville and Cordova, and as he passed along, with his white hair streaming in the breeze, and countenance aglow with intensity of purpose or haggard with disappointment at some fresh rebuff, the ragged urchins of the pavement tapped their foreheads and smiled with mingled wonder and amusement at this madman. Seventeen years had elapsed since the letter from Toscanelli to Martinez, and all that was mortal of the Florentine astronomer had long since been laid in the grave. For Columbus himself old age was not far away, yet he seemed no nearer the fulfilment of his grand purpose than when he had first set it forth to the king of Portugal. We can well imagine that when he started from Huelva, with his little son Diego, now some eleven or twelve years old, again to begin renewing his suit in a strange country, his thoughts must have been sombre enough. For some reason or other — tradition says to ask for some bread and water for his boy — he stopped at the Franciscan monastery

¹ This theory of the situation is fully sustained by Las Casas, tom. i. p. 241.

of La Rábida, about half a league from Palos. The prior, Juan Perez, who had never seen Columbus before, became greatly interested in him and listened with earnest attention to his story. This worthy monk, who before 1478 had been Isabella's father-confessor, had a mind hospitable to new ideas. He sent for Garcia Fernandez, a physician of Palos, who was somewhat versed in cosmography, and for Martin Alonso Pinzon, a well-to-do ship-owner and trained mariner of that town, and in the quiet of the monastery a conference was held in which Columbus carried conviction to the minds of these new friends. Pinzon declared himself ready to embark in the enterprise in person. The venerable prior forthwith sent a letter to the queen, and received a very prompt reply summoning him to attend her in the camp before Granada. The result of the interview was that within a few days Perez returned to the convent with a purse of 20,000 maravedis (equivalent to about 1,180 dollars of the present day), out of which Columbus bought a new suit of clothes and a mule; and about the first of December he set out for the camp in company with Juan Perez, leaving the boy Diego in charge of the priest Martin Sanchez and a certain Rodriguez Cabejudo, upon whose sworn testimony, together with that of the physician Garcia Fernandez, some years afterward, several of these facts are related.¹

He stops at La Rábida, and meets the prior Juan Perez.

Perez writes to the queen,

and Columbus is summoned back to court.

¹ My account of these proceedings at La Rábida differs in some particulars from any heretofore given, and I think gets the events

At once upon the arrival of Columbus in the camp before Granada, his case was argued then

into an order of sequence that is at once more logical and more in harmony with the sources of information than any other. The error of Ferdinand Columbus — a very easy one to commit, and not in the least damaging to his general character as biographer — lay in confusing his father's two real visits (in 1484 and 1491) to Huelva with two visits (one imaginary in 1484 and one real in 1491) to La Rábida, which was close by, between Huelva and Palos. The visits were all the more likely to get mixed up in recollection because in each case their object was little Diego and in each case he was left in charge of somebody in that neighbourhood. The confusion has been helped by another for which Ferdinand is not responsible, viz.: the friar Juan Perez has been confounded with another friar Antonio de Marchena, who Columbus says was the only person who from the time of his first arrival in Spain had always befriended him and never mocked at him. These worthy friars twain have been made into one (e. g. "the prior of the convent, Juan Perez de Marchena," Irving's *Columbus*, vol. i. p. 128), and it has often been supposed that Marchena's acquaintance began with Columbus at La Rábida in 1484, and that Diego was left at the convent at that time. But some modern sources of information have served at first to bemuddle, and then when more carefully sifted, to clear up the story. In 1508 Diego Columbus brought suit against the Spanish crown to vindicate his claim to certain territories discovered by his father, and there was a long investigation in which many witnesses were summoned and past events were busily raked over the coals. Among these witnesses were Rodriguez Cabejudo and the physician Garcia Fernandez, who gave from personal recollection a very lucid account of the affairs at La Rábida. These proceedings are printed in Navarrete, *Coleccion de viages*, tom. iii. pp. 238-591. More recently the publication of the great book of Las Casas has furnished some very significant clues, and the elaborate researches of M. HARRISSE have furnished others. (See Las Casas, lib. i. cap. xxix., xxxi.; HARRISSE, tom. i. pp. 341-372; tom. ii. pp. 237-231; cf. Peragallo, *L' autenticità*, etc., pp. 117-134.) — It now seems clear that Marchena, whom Columbus knew from his first arrival in Spain, was not associated with La Rábida. At that time Columbus left Diego, a mere infant, with his wife's sister at Huelva. Seven years later, intending to leave Spain forever, he went to Huelva and took Diego, then a small boy. On his way from

and there before an assembly of learned men and was received more hospitably than formerly, at Salamanca. Several eminent prelates had come to think favourably of his project or to deem it at least worth a trial. Among these were the royal confessors, Deza and Talavera, the latter having changed his mind, and especially Mendoza, archbishop of Toledo, who now threw his vast influence decisively in favour of Columbus.¹ The treasurers of the two kingdoms, moreover, Quintanilla for Castile and Luis de Santangel for Aragon, were among his most enthusiastic supporters; and the result of the conference was the queen's promise to take up the matter in earnest as soon as the Moor should have surrendered Granada.

The junto before Granada, Dec., 1491.

Huelva to the Seville road, and thence to Cordova (where he would have been joined by Beatriz and Ferdinand), he happened to pass by La Rábida, where up to that time he was evidently unknown, and to attract the attention of the prior Juan Perez, and the wheel of fortune suddenly and unexpectedly turned. As Columbus's next start was not for France, but for Granada, his boy was left in charge of two trustworthy persons. On May 8, 1492, the little Diego was appointed page to Don John, heir-apparent to the thrones of Castile and Aragon, with a stipend of 9,400 maravedis. On February 19, 1498, after the death of that young prince, Diego became page to Queen Isabella.

¹ In popular allusions to Columbus it is quite common to assume or imply that he encountered nothing but opposition from the clergy. For example the account in Draper's *Conflict between Science and Religion*, p. 161, can hardly be otherwise understood by the reader. But observe that Marchena who never mocked at Columbus, Juan Perez who gave the favourable turn to his affairs, the great prelates Deza and Mendoza, and the two treasurers Santangel and Quintanilla, were every one of them priests! Without cordial support from the clergy no such enterprise as that of Columbus could have been undertaken, in Spain at least. It is quite right that we should be free-thinkers; and it is also desirable that we should have some respect for facts.

Columbus had not long to wait for that great event, which came on the 2d of January, 1492, and was hailed with rejoicings throughout Europe as in some sort a compensation for the loss of Constantinople. It must have been with a manifold sense of triumph that Columbus saw the banner of Spain unfurled to the breeze from the highest tower of the Alhambra. But at this critical moment in his fortunes the same obstacle was encountered that long before had broken off his negotiations with the king of Portugal. With pride and self-confidence not an inch abated by all these years of trial, he demanded such honours and substantial rewards as seemed extravagant to the queen, and Talavera advised her not to grant them. Columbus insisted upon being appointed admiral of the ocean and viceroy of such heathen countries as he might discover, besides having for his own use and behoof one eighth part of such revenues and profits as might accrue from the expedition. In principle this sort of remuneration did not differ from that which the crown of Portugal had been wont to award to its eminent discoverers;¹ but in amount it was liable to prove

Surrender of
Granada, Jan.
2, 1492.

Columbus ne-
gotiates with
the queen.

¹ Our Scandinavian friends are fond of pointing to this demand of Columbus as an indication that he secretly expected to "discover America," and not merely to find the way to Asia. But how about Ferdinand and Isabella, who finally granted what was demanded, and their ministers who drew up the agreement, to say nothing of the clerks who engrossed it? What did they all understand by "discovering islands and continents in the ocean"? Were they all in this precious Vinland secret? If so, it was pretty well kept. But in truth there was nothing singular in these stipulations. Portugal paid for discovery in just this way

indefinitely great, enough perhaps to raise to princely power and rank this foreign adventurer. Could he not be satisfied with something less? But Columbus was as inexorable as the Sibyl with her books, and would hear of no abatement in his price. For this "great constancy and loftiness of soul,"¹ Las Casas warmly commends his friend Columbus. A querulous critic might call it unreasonable obstinacy. But in truth the good man seems to have entertained another grand scheme of his own, to which he wished to make his maritime venture contribute. It was natural that his feelings toward Turks should have been no more amiable than those of Hannibal toward the Romans. It was the Turks who had ruined the commerce of his native Genoa, in his youth he had more than once crossed swords with their corsairs, and now he looked forward to the time when he might play the part of a second Godfrey de Bouillon and deliver Jerusalem from the miscreant followers of Mahound.² Vast resources would be needed for

by granting governorships over islands like the Azores, or long stretches of continent like Guinea, along with a share of the revenues yielded by such places. See for example the cases of Gonzalo Cabral, Fernando Gomez, and others in Major, *Prince Henry the Navigator*, pp. 238, 321, and elsewhere. In their search for the Indies the Portuguese were continually finding new lands, and it was likely to be the same with the western route, which was supposed (see Catalan, Toscanelli, and Behaim maps) to lead among spice islands innumerable, and to Asiatic kingdoms whose heathen people had no rights of sovereignty that Christian monarchs felt bound to respect.

¹ Las Casas, *op. cit.* tom i. p. 243.

² See his letter of February, 1502, to Pope Alexander VI. in Navarrete, tom. ii. p. 280; and cf. Helps, *Spanish Conquest in America*, vol. i. p. 96; Roselly de Lorgues, *Christophe Colomb*, p. 394.

such work, and from Cipango with its gold-roofed temples, and the nameless and numberless isles of spices that crowded the Cathayan seas, he hoped to obtain them. Long brooding over his cherished projects, in which chimeras were thus mixed with anticipations of scientific truth, had imparted to his character a tinge of religious fanaticism. He had come to regard himself as a man with a mission to fulfil, as God's chosen instrument for enlarging the bounds of Christendom and achieving triumphs of untold magnificence for its banners. In this mood he was apt to address kings with an air of equality that ill comported with his humble origin and slender means; and on the present occasion, if Talavera felt his old doubts and suspicions reviving, and was more than half inclined to set Columbus down as a mere vendor of crotchets, one can hardly wonder.

His terms are considered exorbitant.

The negotiations were broken off, and the indomitable enthusiast once more prepared to go to France. He had actually started on his mule one fine winter day, when Luis de Santangel rushed into the queen's room and spoke to her with all the passionate and somewhat reproachful energy of one who felt that a golden opportunity was slipping away forever. His arguments were warmly seconded by Quintanilla, who had followed him into the room, as well as by the queen's bosom friend Beatriz de Bobadilla, Marchioness of Moya, who happened to be sitting on the sofa and was a devoted admirer of Columbus. An impulse seized Isabella. A courier was sent on a fleet horse, and overtook Colum-

Interposition of Luis de Santangel.

bus as he was jogging quietly over the bridge of Pinos, about six miles out from Granada. The matter was reconsidered and an arrangement was soon made. It was agreed : —

“ 1. That Columbus should have, for himself, during his life, and for his heirs and successors forever, the office of admiral in all the islands and continents which he might discover or acquire in the ocean, with similar honours and prerogatives to those enjoyed by the high admiral of Castile in his district.

Agreement between Columbus and the sovereigns.

“ 2. That he should be viceroy and governor-general over all the said lands and continents; with the privilege of nominating three candidates for the government of each island or province, one of whom should be selected by the sovereigns.

“ 3. That he should be entitled to reserve for himself one tenth of all pearls, precious stones, gold, silver, spices, and all other articles and merchandises, in whatever manner found, bought, bartered, or gained within his admiralty, the costs being first deducted.

“ 4. That he, or his lieutenant, should be the sole judge in all causes and disputes arising out of traffic between those countries and Spain, provided the high admiral of Castile had similar jurisdiction in his district.

“ 5. That he might then, and at all after times, contribute an eighth part of the expense in fitting out vessels to sail on this enterprise, and receive an eighth part of the profits.”¹

¹ I cite this version from Irving's *Columbus*, vol. i. p. 142, making a slight amendment in the rendering; the original text is in

Columbus was not long in finding friends to advance or promise on his account an eighth part of the sum immediately required. A considerable amount was assessed upon the town of Palos in punishment for certain misdeeds or delinquencies on the part of its people or some of them. Castile assumed the rest of the burden, though Santangel may have advanced a million maravedis out of the treasury of Aragon, or out of the funds of the *Hermanidad*,¹ or perhaps more likely on his own account.² In any case it was a loan to the treasury of Castile simply. It was always distinctly under-

Navarrete, tom. ii. p. 7. A few days later the title of "Don" was granted to Columbus and made hereditary in his family along with the offices of viceroy and governor-general.

¹ A police organization formed in 1476 for suppressing highway robbery.

² It is not easy to give an accurate account of the cost of this most epoch-making voyage in all history. Conflicting statements by different authorities combine with the fluctuating values of different kinds of money to puzzle and mislead us. According to M. HARRISSE 1,000,000 maravedis would be equivalent to 295,175 francs, or about 59,000 gold dollars of United States money at present values. Las Casas (tom. i. p. 256) says that the eighth part, raised by Columbus, was 500,000 maravedis (29,500 dollars). Account-books preserved in the archives of Simancas show that the sums paid from the treasury of Castile amounted to 1,140,000 maravedis (67,500 dollars). Assuming the statement of Las Casas to be correct, the amounts contributed would perhaps have been as follows:—

Queen Isabella, from Castile treasury . . .	\$67,500
“ loan from Santangel	59,000
Columbus	29,500
Other sources, including contribution levied upon the town of Palos	80,000
Total	<u>\$236,000</u>

This total seems to me altogether too large for probability, and so does the last item, which is simply put at the figure necessary

stood that Ferdinand as king of Aragon had no share in the enterprise, and that the Spanish Indies were an appurtenance to the crown of Castile. The agreement was signed April 17, 1492, and with tears of joy Columbus vowed to devote every maravedi that should come to him to the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre.

When he reached Palos in May, with royal orders for ships and men, there had like to have been a riot. Terrible dismay was felt at the prospect of launching out for such a voy-

Dismay at Palos.

to make the total eight times 29,500. I am inclined to suspect that Las Casas (with whom arithmetic was not always a strong point) may have got his figures wrong. The amount of Santangel's loan also depends upon the statement of Las Casas, and we do not know whether he took it from a document or from hearsay. Nor do we know whether it should be added to, or included in, the first item. More likely, I think, the latter. The only item that we know with documentary certainty is the first, so that our statement becomes modified as follows:—

Queen Isabella, from Castile treasury . . .	\$67,500
“ loan from Santangel	?
Columbus	?
Town of Palos	{ rent of two fully equipped caravels for two months, etc.
Total	

(Cf. Harrisse, tom. i. pp. 391–404.) Unsatisfactory, but certain as far as it goes. Alas, how often historical statements are thus reduced to meagreness, after the hypothetical or ill-supported part has been sifted out! The story that the Pinzon brothers advanced to Columbus his portion is told by Las Casas, but he very shrewdly doubts it. The famous story that Isabella pledged her crown jewels (*Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, cap. xiv.) has also been doubted, but perhaps on insufficient grounds, by M. Harrisse. It is confirmed by Las Casas (tom. i. p. 249). According to one account she pledged them to Santangel in security for his loan,—which seems not altogether improbable. See Pizarro y Orellana, *Varones ilustres del Nuevo Mundo*, Madrid, 1639, p. 10.

age upon the Sea of Darkness. Groans and curses greeted the announcement of the forced contribution. But Martin Pinzon and his brothers were active in supporting the crown officials, and the work went on. To induce men to enlist, debts were forgiven and civil actions suspended. Criminals were released from jail on condition of serving. Three caravels were impressed into the service of the crown for a time unlimited; and the rent and

The three famous caravels; the Santa Maria.

maintenance of two of these vessels for two months was to be paid by the town. The largest caravel, called the Santa Maria or Capitana, belonged to Juan de La Cosa, a Biscayan mariner whose name was soon to become famous.¹ He now commanded her, with another

consummate sailor, Sancho Ruiz, for his pilot. This single-decked craft, about ninety feet in length by twenty feet breadth of beam, was the Admiral's flag-ship. The second caravel, called

The Pinta.

the Pinta, a much swifter vessel, was commanded by Martin Pinzon. She belonged to two citizens of Palos, Gomez Rascón and Cristobal Quintero, who were now in her crew, sulky and ready for mischief. The third and

The Niña.

smallest caravel, the Niña ("Baby"), had for her commander Vicente Yañez Pinzon, the youngest of the brothers, now about thirty years of age. Neither the Pinta nor the Niña was decked amidships. On board the three caravels were just ninety persons.² And so they

¹ Navarrete, *Biblioteca maritima*, tom. ii. pp. 208, 209.

² The accounts of the armament are well summed up and discussed in HARRISSE, tom. i. pp. 405-408. Eighty-seven names, out

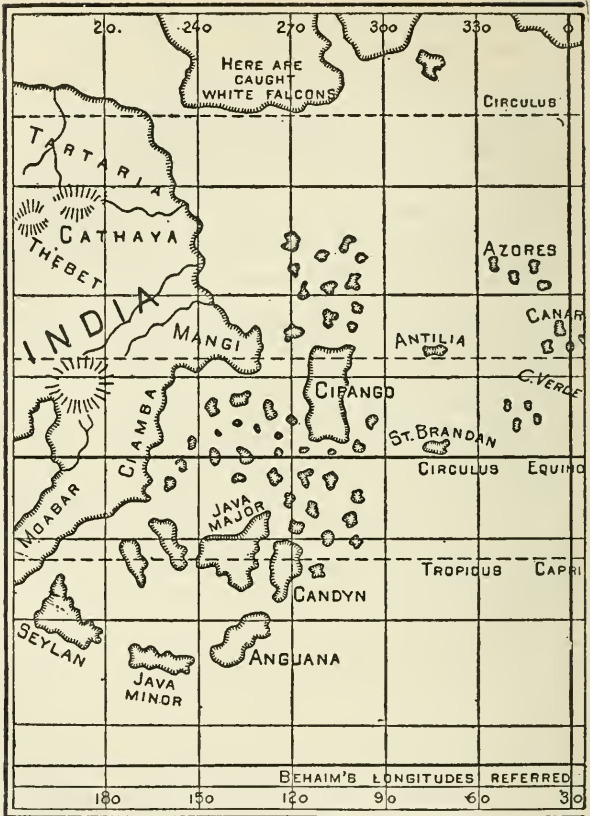
set sail from Palos on Friday, August 3, 1492, half an hour before sunrise, and by sunset had run due south five and forty geographical miles, when they shifted their course a couple of points to starboard and stood for the Canaries.

No thought of Vinland is betrayed in these proceedings. Columbus was aiming at the northern end of Cipango (Japan). Upon Toscanelli's map, which he carried with him, the great island of Cipango extends from 5° to about 28° north latitude. He evidently aimed at the northern end of Cipango as being directly on the route to Zaiton (Chang-chow) and other Chinese cities mentioned by Marco Polo. Accordingly he began by running down to the Canaries, in order that he might sail thence due west on the 28th parallel without shifting his course by a single point until he should see the coast

They go to the Canaries and are delayed there.

of Japan looming up before him.¹ On this preliminary run signs of mischief began already to show themselves. The Pinta's rudder was broken and unshipped, and Columbus suspected her two angry and chafing owners of having done it on purpose, in order that they and their vessel might be left behind. The Canaries at this juncture merited the name of Fortunate Islands; fortunately they, alone among African islands, were Spanish, so that Columbus could stop there and make repairs. While this was going on the sailors of the ninety, have been recovered, and the list is given below, Appendix C.

¹ "Para de allí tomar mi derrota, y navegar tanto que yo llegase á las Indias," he says in his journal, Navarrete, *Coleccion de viages*, tom. i. p. 3.



Martin Behaim's Globe, 1492,

¹ Martin Behaim was born at Nuremberg in 1436, and is said to have been a pupil of the celebrated astronomer, Regiomontanus, author of the first almanac published in Europe, and of Ephemerides, of priceless value to navigators. He visited Portugal about 1480, invented a new kind of astrolabe, and sailed with it in 1484 as cosmographer in Diego Cam's voyage to the Congo. On his return to Lisbon he was knighted, and presently went to live on the island of Fayal, of which his wife's father was



reduced to Mercator's projection.¹

governor. He was a friend of Columbus. Toward 1492 he visited Nuremberg, to look after some family affairs, and while there "he gratified some of his townspeople by embodying in a globe the geographical views which prevailed in the maritime countries; and the globe was finished before Columbus had yet accomplished his voyage. The next year (1493) Behaim returned to Portugal; and after having been sent to the Low Countries on a diplomatic mission, he was captured by English cruisers and

were scared out of their wits by an eruption of Teneriffe, which they deemed an omen of evil, and it was also reported that some Portuguese caravels were hovering in those waters, with intent to capture Columbus and carry him off to Lisbon.

At length, on the 6th of September, they set sail from Gomera, but were becalmed and had made only thirty miles by the night of the 8th. The breeze then freshened, and when next day the shores of Ferro, the last of the Canaries, sank from sight on the eastern horizon, many of the sailors loudly lamented their unseemly fate, and cried and sobbed like children. Columbus well understood the difficulty of dealing with these men. He provided against one chief source of discontent by keeping two different reckonings, a true one for himself

carried to England. Escaping finally, and reaching the Continent, he passes from our view in 1494, and is scarcely heard of again." (Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, ii. 104.) He died in May, 1506. A ridiculous story that he anticipated Columbus in the discovery of America originated in the misunderstanding of an interpolated passage in the Latin text of Schedel's *Registrum*, Nuremberg, 1493, p. 290 (the so-called *Nuremberg Chronicle*). See Winsor, *op. cit.* ii. 34; Major's *Prince Henry*, p. 326; Humboldt, *Examen critique*, tom. i. p. 256; Murr, *Diplomatische Geschichte des Ritters Behaim*, Nuremberg, 1778; Cladera, *Investigaciones históricas*, Madrid, 1794; HARRISSE, *Bibliotheca Americana Vetusissima*, pp. 37-43. — The globe made by Behaim may now be seen in the city hall at Nuremberg. It "is made of *papier-maché*, covered with gypsum, and over this a parchment surface received the drawing; it is twenty inches in diameter." (Winsor, *op. cit.* ii. 105.) The portion west of the 330th meridian is evidently copied from Toscanelli's map. I give below (p. 429) a sketch (from Winsor, after Ruge's *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 230) of Behaim's ocean, with the outline of the American continent superimposed in the proper place.

and a false one for his officers and crews. He was shrewd enough not to overdo it and awaken distrust. Thus after a twenty-four hours' run of 180 miles on September 10, he reported it as 144 miles; next day the run was 120 miles and he announced it as 108, and so on. But for this prudent if somewhat questionable device, it is not unlikely that the first week of October would have witnessed a mutiny in which Columbus would have been either thrown overboard or forced to turn back.

The weather was delicious, and but for the bug-a-boos that worried those poor sailors it would have been a most pleasant voyage. Chief among the imaginary terrors were three which deserve especial mention. At nightfall on September 13 the ships had crossed the magnetic line of no variation, and Columbus was astonished to see that the compass-needle, instead of pointing a little to the right of the pole-star, began Deflection of the needle. to sway toward the left, and next day this deviation increased. It was impossible to hide such a fact from the sharp eyes of the pilots, and all were seized with alarm at the suspicion that this witch instrument was beginning to play them some foul trick in punishment of their temerity; but Columbus was ready with an ingenious astronomical explanation, and their faith in the profundity of his knowledge prevailed over their terrors.

The second alarm came on September 16, when they struck into vast meadows of floating seaweeds and grasses, abounding in tunny fish and crabs. They had now come more than 800 miles from

Ferro and were entering the wonderful Sargasso Sea, that region of the Atlantic six times as large as France, where vast tangles of vegetation grow upon the surface of water that is more than 2,000 fathoms deep, and furnish sustenance for an untold wealth of fishy life.¹ To

¹ The situation of this Sargasso region in mid-ocean seems to be determined by its character as a quiet neutral ground between the great ocean-currents that flow past it on every side. Sargasso plants are found elsewhere upon the surface of the waves, but nowhere else do they congregate as here. There are reasons for supposing that in ancient times this region extended nearer to the African coast. Skylax (*Periplus*, cap. 109) says that beyond Kerne, at the mouth of Rio d' Ouro the sea cannot be navigated on account of the mud and seaweed. Sataspes, on his return to Persia, B. C. 470, told King Xerxes that his voyage failed because his ship stopped or was stuck fast. (Herodotus, iv. 43.) Festus Avienus mentions vast quantities of seaweed in the ocean west of the Pillars of Hercules: —

Exsuperat autem gurgitem fucus frequens
 Atque impeditur æstus ex uligine . . .
 Sic nulla late fabra propellunt ratem,
 Sic segnis humor æquoris pigri stupet.
 Adjicit et illud, plurimum inter gurgites
 Exstare fucum, et sæpe virgulti, vice
 Retinere puppim, etc.

Avienus, *Ora Maritima*, 108, 117.

See also Aristotle, *Meteorol.*, ii. 1, 14; Pseudo-Aristotle, *De Mirab. Auscult.*, p. 106; Theophrastus, *Historia plantarum*, iv. 7; Jornandes, *De rebus Geticis*, apud Muratori, tom. i. p. 191; according to Strabo (iii. 2, § 7) tunny fish were caught in abundance in the ocean west of Spain, and were highly valued for the table on account of their fatness which was due to submarine vegetables on which they fed. Possibly the reports of these Sargasso meadows may have had some share in suggesting to Plato his notion of a huge submerged island Atlantis (*Timæus*, 25; *Kritias*, 108; cf. the notion of a viscous sea in Piatarch, *De facie in Orbe Luna*, 26). Plato's fancy has furnished a theme for much wild speculation. See, for example, Bailly, *Lettres sur l'Atlantide de Platon*, Paris, 1779. The belief that there can ever have been such an island in that part of the Atlantic is disposed of by the fact that the ocean

the eye of the mariner the Sargasso Sea presents somewhat the appearance of an endless green prairie, but modern ships plough through it with ease and so did the caravels of Columbus at first. After two or three days, however, the wind being light, their progress was somewhat impeded. It was not strange that the crews were frightened at such a sight. It seemed uncanny and weird, and revived ancient fancies about mysterious impassable seas and overbold mariners whose ships had been stuck fast in them. The more practical spirits were afraid of running aground upon submerged shoals, but all were somewhat reassured on this point when it was found that their longest plummet-lines failed to find bottom.

On September 22 the journal reports "no more grass." They were in clear water again, and more than 1,400 geographical miles from the Canaries.

there is nowhere less than two miles in depth. 'See the beautiful map of the Atlantic sea-bottom in Alexander Agassiz's *Three Cruises of the Blake*, Boston, 1888, vol. i. p. 108, and compare chap. vi. of that noble work, on "The Permanence of Continents and of Oceanic Basins;" see also Wallace's *Island Life*, chap. vi. It was formerly supposed that the Sargasso plants grow on the sea-bottom, and becoming detached rise to the surface (Peter Martyr, *De rebus oceanicis*, dec. iii. lib. v. p. 53; Humboldt, *Personal Narrative*, book i. chap. i.); but it is now known that they are simply rooted in the surface water itself. "L'accumulation de ces plantes marines est l'exemple le plus frappant de plantes congénères réunies sur le même point. Ni les forêts colossales de l'Himalaya, ni les graminées qui s'étendent à perte de vue dans les savanes américaines ou les steppes sibériens ne rivalisent avec ces prairies océaniques. Jamais sur un espace aussi étendu, ne se rencontrent de telles masses de plantes semblables. Quand on a vu la mer des Sargasses, on n'oublie point un pareil spectacle." Paul Gaffarel, "La Mer des Sargasses," *Bulletin de Géographie*, Paris, 1872, 6^e série, tom. iv. p. 622.

A third source of alarm had already begun to disturb the sailors. They were discovering much more than they had bargained for. They were in the belt of the trade winds, and as the gentle but unfailing breeze wafted them steadily westward, doubts began to arise as to whether it would ever be possible to return. Fortunately soon after this question began to be discussed, the wind, jealous of its character for capriciousness even there, veered into the southwest.

By September 25 the Admiral's chief difficulty had come to be the impatience of his crews at not finding land. On that day there was a mirage, or some such illusion, which Columbus and all hands supposed to be a coast in front of them, and hymns of praise were sung, but at dawn next day they were cruelly undeceived. Flights of strange birds and other signs of land kept raising hopes which were presently dashed again, and the men passed through alternately hot and cold fits of exultation and dejection. Such mockery seemed to show that they were entering a realm of enchantment. Somebody, perhaps one of the released jail-birds, hinted that if a stealthy thrust should happen some night to push the Admiral overboard, it could be plausibly said that he had slipped and fallen while star-gazing. His situation grew daily more perilous, and the fact that he was an Italian commanding Spaniards did not help him. Perhaps what saved him was their vague belief in his superior knowledge; they may have felt that they should need him in going back.

By October 4 there were ominous symptoms of mutiny, and the anxiety of Columbus was evinced in the extent of his bold understatement of that



Martin Behaim's Atlantic Ocean (with outline of American continent superimposed).

day's run, — 138 miles instead of the true figure 189. For some days his pilots had been begging him to change his course; perhaps they had passed between islands. Anything for a change! On the 7th at sunrise, they had come 2,724 geographical miles from the Canaries, which was farther than the Admiral's estimate of the distance to Cipango; but according to his false statement of the runs, it appeared that they had come scarcely 2,200 miles. This leads one to suspect that in stating the length of the voyage, as he had so often done, at 700 leagues,

he may have purposely made it out somewhat shorter than he really believed it to be. But now after coming more than 2,500 miles he began to fear that he might be sailing past Cipango on the north, and so he shifted his course two points to larboard, or west-southwest. If a secret knowledge of Vinland had been his guiding-star he surely would not have turned his helm that way; but a glance at the Toscanelli map shows what was in his mind. Numerous flights of small birds confirmed his belief that land at the southwest was not far off. The change of direction was probably fortunate. If he had persisted in keeping on the parallel, 720 miles would have brought him to the coast of Florida, a little south of Cape Malabar. After the change he had but 505 miles of water before him, and the temper of the sailors was growing more dangerous with every mile,¹ — until October 11, when the signs of land became unmistakable, and the wildest excitement prevailed. A reward of 10,000 maravedis had been promised to the person who should first discover land, and ninety pair of eyes were strained that night with looking. About ten o'clock the Admiral, standing on the tower-like poop of his vessel, saw a distant light moving as if somebody were running along

¹ The often-repeated story that a day or two before the end of the voyage Columbus capitulated with his crew, promising to turn back if land were not seen within three days, rests upon the single and relatively inferior authority of Oviedo. It is not mentioned by Las Casas or Bernaldez or Peter Martyr or Ferdinand Columbus, and it is discredited by the tone of the Admiral's journal, which shows as unconquerable determination on the last day of the voyage as on any previous day. Cf. Irving, vol. i. p. 187.

the shore with a torch. This interpretation was doubted, but a few hours later a sailor on the *Pinta* saw land distinctly, and soon it was visible to all, a long low coast about five miles distant. This was at two in the morning of Friday, October 12,¹ — just ten weeks since they had sailed from Palos, just thirty-three days since they had lost sight of the coast of Ferro. The sails were now taken in, and the ships lay to, awaiting the dawn.

Land ahead!
Oct. 12 (N. S.
21), 1492.

At daybreak the boats were lowered and Columbus, with a large part of his company, went ashore. Upon every side were trees of unknown kinds, and the landscape seemed exceedingly beautiful. Confident that they must have attained the object for which they had set sail, the crews were wild with exultation. Their heads were dazed with fancies of princely fortunes close at hand. The officers embraced Columbus or kissed his hands, while the sailors threw themselves at his feet, craving pardon and favour.

The crews go
ashore.

These proceedings were watched with unutterable amazement and awe by a multitude of men, women, and children of cinnamon hue, different from any kind of people the Spaniards had ever seen. All were stark naked and most of them were more or less greased and painted. They thought that the ships were sea-monsters and the white men supernatural creatures

The aston-
ished natives.

¹ Applying the Gregorian Calendar, or "new style," it becomes the 21st. The four hundredth anniversary will properly fall on October 21, 1892.

descended from the sky.¹ At first they fled in terror as these formidable beings came ashore, but presently, as they found themselves unmolested, curiosity began to overcome fear, and they slowly approached the Spaniards, stopping at every few paces to prostrate themselves in adoration. After a time, as the Spaniards received them with encouraging nods and smiles, they waxed bold enough to come close to the visitors and pass their hands over them, doubtless to make sure that all this marvel was a reality and not a mere vision. Experiences in Africa had revealed the eagerness of barbarians to trade off their possessions for trinkets, and now the Spaniards began exchanging glass beads and hawks' bells for cotton yarn, tame parrots, and small gold ornaments. Some sort of conversation in dumb show went on, and Columbus naturally interpreted everything in such wise as to fit his theories. Whether the natives understood him or not when he asked them where they got their gold, at any rate they pointed to the south, and thus confirmed Columbus in his suspicion that he had come to some island a little to the north of the opulent Cipango. He soon found that it was

Guanahani :
where was it ? a small island, and he understood the name of it to be Guanahani. He took formal possession of it for Castile, just as the discoverers of the Cape Verde islands and the Guinea coasts had taken possession of those places for

¹ This is a common notion among barbarians. "The Polyynesians imagine that the sky descends at the horizon and encloses the earth. Hence they call foreigners *papalangi*, or 'heaven-bursters,' as having broken in from another world outside." Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. ii. p. 268.

Portugal; and he gave it a Christian name, San Salvador. That name has since the seventeenth century been given to Cat island, but perhaps in pursuance of a false theory of map-makers; it is not proved that Cat island is the Guanahani of Columbus. All that can positively be asserted of Guanahani is that it was one of the Bahamas; there has been endless discussion as to which one, and the question is not easy to settle. Perhaps the theory of Captain Gustavus Fox, of the United States navy, is on the whole best supported. Captain Fox maintains that the true Guanahani was the little island now known as Samana or Atwood's Cay.¹ The problem well illustrates the difficulty in identifying any route from even a good description of landmarks, without the help of persistent proper names, especially after the lapse of time has somewhat altered the landmarks. From this point of view it is a very interesting problem and has its lessons for us; otherwise it is of no importance.

A cruise of ten days among the Bahamas, with visits to four of the islands, satisfied Columbus that he was in the ocean just east of Cathay, for Marco Polo had described it as studded with thousands of spice-bearing islands, and the Catalan map shows that some of these were supposed to be inhabited by naked savages. To be sure, he could not find any spices or

Groping for
Cipango and
the route to
Quinsay.

¹ "An Attempt to solve the Problem of the First Landing Place of Columbus in the New World," in *United States Coast and Geodetic Survey — Report for 1880 — Appendix 18*, Washington, 1882.

valuable drugs, but the air was full of fragrance and the trees and herbs were strange in aspect and might mean anything ; so for a while he was ready to take the spices on trust. Upon inquiries about gold the natives always pointed to the south, apparently meaning Cipango ; and in that direction Columbus steered on the 25th of October, intending to stay in that wealthy island long enough to obtain all needful information concerning its arts and commerce. Thence a sail of less than ten days would bring him to the Chinese coast, along which he might comfortably cruise northwesterly as far as Quinsay and deliver to the Great Khan a friendly letter with which Ferdinand and Isabella had provided him. Alas, poor Columbus — unconscious prince of discoverers — groping here in Cuban waters for the way to a city on the other side of the globe and to a sovereign whose race had more than a century since been driven from the throne and expelled from the very soil of Cathay ! Could anything be more pathetic, or better illustrate the profound irony with which our universe seems to be governed ?

On reaching Cuba the Admiral was charmed with the marvellous beauty of the landscape, — a point in which he seems to have been unusually sensitive. He found pearl oysters along the shore, and although no splendid cities as yet appeared, he did not doubt that he had reached Cipango. But his attempts at talking with the amazed natives only served to darken counsel. He understood them to say that Cuba was part of the Asiatic continent,

Columbus reaches Cuba, and sends envoys to find a certain Asiatic prince.

and that there was a king in the neighbourhood who was at war with the Great Khan! So he sent two messengers to seek this refractory potentate, — one of them a converted Jew acquainted with Arabic, a language sometimes heard far eastward in Asia, as Columbus must have known. These envoys found pleasant villages, with large houses, surrounded with fields of such unknown vegetables as maize, potatoes, and tobacco; they saw men and women smoking cigars,¹ and little dreamed that in that fragrant and soothing herb there was a richer source of revenue than the spices of the East. They passed acres of growing cotton and saw in the houses piles of yarn waiting to be woven into rude cloth or twisted into nets for hammocks. But they found neither cities nor kings, neither gold nor spices, and after a tedious quest returned, somewhat disappointed, to the coast.

Columbus seems now to have become perplexed, and to have vacillated somewhat in his purposes. If this was the continent of Asia it was nearer than he had supposed, and how far mistaken he had been in his calculations no one could tell. But where was Cipango? He gathered from the natives that there was a

Columbus
turns east-
ward; Pinzon
deserts him.

¹ The first recorded mention of tobacco is in Columbus's diary for November 20, 1492: — "Hallaron los dos cristianos por el camino mucha gente que atravesaba á sus pueblos, mugeres y hombres con un tizon en la mano, yerbas para tomar sus sahumerios que acostumbraban," i. e. "the two Christians met on the road a great many people going to their villages, men and women with brands in their hands, made of herbs for taking their customary smoke." Navarrete, tom. i. p. 51.

great island to the southeast, abounding in gold, and so he turned his prows in that direction. On the 20th of November he was deserted by Martin Pinzon, whose ship could always outsail the others. It seems to have been Pinzon's design to get home in advance with such a story as would enable him to claim for himself an undue share of credit for the discovery of the Indies. This was the earliest instance of a kind of treachery such as too often marred the story of Spanish exploration and conquest in the New World.

For a fortnight after Pinzon's desertion Columbus crept slowly eastward along the coast of Cuba, now and then landing to examine the country and its products; and it seemed to him that besides pearls and mastic and aloes he found in the rivers indications of gold. When he reached the cape at the end of the island he named it Alpha and Omega, as being the extremity of Asia, — Omega from the Portuguese point of view, Alpha from his own. On the 6th of December he landed upon the northwestern coast of the island of Hayti, which he called *Española*, *Hispaniola*, or "Spanish land."¹ Here, as the natives seemed to tell him of a region to the southward and quite inland which abounded in gold, and which they called *Cibao*, the Admiral at once caught upon the apparent similarity of sounds and fancied that *Cibao* must be *Cipango*, and that

Columbus
arrives at
Hayti and
thinks it must
be Japan.

¹ Not "Little Spain," as the form of the word, so much like a diminutive, might seem to indicate. It is simply the feminine of *Español*, "Spanish," sc. *tierra* or *isla*. Columbus believed that the island was larger than Spain. See his letter to Gabriel Sanchez, in *Harrisse*, tom. i. p. 428.

at length he had arrived upon that island of marvels. It was much nearer the Asiatic mainland (i. e. Cuba) than he had supposed, but then, it was beginning to appear that in any case somebody's geography must be wrong. Columbus was enchanted with the scenery. "The land is elevated," he says, "with many mountains and peaks . . . most beautiful, of a thousand varied forms, accessible, and full of trees of endless varieties, so tall that they seem to touch the sky; and I have been told that they never lose their foliage. The nightingale [i. e. some kind of thrush] and other small birds of a thousand kinds were singing in the month of November [December] when I was there."¹ Before he had done much toward exploring this paradise, a sudden and grave mishap quite altered his plans. On Christmas morning, between midnight and dawn, owing to careless disobedience of orders on the part of the helmsman, the flag-ship struck upon a sand-bank near the present site of Port au Paix. All attempts to get her afloat were unavailing, and the waves soon beat her to pieces.

Wreck of the
Santa Maria,
Dec. 25, 1492.

This catastrophe brought home, with startling force, to the mind of Columbus, the fact that the news of his discovery of land was not yet known in Europe. As for the *Pinta* and her insubordinate commander, none could say whether they would ever be seen again or whether their speedy arrival in Spain might not portend more harm than good to Colum-

Columbus
decides to go
back to Spain.

¹ Columbus to Santangel, February 15, 1493 (Navarrete, tom. i. p. 168).

bus. His armament was now reduced to the little undecked Niña alone, such a craft as we should deem about fit for a summer excursion on Long Island Sound. What if his party should all perish, or be stranded helpless on these strange coasts, before any news of their success should reach the ears of friends in Europe! Then the name of Columbus would serve as a by-word for foolhardiness, and his mysterious fate would simply deter other expeditions from following in the same course. Obviously the first necessity of the situation was to return to Spain immediately and report what had already been done. Then it would be easy enough to get ships and men for a second voyage.

This decision led to the founding of an embryo colony upon Hispaniola. There was not room enough for all the party to go in the Niña, and quite a number begged to be left behind, because they found life upon the island lazy and the natives, especially the women, seemed well-disposed toward them. So a blockhouse was built out of the wrecked ship's timbers and armed with her guns, and in commemoration of that eventful Christmas it was called Fort Nativity (*La Navidad*). Here forty men were left behind, with provisions enough for a whole year, and on January 4, 1493, the rest of the party went on board the Niña and set sail for Spain. Two days later in following the northern coast of Hispaniola they encountered the Pinta, whose commander had been delayed by trading with the natives and by finding some gold. Pinzon tried to explain his sudden disappearance by alleging that

Building of
the block-
house, La
Navidad.

Meeting with
Pinzon.

stress of weather had parted him from his comrades, but his excuses were felt to be lame and improbable. However it may have been with his excuses, there was no doubt as to the lameness of his foremast; it had been too badly sprung to carry much sail, so that the *Pinta* could not again run away from her consort.

On this return voyage the Admiral, finding the trade winds dead against him, took a northeasterly course until he had passed the thirty-seventh parallel and then headed straight toward Spain. On the 12th of February a storm was brewing, and during the next four days it raged with such terrific violence that it

Terrible storm
in mid-ocean,
Feb., 1493.

is a wonder how those two frail caravels ever came out of it. They were separated this time not to meet again upon the sea. Expecting in all likelihood to be engulfed in the waves with his tiny craft, Columbus sealed and directed to Ferdinand and Isabella two brief reports of his discovery, written upon parchment. Each of these he wrapped in a cloth and inclosed in the middle of a large cake of wax, which was then securely shut up in a barrel. One of the barrels was flung into the sea, the other remained standing on the little quarter-deck to await the fate of the caravel. The anxiety was not lessened by the sight of land on the 15th, for it was impossible to approach it so as to go ashore, and there was much danger of being dashed to pieces.

At length on the 18th, the storm having abated, the ship's boat went ashore and found that it was the island of St. Mary, one of the Azores. It is

worthy of note that such skilful sailors as the Niña's captain, Vicente Yañez Pinzon, and the pilot Ruiz were so confused in their reckoning as to suppose themselves near the Madeiras, whereas Columbus had correctly maintained that they were approaching the Azores, — a good instance of his consummate judgment in nautical questions.¹ From the Portuguese governor of the island this Spanish company met with a very ungracious reception. A party of sailors whom Columbus sent ashore to a small chapel of the Virgin, to give thanks for their deliverance from shipwreck, were seized and held as prisoners for five days. It afterwards appeared that this was done in pursuance of general instructions from the king of Portugal to the governors of his various islands. If Columbus had gone ashore he would probably have been arrested himself. As it was, he took such a high tone and threatened to such good purpose that the governor of St. Mary was fain to give up his prisoners for fear of bringing on another war between Portugal and Castile.

Having at length got away from this unfriendly island, as the Niña was making her way toward Cape St. Vincent and within 400 miles of it, she was seized by another fierce tempest and driven upon the coast of Portugal, where Columbus and his crew were glad of a chance to run into the river Tagus for shelter. The news of his voyage and his discoveries aroused intense excitement in Lisbon. Astonishment was mingled with

Columbus is driven ashore in Portugal, where the king is advised to have him assassinated;

¹ Las Casas, tom. i. pp. 443, 449.

chagrin at the thought that the opportunity for all this glory and profit had first been offered to Portugal and foolishly lost. The king even now tried to persuade himself that Columbus had somehow or other been trespassing upon the vast and vague undiscovered dominions granted to the Crown of Portugal by Pope Eugenius IV. Some of the king's counsellors are said to have urged him to have Columbus assassinated; it would be easy enough to provoke such a high-spirited man into a quarrel and then run him through the body.¹ To clearer heads, however, the imprudence of such a course was manifest. It was already impossible to keep the news of the discovery from reaching Spain, and Portugal could not afford to go to war with her stronger neighbour.

but to offend
Spain so
grossly would
be dangerous.

In fact even had John II. been base enough to resort to assassination, which seems quite incompatible with the general character of Lope de Vega's "perfect prince," Columbus was now too important a personage to be safely interfered with. So he was invited to court and made much of. On the 13th of March he set sail again and arrived in the harbour of Palos at noon of the 15th. His little caravel was promptly recognized by the people, and as her story flew from mouth to mouth all the business of the town was at an end for that day.²

¹ This story rests upon the explicit statement of a contemporary Portuguese historian of high authority, Garcia de Resende, *Chronica del Rey Dom João II.*, Lisbon, 1622, cap. elxiv. (written about 1516); see also Vasconcellos, *Vida del Rey Don Juan II.*, Madrid, 1639, lib. vi.

² "When they learnt that she returned in triumph from the discovery of a world, the whole community broke forth into trans-

Towards evening, while the bells were ringing and the streets brilliant with torches, another vessel entered the harbour and dropped anchor. She was none other than the Pinta! The storm had driven her to Bayonne, whence Martin Pinzon instantly despatched a message to Ferdinand and Isabella, making great claims for himself and asking permission to wait upon them with a full account of the discovery. As soon as practicable he made his way to Palos, but when on arriving he saw the Niña already anchored in the harbour his guilty heart failed him. He took advantage of the general hubbub to slink ashore as quickly and quietly as possible, and did not dare to show himself until after the Admiral had left for Seville. The news from Columbus reached the sovereigns before they had time to reply to the message of Pinzon; so when their answer came to him it was cold and stern and forbade him to appear in their presence. Pinzon was worn out with the hardships of the homeward voyage, and this crushing reproof was more than he could bear. His sudden death, a few days afterward, was generally attributed to chagrin.¹

From Seville the Admiral was summoned to attend court at Barcelona, where he was received with triumphal honours. He was directed to

ports of joy." Irving's *Columbus*, vol. i. p. 318. This is projecting our present knowledge into the past. We now know that Columbus had discovered a new world. He did not so much as suspect that he had done anything of the sort; neither did the people of Palos.

¹ Charlevoix, *Histoire de l'isle Espagnole, ou de St. Domingue*, Paris, 1730, liv. ii.; Muñoz, *Historia de las Indias ó Nuevo Mundo*, Madrid, 1793, lib. iv. § 14.

seat himself in the presence of the sovereigns, a courtesy usually reserved for royal personages.¹ Intense interest was felt in his specimens of stuffed birds and small mammals, his live parrots, his collection of herbs which he supposed to have medicinal virtues, his few pearls and trinkets of gold, and especially his six painted and bedizened barbarians, the survivors of ten with whom he had started from Hispaniola. Since in the vague terminology of that time the remote and scarcely known parts of Asia were called the Indies, and since the islands and coasts just discovered were Indies, of course these red men must be Indians. So Columbus had already named them in his first letter written from the Niña, off the Azores, sent by special messenger from Palos, and now in April, 1493, printed at Barcelona, containing the particulars of his discovery, — a letter appropriately addressed to the worthy Santangel but for whose timely intervention he might have ridden many a weary league on

Columbus is received by the sovereigns at Barcelona, April, 1493.

¹ He was also allowed to quarter the royal arms with his own, "which consisted of a group of golden islands amid azure billows. To these were afterwards added five anchors, with the celebrated motto, well known as being carved on his sepulchre." Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, pt. i. chap. vii. This statement about the motto is erroneous. See below, p. 514. Considering the splendour of the reception given to Columbus, and the great interest felt in his achievement, Mr. Prescott is surprised at finding no mention of this occasion in the local annals of Barcelona, or in the royal archives of Aragon. He conjectures, with some probability, that the cause of the omission may have been what an American would call "sectional" jealousy. This Cathay and Cipango business was an affair of Castile's, and, as such, quite beneath the notice of patriotic Aragonese archivists! That is the way history has too often been treated. With most people it is only a kind of ancestor worship.

that mule of his to no good purpose.¹ It was generally assumed without question that the Admiral's theory of his discovery must be correct, that the coast of Cuba must be the eastern extremity of China, that the coast of Hispaniola must be the northern extremity of Cipango, and that a direct route — much shorter than that which Portugal had so long been seeking — had now been found to those lands of illimitable wealth described by Marco Polo.² To be sure Columbus had not

¹ The unique copy of this first edition of this Spanish letter is a small folio of two leaves, or four pages. It was announced for sale in Quaritch's Catalogue, April 16, 1891, No. 111, p. 47, for £1,750. Evidently most book-lovers will have to content themselves with the facsimile published in London, 1891, price two guineas. A unique copy of a Spanish reprint in small quarto, made in 1493, is preserved in the Ambrosian library at Milan. In 1889 Messrs. Ellis & Elvey, of London, published a facsimile *alleged* to have been made from an edition of about the same date as the Ambrosian quarto; but there are good reasons for believing that these highly respectable publishers have been imposed upon. It is a time just now when fictitious literary discoveries of this sort may command a high price, and the dealer in early Americana must keep his eyes open. See Quaritch's note, *op. cit.* p. 49; and Justin Winsor's letter in *The Nation*, April 9, 1891, vol. lii. p. 298.

² "The lands, therefore, which Columbus had visited were called the West Indies; and as he seemed to have entered upon a vast region of unexplored countries, existing in a state of nature, the whole received the comprehensive appellation of the New World." Irving's *Columbus*, vol. i. p. 333. These are very grave errors, again involving the projection of our modern knowledge into the past. The lands which Columbus had visited were called simply the Indies; it was not until long after his death, and after the crossing of the Pacific ocean, that they were distinguished from the East Indies. The *New World* was not at first a "comprehensive appellation" for the countries discovered by Columbus; it was at first applied to one particular region never visited by him, viz. to that portion of the southeastern coast of South America first explored by Vespuceus. See vol. ii. pp. 129, 130.

as yet seen the evidences of this Oriental splendour, and had been puzzled at not finding them, but he felt confident that he had come very near them and would come full upon them in a second voyage. There was nobody who knew enough to refute these opinions,¹ and really why should not this great geographer, who had accomplished so much already which people had scouted as impossible, — why should he not know what he was about? It was easy enough now to get men and money for the second voyage. When the Admiral sailed from Cadiz on September 25, 1493, it was with seventeen ships carrying 1,500 men. Their dreams were of the marble palaces of Quinsay, of isles of spices, and the treasures of Prester John. The sovereigns wept for joy as they thought that such untold riches were vouchsafed them by the special decree of Heaven, as a reward for having overcome the Moor at Granada and banished the Jews from Spain.² Columbus shared these views and

General excitement at the news that a way to the Indies had been found.

¹ Peter Martyr, however, seems to have entertained some vague doubts, inasmuch as this assumed nearness of the China coast on the west implied a greater eastward extension of the Asiatic continent than seemed to him probable: — “*Insulas reperit plures; has esse, de quibus fit apud cosmographos mentio extra oceanum orientalem, adjacentes Indiæ arbitrantur. Nec inficior ego penitus, quamvis sphaerae magnitudo aliter sentire videatur; neque enim desunt qui parvo tractu a finibus Hispaniæ distare littus Indicum putent.*” *Opus Epist.*, No. 135. The italicizing is mine.

² This abominable piece of wickedness, driving 200,000 of Spain's best citizens from their homes and their native land, was accomplished in pursuance of an edict signed March 30, 1492. There is a brief account of it in Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, pt. i. chap. vi.

regarded himself as a special instrument for executing the divine decrees. He renewed his vow to rescue the Holy Sepulchre, promising within the next seven years to equip at his own expense a crusading army of 50,000 foot and 4,000 horse; within five years thereafter he would follow this with a second army of like dimensions.

Thus nobody had the faintest suspicion of what had been done. In the famous letter to Santangel there is of course not a word about a New World. The grandeur of the achievement was quite beyond the ken of the generation that witnessed it. For we have since come to learn that in 1492 the contact between the eastern and the western halves of our planet was first really begun, and the two streams of human life which had flowed on for countless ages apart were thenceforth to mingle together. The first voyage of Columbus is thus a unique event in the history of mankind. Nothing like it was ever done before, and nothing like it can ever be done again. No worlds are left for a future Columbus to conquer. The era of which this great Italian mariner was the most illustrious representative has closed forever.

This voyage was an event without any parallel in history.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FINDING OF STRANGE COASTS.

BUT that era did not close with Columbus, nor did he live long enough to complete the Discovery of America. Our practice of affixing specific dates to great events is on many accounts indispensable, but it is sometimes misleading. Such an event as the discovery of a pair of vast continents does not take place within a single year. When we speak of America as discovered in 1492, we do not mean that the moment Columbus landed on two or three islands of the West Indies, a full outline map of the western hemisphere from Labrador and Alaska to Cape Horn suddenly sprang into existence — like Pallas from the forehead of Zeus — in the minds of European men. Yet people are perpetually using arguments which have neither force nor meaning save upon the tacit assumption that somehow or other some such sort of thing must have happened. This grotesque fallacy lies at the bottom of the tradition which has caused so many foolish things to be said about that gallant mariner, Americus Vesputius. In geographical discussions the tendency to overlook the fact that Columbus and his immediate successors did not sail with the latest edition of Black's General Atlas in

The Discovery of America was a gradual process.

their cabins is almost inveterate ; it keeps revealing itself in all sorts of queer statements, and probably there is no cure for it except in familiarity with the long series of perplexed and struggling maps made in the sixteenth century. Properly regarded, the Discovery of America was not a single event, but a very gradual process. It was not like a case of special creation, for it was a case of evolution, and the voyage of 1492 was simply the most decisive and epoch-marking incident in that evolution. Columbus himself, after all his four eventful voyages across the Sea of Darkness, died in the belief that he had simply discovered the best and straightest route to the eastern shores of Asia. Yet from his first experiences in Cuba down to his latest voyage upon the coasts of Honduras and Veragua, he was more or less puzzled at finding things so different from what he had anticipated. If he had really known anything with accuracy about the eastern coast of Asia, he would doubtless soon have detected his fundamental error, but no European in his day had any such knowledge. In his four voyages Columbus was finding what he supposed to be parts of Asia, what we now know to have been parts of America, but what were really to him and his contemporaries neither more nor less than Strange Coasts. We have now to consider briefly his further experiences upon these strange coasts.

The second voyage of Columbus was begun in a very different mood and under very different auspices from either his former or his two subsequent

voyages. On his first departure from Palos, in 1492, all save a few devoted friends regarded him as a madman rushing upon his doom; and outside the Spanish peninsula the expedition seems to have attracted no notice. But on the second start, in 1493, all hands supposed that they were going straight to golden Cathay and to boundless riches. It was not now with groans but with pæans that they flocked on board the ships; and the occasion was observed, with more or less interest, by some people in other countries of Europe, — as in Italy, and for the moment in France and England.

At the same time with his letter to Santangel, the Admiral had despatched another account, substantially the same,¹ to Gabriel Sanchez,² The letter to Sanchez. another officer of the royal treasury. Several copies of a Latin translation of this letter were published at Rome, at Paris, and elsewhere, in the course of the year 1493.³ The story which

¹ "Un duplicata de cette relation," HARRISSE, *Christophe Colomb*, tom i. p. 419.

² Often called Raphael Sanchez.

³ The following epigram was added to the first Latin edition of the latter by Corbaria, Bishop of Monte-Peloso: —

Ad Invictissimum Regem Hispaniarum:
 Iam nulla Hispanis tellus addenda triumphis,
 Atque parum tantis viribus orbis erat.
 Nunc longe eo is regio deprensa sub undis,
 Auctura est titulos Betice magne tuos.
 Unde repertori incrita referenda Columbo
 Gratia, sed summo est maior habenda deo,
 Qui vincenda parat noua regna tibi que sibique
 Teque simul fortem prestat et esse pium.

These lines are thus paraphrased by M. HARRISSE: —

To the Invincible King of the Spains:
 Less wide the world than the renown of Spain,
 To swell her triumphs no new lands remain.

it contained was at once paraphrased in Italian verse by Giuliano Dati, one of the most popular poets of the age, and perhaps in the autumn of 1493 the amazing news that the Indies had been found by sailing west¹ was sung by street

Rejoice, Iberia! see thy fame increased!
 Another world Columbus from the East
 And the mid-ocean summons to thy sway!
 Give thanks to him — but loftier homage pay
 To God Supreme, who gives its realms to thee!
 Greatest of monarchs, first of servants be!

Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima, p. 13.

The following is a literal version: — “Already there is no land to be added to the triumphs of Spain, and the earth was too small for such great deeds. Now a far country under the eastern waves has been discovered, and will be an addition to thy titles, O great Bætica! wherefore thanks are due to the illustrious discover Columbus; but greater thanks to the supreme God, who is making ready new realms to be conquered for thee and for Himself, and vouchsafes to thee to be at once strong and pious.” It will be observed that nothing is said about “another world.”

An elaborate account of these earliest and excessively rare editions is given by M. HARRISSE, *loc. cit.*

¹ Or, as Mr. Major carelessly puts it, “the astounding news of the discovery of a new world.” (*Select Letters of Columbus*, p. vi.) Mr. Major knows very well that no such “news” was possible for many a year after 1493; his remark is, of course, a mere slip of the pen, but if we are ever going to straighten out the tangle of misconceptions with which this subject is commonly surrounded, we must be careful in our choice of words. — As a fair specimen of the chap-book style of Dati’s stanzas, we may cite the fourteenth: —

Hor vo tornar almio primo tractato
 dellisole trovate incognite a te
 in q̄sto anno presente q̄sto e stato
 nel millequattrocento novātatre,
 uno che xp̄ofan colōbo chiamato,
 che e stato in corte der prefecto Re
 ha molte volte questa stimolato,
 el Re ch’cerchi acrescere il suo stato.

M. HARRISSE gives the following version: —

Back to my theme, O Listener, turn with me
 And hear of islands all unknown to thee!

urchins in Florence. We are also informed, in an ill-vouched but not improbable clause in Ramusio, that not far from that same time the news was heard with admiration in London, where it was pronounced "a thing more divine than human to sail by the West unto the East, where spices grow, by a way that was never known before;"¹ and it seems altogether likely that it was this news that prompted the expedition of John Cabot hereafter to be mentioned.²

The references to the discovery are very scanty, however, until after the year 1500, and extremely vague withal. For example, Bernardino de Carvajal, the Spanish ambassador at the papal court, delivered an oration in Rome on June 19, 1493, in which he said: "And Christ placed under their [Ferdinand and Isabella's] rule the Fortunate [Canary] islands, the fertility of which has been ascertained to be wonderful. And he has lately disclosed some other unknown ones towards the Indies which may be considered among the most precious things on earth; and it is believed that they will be gained

Earliest references to the discovery.

Islands whereof the grand discovery
 Chanced in this year of fourteen ninety-three.
 One Christopher Colombo, whose resort
 Was ever in the King Fernando's court,
 Bent himself still to rouse and stimulate
 The King to swell the borders of his State.

Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima, p. 29.

The entire poem of sixty-eight stanzas is given in Major, *op. cit.* pp. lxxiii.-xc. It was published at Florence, Oct. 26, 1493, and was called "the story of the discovery [not of a new world, but] of the new Indian islands of Canary!" (*Storia della inventione delle nuove isole dicanaria indiane.*)

¹ *Raccolta di Navigazioni*, etc., Venice, 1550, tom. i. fol. 414.

² See below, vol. ii. pp. 2-15.

over to Christ by the emissaries of the king.”¹ Outside of the Romance countries we find one German version of the first letter of Columbus, published at Strasburg, in 1497,² and a brief allusion to the discovery in Sebastian Brandt’s famous allegorical poem, “Das Narrenschiff,” the first edition of which appeared in 1494.³ The earliest distinct reference to Columbus in the English language is to be found in a translation of this poem, “The Shyppe of Fooles,” by Henry Watson, published in London by Wynkyn de Werde in 1509.

The purpose of Brandt’s allegory was to satirize the follies committed by all sorts and conditions of men. In the chapter, “Of hym that wyll wryte and enquere of all regyons,” it is said: “There was one that

Earliest refer-
ence in Eng-
lish.

¹ HARRISSE, *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, p. 35.

² *Id.* p. 50.

³ Auch hat man sydt in Portigall
Und in Hyspanyen uberall
Golt-inseln funden, und nacket lût
Von den man vor wust sagen nût.

HARRISSE, *Bibl. Amer. Vet. ; Additions*, p. 4.

Or, in more modern German: —

Wie man auch jüngst von Portuga
Und Hispanien aus schier überall
Goldinseln fand und nakte Leute,
Von denen man erst weiss seit heute.

Das Narrenschiff, ed. SIMROCK, Berlin, 1872, p. 161.

In the Latin version of 1497, now in the National Library at Paris, it goes somewhat differently: —

Antea quę fuerat priscis incognita tellus:
Exposita est oculis & manifesta patet.
Hesperię occiduę rex Ferdinandus: in alto
Aequore nunc gentes reperit innumeras.

HARRISSE, *op. cit. ; Additions*, p. 7.

It will be observed that these foreign references are so ungal-
lant, and so incorrect, as to give all the credit to Ferdinand, while
poor Isabella is not mentioned!

knewe that in y^e ysles of Spayne was enhabitantes. Wherefore he asked men of Kynge Ferdynandus & wente & founde them, the whiche lyved as beestes.”¹ Until after the middle of the sixteenth century no English chronicler mentions either Columbus or the Cabots, nor is there anywhere an indication that the significance of the discoveries in the western ocean was at all understood.²

North of the Alps and Pyrenees the interest in what was going on at the Spanish court in 1493 was probably confined to very few people. As for Venice and Genoa we have no adequate means of knowing how they felt about the matter, — a fact which in itself is significant. The interest was centred in Spain and Portugal. There it was intense and awakened fierce heart-burnings. Though John II. had not given his consent to the proposal for murdering Columbus, he appears to have seriously entertained the thought of sending a small fleet across the Atlantic as soon as possible, to take possession of some point in Cathay or Cipango and then dispute the claims of the Spaniards.³ Such a summary proceeding might perhaps be defended on the ground that the grant from Pope Eugenius V. to the crown of Portugal expressly included “the Indies.” In the treaty of 1479, moreover, Spain had promised not to interfere with the discoveries and possessions of the Portuguese.

Portuguese
claim to the
Indies.

But whatever King John may have intended,

¹ HARRISSE, *op. cit.*; *Additions*, p. 45.

² HARRISSE, *Jean et Sebastien Cabot*, Paris, 1882, p. 15.

³ VASCONCELLOS, *Vida del Rey Don Juan II.*, Madrid, 1639, lib. vi.

Ferdinand and Isabella were too quick for him. No sooner had Columbus arrived at Barcelona than an embassy was despatched to Rome, asking for a grant of the Indies just discovered by that navigator in the service of Castile. The notorious Rodrigo Borgia, who had lately been placed in the apostolic chair as Alexander VI., was a native of Valencia in the kingdom of Aragon, and would not be likely to refuse such a request through any excess of regard for Portugal. As between the two rival powers the pontiff's arrangement was made in a spirit of even-handed justice. On the 3d of May, 1493, he issued a bull conferring upon the Spanish sovereigns all lands already discovered or thereafter to be discovered in the western ocean, with jurisdiction and privileges in all respects similar to those formerly bestowed upon the crown of Portugal. This grant was made by the pope "out of our pure liberality, certain knowledge, and plenitude of apostolic power," and by virtue of "the authority of omnipotent God granted to us in St. Peter, and of the Vicarship of Jesus Christ which we administer upon the earth."¹ It was a substantial reward for the monarchs who had completed the overthrow of Mahometan rule in Spain, and it afforded them

¹ "De nostra mera liberalitate, et ex certa scientia, ac de apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine." . . . "auctoritate omnipotentis Dei nobis in beato Petro concessa, ac vicariatus Jesu Christi qua fungimur in terris." The same language is used in the second bull. Mr. Prescott (*Ferdinand and Isabella*, part i. chap. vii.) translates *certa scientia* "infallible knowledge," but in order to avoid any complications with modern theories concerning papal infallibility, I prefer to use a less technical word.

opportunities for further good work in converting the heathen inhabitants of the islands and mainland of Asia.¹

On the following day Alexander issued a second bull in order to prevent any occasion for quarrel between Spain and Portugal.² He decreed that

¹ A year or two later the sovereigns were further rewarded with the decorative title of "Most Catholic." See Zurita, *Historia del Rey Hernando*, Saragossa, 1580, lib. ii. cap. xl.; Peter Martyr, *Epist.* clvii.

² The complete text of this bull, with Richard Eden's translation, is given at the end of this work; see below, Appendix B. The official text is in *Magnum Bullarium Romanum*, ed. Cherubini, Lyons, 1655, tom. i. p. 466. The original document received by Ferdinand and Isabella is preserved in the Archives of the Indies at Seville; it is printed entire in Navarrete, *Coleccion de viages*, tom. ii. No. 18. Another copy, less complete, may be found in Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici*, Lucca, 1754, tom. xi. p. 214, No. 19-22; and another in Leibnitz, *Codex Diplomaticus*, tom. i. pt. i. p. 471. It is often called the Bull "Inter Cetera," from its opening words.

The origin of the pope's claim to apostolic authority for giving away kingdoms is closely connected with the fictitious "Donation of Constantine," an edict probably fabricated in Rome about the middle of the eighth century. The title of the old Latin text is *Edictum domini Constantini Imp.*, apud Pseudo-Isidorus, *Decretalia*. Constantine's transfer of the seat of empire from the Tiber to the Bosphorus tended greatly to increase the dignity and power of the papacy, and I presume that the fabrication of this edict, four centuries afterward, was the expression of a sincere belief that the first Christian emperor meant to leave the temporal supremacy over Italy in the hands of the Roman see. The edict purported to be such a donation from Constantine to Pope Sylvester I., but the extent and character of the donation was stated with such vagueness as to allow a wide latitude of interpretation. Its genuineness was repeatedly called in question, but belief in it seems to have grown in strength until after the thirteenth century. Leo IX., who was a strong believer in its genuineness, granted in 1054 to the Normans their conquests in Sicily and Calabria, to be held as a fief of the Roman see. (Muratori, *Annali d' Italia*, tom. vi. pt. ii. p. 245.) It was next used to sustain the papal

all lands discovered or to be discovered to the west of a meridian one hundred leagues west of

claim to suzerainty over the island of Corsica. A century later John of Salisbury maintained the right of the pope to dispose "of all *islands* on which Christ, the Sun of righteousness, hath shined," and in conformity with this opinion Pope Adrian IV. (Nicholas Breakspeare, an Englishman) authorized in 1164 King Henry II. of England to invade and conquer Ireland. (See Adrian IV., *Epist.* 76, apud Migne, *Patrologia*, tom. clxxxviii.) Dr. Lanigan, in treating of this matter, is more an Irishman than a papist, and derides "this nonsense of the pope's being the head-owner of all Christian islands." (*Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, vol. iv. p. 159.) — Gregory VII., in working up to the doctrine that all Christian kingdoms should be held as fiefs under St. Peter (Baronius, *Annales*, tom. xvii. p. 430; cf. Villemain, *Histoire de Grégoire VII.*, Paris, 1873, tom. ii. pp. 59–61), does not seem to have appealed to the Donation. Perhaps he was shrewd enough to foresee the kind of objection afterwards raised by the Albigensians, who pithily declared that if the suzerainty of the popes was derived from the Donation, then they were successors of Constantine and not of St. Peter. (Moneta Cremonensis, *Adversus Catharos et Waldenses*, ed. Ricchini, Rome, 1743, v. 2.) But Innocent IV. summarily disposed of this argument at the Council of Lyons in 1245, when he deposed the Emperor Frederick II. and King Sancho II. of Portugal, — saying that Christ himself had bestowed temporal as well as spiritual headship upon St. Peter and his successors, so that Constantine only gave up to the Church what belonged to it already. The opposite or Ghibelline theory was eloquently set forth by Dante, in his treatise *De Monarchia*; he held that inasmuch as the Empire existed before the Church, it could not be derived from it. Dante elsewhere expressed his abhorrence of the Donation: —

Ahi Constantin, di quanto mal fu matre,
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote
Che da te prese il primo ricco patre!

Inferno, xix. 115.

Similar sentiments were expressed by many of the most popular poets from the twelfth century to the sixteenth. Walther von der Vogelweide was sure that if the first Christian emperor could have foreseen the evils destined to flow from his Donation, he would have withheld it: —

the Azores and Cape Verde islands should belong to the Spaniards. Inasmuch as between the

Solte ich den pfaffen raten an den triuwen min,
 So spräche ir haut den armen zuo : se, daz ist din,
 Ir zunge sünge, unde lieze mengem man daz sin,
 Gedächten daz ouch si dur Got wæren almuosenære.
 Do gab ir erste teil der Kuenik Konstantin,
 Het er gewest, daz da von uebel kuenftik wære,
 So het er wol underkomen des riches swære,
 Wan daz si do waren kiusche, und uebermuete lære.

Hagen, *Minnesinger-Sammlung*, Leipsic, 1838, bd. i. p. 270.

Ariosto, in a passage rollicking with satire, makes his itinerant paladin find the "stinking" Donation in the course of his journey upon the moon: —

Di varii fiori ad un gran monte passa,
 Ch' ebber già buono odore, or puzzan forte,
 Questo era il dono, se però dir lece,
 Che Constantino al buon Silvestro fece.

Orlando Furioso, xxxiv. 80.

The Donation was finally proved to be a forgery by Laurentius Valla in 1440, in his *De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione declamatio* (afterward spread far and wide by Ulrich von Hutten), and independently by the noble Reginald Pecock, bishop of Chichester, in his *Repressor*, written about 1447. — During the preceding century the theory of Gregory VII. and Innocent IV. had been carried to its uttermost extreme by the Franciscan monk Alvaro Pelayo, in his *De Planctu Ecclesiæ*, written at Avignon during the "Babylonish Captivity," about 1350 (printed at Venice in 1560), and by Agostino Trionfi, in his *Summa de potestate ecclesiastica*, Augsburg, 1473, an excessively rare book, of which there is a copy in the British Museum. These writers maintained that the popes were suzerains of the whole earth and had absolute power to dispose not only of all Christian kingdoms, but also of all heathen lands and powers. It was upon this theory that Eugenius IV. seems to have acted with reference to Portugal and Alexander VI. with reference to Spain. Of course there was never a time when such claims for the papacy were not denied by a large party within the Church. The Spanish sovereigns in appealing to Alexander VI. took care to hint that some of their advisers regarded them as already entitled to enjoy the fruits of their discoveries, even before obtaining the papal permission, but they did not choose to act upon that opinion (Herrera, *decad. i.*

westernmost of the Azores and the easternmost of the Cape Verde group the difference in longitude is not far from ten degrees, this description must be allowed to be somewhat vague, especially in a document emanating from "certain know-

lib. ii. cap. 4). The kings of Portugal were less reserved in their submission. In *Valasci Ferdinandi ad Innocentium octauum de obedientia oratio*, a small quarto printed at Rome about 1488, John II. did homage to the pope for the countries just discovered by Bartholomew Dias. His successor Emanuel did the same after the voyages of Gama and Vespucius. In a small quarto, *Obedientia potentissimi Emanuelis Lusitanie regis &c. per clarissimum juris consultum Dieghum Pacettū oratorem ad Iuliū Pont. Max.*, Rome, 1505, all the newly found lands are laid at the feet of Julius II. in a passage that ends with words worth noting: "Accipe tandem orbem ipsum terrarum, Deus enim noster es," i. e. "Accept in fine the earth itself, for thou art our God." Similar homage was rendered to Leo X. in 1513, on account of Albuquerque's conquests in Asia. — We may suspect that if the papacy had retained, at the end of the fifteenth century, anything like the overshadowing power which it possessed at the end of the twelfth, the kings of Portugal would not have been quite so unstinted in their homage. As it came to be less of a reality and more of a flourish of words, it cost less to offer it. Among some modern Catholics I have observed a disposition to imagine that in the famous bull of partition Alexander VI. acted not as supreme pontiff but merely as an arbiter, in the modern sense, between the crowns of Spain and Portugal; but such an interpretation is hardly compatible with Alexander's own words. An arbiter, as such, does not make awards by virtue of "the authority of Omnipotent God granted to us in St. Peter, and of the Vicarship of Jesus Christ which we administer upon the earth."

Since writing this note my attention has been called to Dr. Ignaz von Döllinger's *Fables respecting the Popes of the Middle Ages*, London, 1871; and I find in it a chapter on the Donation of Constantine, in which the subject is treated with a wealth of learning. Some of my brief references are there discussed at considerable length. To the references to Dante there is added a still more striking passage, where Constantine is admitted into Heaven *in spite of his Donation* (*Paradiso*, xx. 55).

ledge ;”¹ and it left open a source of future disputes which one would suppose the “plenitude of apostolic power” might have been worthily employed in closing. The meridian 25° W., however, would have satisfied the conditions, and the equitable intent of the arrangement is manifest. The Portuguese were left free to pursue their course of discovery and conquest along the routes which they had always preferred. King John, however, was not satisfied. He entertained vague hopes of finding spice islands, or something worth having, in the western waters ; and he wished to have the Line of Demarcation carried farther to the west. After a year of diplomatic wrangling a treaty was signed at Tordesillas, June 7, 1494, in which Spain consented to the moving of the line to a distance of 370 leagues west from the Cape Verde islands.² It would thus on a modern map fall somewhere between the 41st and 44th meridians west of Greenwich. This amendment had important and curious consequences. It presently gave the Brazilian coast to the Portuguese, and thereupon played a leading part in the singular and complicated series of events that ended in giving the name of Americus Vesputius to that

Treaty of
Tordesillas.

¹ The language of the bull is even more vague than my version in the text. His Holiness describes the lands to be given to the Spaniards as lying “to the west and south” (versus occidentem et meridiem) of his dividing meridian. Land to the south of a meridian would be in a queer position! Probably it was meant to say that the Spaniards, once west of the papal meridian, might go south as well as north. For the king of Portugal had suggested that they ought to confine themselves to northern waters.

² For the original Spanish text of the treaty of Tordesillas, see Navarrete, tom. ii. pp. 116-130.

region, whence it was afterwards gradually extended to the whole western hemisphere.¹

Already in April, 1493, without waiting for the papal sanction, Ferdinand and Isabella bent all their energies to the work of fitting out an expedition for taking possession of "the Indies." First, a department of Indian affairs was created, and at its head was placed Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, archdeacon of Seville: in Spain a man in high office was apt to be a clergyman. This Fonseca was all-powerful in Indian affairs for the next thirty years. He won and retained the confidence of the sovereigns by virtue of his executive ability. He was a man of coarse fibre, ambitious and domineering, cold-hearted and perfidious, with a cynical contempt — such as low-minded people are apt to call "smart" — for the higher human feelings. He was one of those ugly customers who crush, without a twinge of compunction, whatever comes in their way. The slightest opposition made him furious, and his vindictiveness was insatiable. This dexterous and pushing Fonseca held one after another the bishoprics of Badajoz, Cordova, Palencia, and Conde, the archbishopric of Rosano in Italy, together with the bishopric of Burgos, and he was also principal chaplain to Isabella and afterwards to Ferdinand. As Sir Arthur Helps observes, "the student of early American history will have a bad opinion of many Spanish bishops, if he does not discover that it is Bishop Fonseca who reap-

Juan Rodri-
guez de Fon-
seca.

¹ See below, vol. ii. pp. 98-154

pears under various designations.”¹ Sir Arthur fitly calls him “the ungodly bishop.”

The headquarters of Fonseca and of the Indian department were established at Seville, and a special Indian custom-house was set up at Cadiz. There was to be another custom-house upon the island of Hispaniola (supposed to be Japan), and a minute registry was to be kept of all ships and their crews and cargoes, going out or coming in. Nobody was to be allowed to go to the Indies for any purpose whatever without a license formally obtained. Careful regulations were made for hampering trade and making everything as vexatious as possible for traders, according to the ordinary wisdom of governments in such matters. All expenses were to be borne and all profits received by the crown of Castile, saving the rights formerly guaranteed to Columbus. The cost of the present expedition was partly defrayed with stolen money, the plunder wrung from the worthy and industrious Jews who had been driven from their homes by the infernal edict of the year before. Extensive “requisitions” were also made; in other words, when the sovereigns wanted a ship or a barrel of gunpowder they seized it, and impressed it into the good work of converting the heathen. To superintend this missionary work, a Franciscan monk² was selected who had lately distinguished

¹ *History of the Spanish Conquest*, vol. i. p. 487.

² Irving calls him a Benedictine, but he is addressed as “*fratri ordinis Minorum*” in the bull clothing him with apostolic authority in the Indies, June 25, 1493. See Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici*, tom. xi. p. 216. I cannot imagine what M. HARRISSE means by calling him “*religieux de Saint-Vincent de Paule*” (*Christophe Colomb*, tom. ii. p. 55). Vincent de Paul was not born till 1575.

himself as a diplomatist in the dispute with France over the border province of Rousillon. Friar Boyle. This person was a native of Catalonia, and his name was Bernardo Boyle, which strongly suggests an Irish origin. Alexander VI. appointed him his apostolic vicar for the Indies,¹ and he seems to have been the first clergyman to perform mass on the western shores of the Atlantic. To assist the vicar, the six Indians brought over by Columbus were baptized at Barcelona, with the king and queen for their godfather and godmother. It was hoped that they would prove useful as missionaries, and when one of them presently died he was said to be the first Indian ever admitted to heaven.²

The three summer months were occupied in fitting out the little fleet. There were fourteen caravels, and three larger store-ships known as carracks. Horses, mules, and other cattle were put on board,³ as well as vines and sugar-canes, and the seeds of several European cereals, for it was intended to establish a permanent colony upon Hispaniola. In the course of this work some slight matters of disagreement came up between Columbus and Fonseca, and the question having been referred to the sovereigns, Fonseca was mildly snubbed and told that he must in all respects be guided by the Admiral's wishes. From that time forth this ungodly prelate nourished a deadly ha-

¹ Not for "the New World," as Irving carelessly has it in his *Columbus*, vol. i. p. 346. No such phrase had been thought of in 1493, or until long afterward.

² Herrera, *Hist. de las Indias*, decad. i. lib. ii. cap. 5.

³ *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, cap. xlv.

tered toward Columbus, and never lost an opportunity for whispering evil things about him. The worst of the grievous afflictions that afterward beset the great discoverer must be ascribed to the secret machinations of this wretch.

At last the armament was ready. People were so eager to embark that it was felt necessary to restrain them. It was not intended to have more than 1,200, but about 1,500 in all contrived to go, so that some of the caravels must have been overcrowded. The character of the company was very different from that of the year before. Those who went in the first voyage were chiefly common sailors. Now there were many aristocratic young men, hot-blooded and feather-headed hidalgos whom the surrender of Granada had left without an occupation. Most distinguished among these was Alonso de Ojeda, a dare-devil of unrivalled muscular strength, full of energy and fanfaronade, and not without generous qualities, but with very little soundness of judgment or character. Other notable personages in this expedition were Columbus's youngest brother Giacomo (henceforth called Diego), who had come from Genoa at the first news of the Admiral's triumphant return; the monk Antonio de Marchena,¹ whom historians have so long confounded with the prior Juan Perez; an Aragonese gentleman named Pedro Margarite, a favourite of the king and destined to work sad mischief; Juan

Notable persons who embarked on the second voyage.

¹ He went as astronomer, from which we may perhaps suppose that scientific considerations had made him one of the earliest and most steadfast upholders of Columbus's views.

Ponce de Leon, who afterwards gave its name to Florida; Francisco de Las Casas, father of the great apostle and historian of the Indies; and, last but not least, the pilot Juan de La Cosa, now charged with the work of chart-making, in which he was an acknowledged master.¹

The pomp and bustle of the departure from Cadiz, September 25, 1493, at which the Admiral's two sons, Diego and Ferdinand, were present, must have been one of the earliest recollections of the younger boy, then just five years of age.² Again Columbus stopped at the Canary islands, this time to take on board goats and sheep, pigs and fowls, for he had been struck by the absence of all such animals on the coasts which he had visited.³ Seeds of melons, oranges, and lemons were also taken. On the 7th of October the ships weighed anchor, heading a trifle to the south of west, and after a pleasant and uneventful voyage they sighted land on the 3d of November.⁴ It

¹ See HARRISSE, *Christophe Colomb*, tom. ii. pp. 55, 56; LAS CASAS, *Hist. de las Indias*, tom. i. p. 498; FABIÉ, *Vida de Las Casas*, Madrid, 1879, tom. i. p. 11; OVIEDO, *Hist. de las Indias*, tom. i. p. 467; NAVARRETE, *Coleccion de viages*, tom. ii. pp. 143-149.

² "E con questo preparamento il mercoledì ai 25 del mese d' settembre dell' anno 1493 un' ora avanti il levar del sole, essendovi io e mio fratel presenti, l' Ammiraglio levò le ancore," etc. *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, cap. xlv.

³ Eight sows were bought for 70 maravedis apiece, and "destas ocho puercas se han multiplicado todos los puercos que, hasta hoy, ha habido y hay en todas estas Indias," etc. LAS CASAS, *Historia*, tom. ii. p. 3.

⁴ The relation of this second voyage by Dr. Chanca may be found in NAVARRETE, tom. i. pp. 198-241; an interesting relation in Italian by Simone Verde, a Florentine merchant then living in

turned out to be a small mountainous island, and as it was discovered on Sunday they called it Dominica. In a fortnight's cruise in these Caribbean waters they discovered and named several islands, such as Marigalante, Guadaloupe, Antigua, and others, and at length reached Porto Rico. The inhabitants of these islands were ferocious cannibals, very different from the natives encountered on the former voyage. There were skirmishes in which a few Spaniards were killed with poisoned arrows. On Guadaloupe the natives lived in square houses made of saplings intertwined with reeds, and on the rude porticoes attached to these houses some of the wooden pieces were carved so as to look like serpents. In some of these houses human limbs were hanging from the roof, cured with smoke, like ham; and fresh pieces of human flesh were found stewing in earthen kettles, along with the flesh of parrots. Now at length, said Peter Martyr, was proved the truth of the stories of Polyphemus and the Læstrygonians, and the reader must look out lest his hair stand on end.¹ These western Læstrygonians were known as Caribbees, Caribales, or Canibales, and have thus furnished an epithet which we have since learned to apply to man-eaters the world over.

Cruise among
the cannibal
islands.

Valladolid, is published in HARRISSE, *Christophe Colomb*, tom. ii. pp. 68-78. The narrative of the curate of Los Palacios is of especial value for this voyage.

¹ Martyr, *Epist.* cxlvii. *ad Pomponium Lætum*; cf. *Odyssey*, x. 119; Thucyd. vi. 2. — Irving (vol. i. p. 385) finds it hard to believe these stories, but the prevalence of cannibalism, not only in these islands, but throughout a very large part of aboriginal America, has been superabundantly proved.

It was late at night on the 27th of November that Columbus arrived in the harbour of La Navidad and fired a salute to arouse the attention of the party that had been left there the year before. There was no reply and the silence seemed fraught with evil omen. On going ashore next morning and exploring the neighbourhood, the Spaniards came upon sights of dismal significance.

Fate of the colony at La Navidad.

The fortress was pulled to pieces and partly burnt, the chests of provisions were broken open and emptied, tools and fragments of European clothing were found in the houses of the natives, and finally eleven corpses, identifiable as those of white men, were found buried near the fort. Not one of the forty men who had been left behind in that place ever turned up to tell the tale. The little colony of La Navidad had been wiped out of existence. From the Indians, however, Columbus gathered bits of information that made a sufficiently probable story. It was a typical instance of the beginnings of colonization in wild countries. In such instances human nature has shown considerable uniformity. Insubordination and deadly feuds among themselves had combined with reckless outrages upon the natives to imperil the existence of this little party of rough sailors. The cause to which Horace ascribes so many direful wars, both before and since the days of fairest Helen, seems to have been the principal cause on this occasion. At length a fierce chieftain named Caonabo, from the region of Xaragua, had attacked the Spaniards in overwhelming force, knocked their blockhouse about

their heads, and butchered all that were left of them.

This was a gloomy welcome to the land of promise. There was nothing to be done but to build new fortifications and found a town. The site chosen for this new settlement, which was named Isabella, was at a good harbour about thirty miles east of Monte Christi. It was chosen because Columbus understood from the natives that it was not far from there to the gold-bearing mountains of Cibao, a name which still seemed to signify Cipango. Quite a neat little town was presently built, with church, market-place, public granary, and dwelling-houses, the whole encompassed with a stone wall. An exploring party led by Ojeda into the mountains of Cibao found gold dust and pieces of gold ore in the beds of the brooks, and returned elated with this discovery. Twelve of the ships were now sent back to Spain for further supplies and reinforcements, and specimens of the gold were sent as an earnest of what was likely to be found.

Building of
Isabella.

Exploration
of Cibao.

At length, in March, 1494, Columbus set forth, with 400 armed men, to explore the Cibao country. The march was full of interest. It is upon this occasion that we first find mention of the frantic terror manifested by Indians at the sight of horses. At first they supposed the horse and his rider to be a kind of centaur, and when the rider dismounted this separation of one creature into two overwhelmed them with supernatural terror. Even when they had begun to get over this notion they

were in dread of being eaten by the horses.¹ These natives lived in houses grouped into villages, and had carved wooden idols and rude estufas for their tutelar divinities. It was ascertained that different tribes tried to steal each other's idols and even fought for the possession of valuable objects of "medicine."² Columbus observed and reported the customs of these people with some minuteness. There was nothing that agreed with Marco Polo's descriptions of Cipango, but so far as concerned the discovery of gold mines, the indications were such as to leave little doubt of the success of this reconnaissance. The Admiral now arranged his forces so as to hold the inland regions just visited and gave the general command to Margarite, who was to continue the work of exploration. He left his brother, Diego Columbus, in charge of the colony, and taking three caravels set sail from Isabella on the 24th of April, on a cruise of discovery in these Asiatic waters.

A brief westward sail brought the little squadron into the Windward Passage and in sight of Cape Mayzi, which Columbus on his first voyage had named Cape Alpha and Omega as being the easternmost point on the Chinese coast. He believed that if he were to sail to the right of this cape he should have the continent on his port side for a thousand miles and more, as far as Quinsay and Cambaluc (Peking). If he had

Cape Alpha
and Omega.

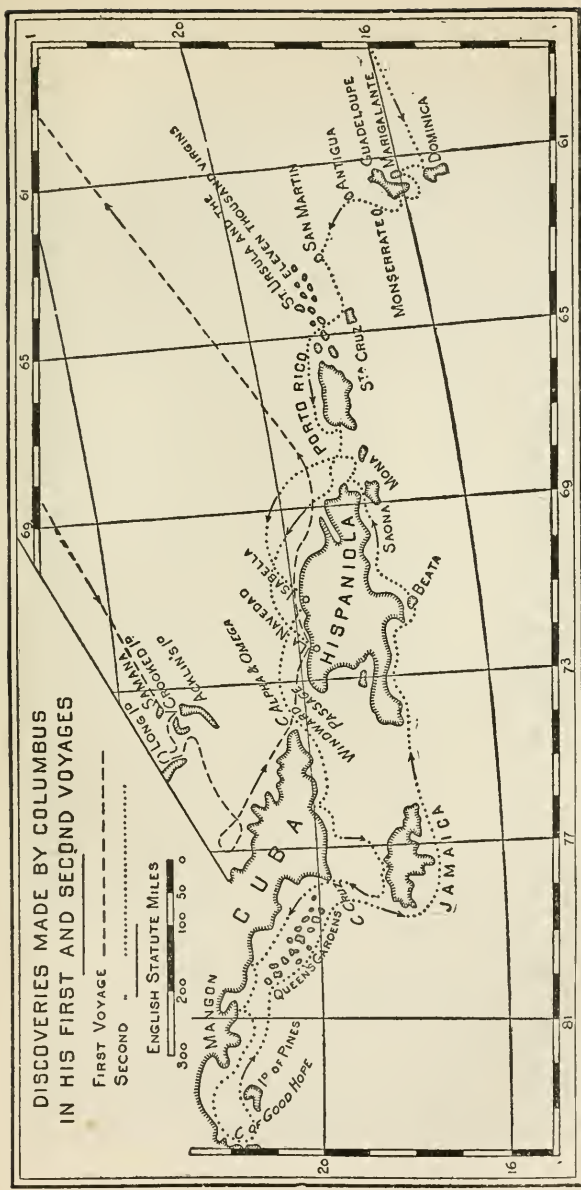
¹ For an instance of 400 hostile Indians fleeing before a single armed horseman, see *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, cap. lii. ; Las Casas, *Hist.* tom. ii. p. 46.

² Compare the Fisherman's story of Drogio, above, pp. 246, 252.

DISCOVERIES MADE BY COLUMBUS IN HIS FIRST AND SECOND VOYAGES

FIRST VOYAGE - - - - -
 SECOND - - - - -

ENGLISH STATUTE MILES
 300 200 100 50 0



sailed in this direction and had succeeded in keeping to the east of Florida, he would have kept a continent on his port side, and a thousand miles would have taken him a long way toward that Vinland which our Scandinavian friends would fondly have us believe was his secret guiding-star, and the geographical position of which they suppose him to have known with such astounding accuracy. But on this as on other occasions, if the Admiral had ever received any information about Vinland, it must be owned that he treated it very cavalierly, for he chose the course to the left of Cape Mayzi. His decision is intelligible if we bear in mind that he had not yet circumnavigated Hayti and was not yet cured of his belief that its northern shore was the shore of the great Cipango. At the same time he had seen enough on his first voyage to convince him that the relative positions of Cipango and the mainland of Cathay were not correctly laid down upon the Toscanelli map. He had already inspected two or three hundred miles of the coast to the right of Cape Mayzi without finding traces of civilization; and whenever inquiries were made about gold or powerful kingdoms the natives invariably pointed to the south or southwest. Columbus, therefore, decided to try his luck in this direction. He passed to the left of Cape Mayzi and followed the southern coast of Cuba.

By the 3d of May the natives were pointing so persistently to the south and off to sea that he changed his course in that direction and soon came upon the northern coast of the island which we still know by its native name

Discovery of
Jamaica.

Jamaica. Here he found Indians more intelligent and more warlike than any he had as yet seen. He was especially struck with the elegance of their canoes, some of them nearly a hundred feet in length, carved and hollowed from the trunks of tall trees. We may already observe that different tribes of Indians comported themselves very differently at the first sight of white men. While the natives of some of the islands prostrated themselves in adoration of these sky-creatures, or behaved with a timorous politeness which the Spaniards mistook for gentleness of disposition, in other places the red men showed fight at once, acting upon the brute impulse to drive away strangers. In both cases, of course, dread of the unknown was the prompting impulse, though so differently manifested. As the Spaniards went ashore upon Jamaica, the Indians greeted them with a shower of javelins and for a few moments stood up against the deadly fire of the cross-bows, but when they turned to flee, a single bloodhound, let loose upon them, scattered them in wildest panic.¹

Finding no evidences of civilization upon this beautiful island, Columbus turned northward and struck the Cuban coast again at the point which still bears the name he gave it, Cape Cruz. Between the general contour of this end of Cuba and that of the eastern extremity of Cathay upon the Toscanelli map there is a curious resemblance, save that the direc-

Coasting the
south side
of Cuba.

¹ Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. cxxv. Domesticated dogs were found generally in aboriginal America, but they were very paltry curs compared to these fierce hounds, one of which could handle an unarmed man as easily as a terrier handles a rat.

tion is in the one case more east and west and in the other more north and south. Columbus passed no cities like Zaiton, nor cities of any sort, but when he struck into the smiling archipelago which he called the Queen's Gardens, now known as Cayos de las Doce Leguas, he felt sure that he was among Marco Polo's seven thousand spice islands. On the 3d of June, at some point on the Cuban coast, probably near Trinidad, the crops of several doves were opened and spices found in them. None of the natives here had ever heard of an end to Cuba, and they believed it was endless.¹ The next country to the west of themselves was named Mangon, and it was inhabited by people with tails which they carefully hid by wearing loose robes of cloth. This information seemed decisive to Columbus. Evidently this Mangon was Mangi, the province in which was the city of Zaiton, the province just south of Cathay. And as for the tailed men, the book of Mandeville had a story of some naked savages in eastern Asia who spoke of their more civilized neighbours as wearing clothes in order to cover up some bodily peculiarity or defect. Could there be any doubt that the Spanish caravels had come at length to the coast of opulent Mangi?²

¹ As a Greek would have said, *ἤπειρος*, a continent.

² Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. cxxvii. Mr. Irving, in citing these same incidents from Bernaldez, could not quite rid himself of the feeling that there was something strange or peculiar in the Admiral's method of interpreting such information: "Animated by one of the pleasing illusions of his ardent imagination, Columbus pursued his voyage, with a prosperous breeze, along the supposed continent of Asia." (*Life of Columbus*, vol. i. p. 493.) This lends a false colour to the picture, which the general reader

Under the influence of this belief, when a few days later they landed in search of fresh water, and a certain archer, on the lookout for game, caught distant glimpses of a flock of tall white cranes feeding in an everglade, he fled to his comrades with the story that he had seen a party of men clad in long white tunics, and all agreed that these must be the people of Mangon.¹ Columbus sent a small company ashore to find them. It is needless to add that the search was fruitless, but footprints of alligators, interpreted as footprints of griffins guarding hoarded gold,² frightened the men back to their ships.

The "people
of Mangon."

is pretty sure to make still falser. To suppose the southern coast of Cuba to be the southern coast of Toscanelli's Mangi required no illusion of an "ardent imagination." It was simply a plain common-sense conclusion reached by sober reasoning from such data as were then accessible (i. e. the Toscanelli map, amended by information such as was understood to be given by the natives); it was more probable than any other theory of the situation likely to be devised from those data; and it seems fanciful to us to-day only because knowledge acquired since the time of Columbus has shown us how far from correct it was. Modern historians abound in unconscious turns of expression—as in this quotation from Irving—which project modern knowledge back into the past, and thus destroy the historical perspective. I shall mention several other instances from Irving, and the reader must not suppose that this is any indication of captiousness on my part toward a writer for whom my only feeling is that of sincerest love and veneration.

¹ These tropical birds are called *soldados*, or "soldiers," because their stately attitudes remind one of sentinels on duty. The whole town of Angostura, in Venezuela, was one day frightened out of its wits by the sudden appearance of a flock of these cranes on the summit of a neighbouring hill. They were mistaken for a war-party of Indians. Humboldt, *Voyage aux régions équinoxiales du Nouveau Continent*, tom. ii. p. 314.

² See above, p. 287, note.

From the natives, with whom the Spaniards could converse only by signs, they seemed to learn that they were going toward the realm of Prester John;¹ and in such wise did they creep along the coast to the point, some fifty miles west of Broa Bay, where it begins to trend decidedly to the southwest. Before they had reached Point Margles, a hundred miles farther on, inasmuch as they found this southwesterly trend persistent, the proof that they were upon the coast of the Asiatic continent began to seem complete. Columbus thought that they had passed the point (lat. 23°, long. 145° on Toscanelli's map) where the coast of Asia began to trend steadily toward the southwest.² By pursuing this coast he felt sure that he would eventually reach the peninsula (Malacca) which Ptolemy, who knew of it only by vague hearsay, called the

¹ For these events, see Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. cxxiii.; F. Columbus, *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, cap. lvi.; Muñoz, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, lib. v. § 16; Humboldt, *Examen critique*, tom. iv. pp. 237-263; Irving's *Columbus*, vol. i. pp. 491-504.

² That is to say, he thought he had passed the coast of Mangi (southern China) and reached the beginning of the coast of Champa (Cochin China; see Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. ii. p. 213). The name Champa, coming to European writers through an Italian source, was written Ciampa and Ciamba. See its position on the Behaim and Toscanelli maps, and also on Ruysch's map, 1508, below, vol. ii. p. 114. Peter Martyr says that Columbus was sure that he had reached the coast of Gangetic (i. e. what we call Farther) India: "Indiæ Gangetidis continentem eam (Cubæ) plagam esse contendit Colonus." *Epist. xciii. ad Bernardinum*. Of course Columbus understood that this region, while agreeing well enough with Toscanelli's latitude, was far from agreeing with his longitude. But from the moment when he turned eastward on his first voyage he seems to have made up his mind that Toscanelli's longitudes needed serious amendment. Indeed he had always used different measurements from Toscanelli.

Golden Chersonese.¹ An immense idea now flitted through the mind of Columbus. If he could reach and double that peninsula The Golden Chersonese. he could then find his way to the mouth of the Ganges river; thence he might cross the Indian ocean, pass the Cape of Good Hope (for Dias had surely shown that the way was open), and return that way to Spain after circumnavigating the globe! But fate had reserved this achievement for another man of great heart and lofty thoughts, a quarter of a century later, who should indeed accomplish what Columbus dreamed, but only after crossing another Sea of Darkness, the most stupendous body of water on our globe, the mere existence of which until after Columbus had died no European ever suspected.² If Columbus had now sailed about a hundred miles farther, he would have found the end of Cuba, and might perhaps have skirted the northern shore of Yucatan and come upon the barbaric splendours of Uxmal and Campeche. The excitement which such news would have caused in Spain might perhaps have changed all the rest of his life and saved him from the worst of his troubles. But the crews were now unwilling to go farther, and the Admiral realized that it would be impossible to undertake such a voyage as he had in mind with no more than their present outfit. So it was decided to return to Hispaniola.

¹ For an account of Ptolemy's almost purely hypothetical and curiously distorted notions about southeastern Asia, see Bunbury's *History of Ancient Geography*, vol. ii. pp. 604-608.

² See below, vol. ii. pp. 200-210

Upon consultation with La Cosa and others, it was unanimously agreed that they were upon the coast of the continent of Asia. The evidence seemed conclusive. From Cape Mayzi (Alpha and Omega) they had observed, upon their own reckoning, 335 leagues, or about 1,000 geographical miles, of continuous coast running steadily in nearly the same direction.¹ Clearly it was too long for the coast of an island; and then there was the name Mangon = Mangi. The only puzzling circumstance was that they did not find any of Marco Polo's cities. They kept getting scraps of information which seemed to refer to gorgeous kingdoms, but these were always in the dim distance. Still there was no doubt that they had discovered the coast of a continent, and of course such a continent could be nothing else but Asia!

Such unanimity of opinion might seem to leave nothing to be desired. But Columbus had already met with cavillers. Before he started on this cruise from Isabella, some impatient hidalgos, disgusted at finding much to do and little to get, had begun to hint that the Admiral was a humbug, and that his "Indies" were no such great affair after all. In order to silence these ill-natured critics, he sent his notary, accompanied by four witnesses, to every person in those three caravels, to get a sworn statement. If anybody had a grain of doubt about this coast being the coast of Asia, so that you could

¹ The length of Cuba from Cape Mayzi to Cape San Antonio is about 700 English miles. But in following the sinuosities of the coast, and including tacks, the estimate of these pilots was probably not far from correct.

go ashore there and walk on dry land all the way to Spain if so disposed, let him declare his doubts once for all, so that they might now be duly considered. No one expressed any doubts. All declared, under oath, their firm belief. It was then agreed that if any of the number should thereafter deny or contradict this sworn statement, he should have his tongue slit; ^{A solemn expression of opinion.} ¹ and if an officer, he should be further punished with a fine of 10,000 maravedis, or if a sailor, with a hundred lashes. These proceedings were embodied in a formal document, dated June 12, 1494, which is still to be seen in the Archives of the Indies at Seville.²

Having disposed of this solemn matter, the three caravels turned eastward, touching at the Isle of Pines and coasting back along the south side of Cuba. The headland where the Admiral first became convinced of the significance of the curvature of the coast, he named Cape of Good Hope,³ believing it to be much nearer the goal which all were seeking than the other cape of that name, discovered by Dias seven years before.

It will be remembered that the Admiral, upon his first voyage, had carried home with him two theories, — first, that in the Cuban coast he had already discovered that of the con- ^{Vicissitudes of theory.}

¹ “É cortada la lengua;” “y le cortarian la lengua.” Irving understands it to mean cutting off the tongue. But in those days of symbolism slitting the tip of that unruly member was a recognized punishment for serious lying.

² It is printed in full in Navarrete, tom. ii. pp. 143-149.

³ It is given upon La Cosa's map; see below, vol. ii., frontispiece.

continent of Asia, secondly that Hispaniola was Cipango. The first theory seemed to be confirmed by further experience; the second was now to receive a serious shock. Leaving Cape Cruz the caravels stood over to Jamaica, leisurely explored the southern side of that island, and as soon as adverse winds would let them, kept on eastward till land appeared on the port bow. Nobody recognized it until an Indian chief who had learned some Spanish hailed them from the shore and told them it was Hispaniola. They then followed that southern coast its whole length, discovering the tiny islands, Beata, Saona, and Mona. Here Columbus, overcome by long-sustained fatigue and excitement, suddenly fell into a death-like lethargy, and in this sad condition was carried all the way to Isabella, and to his own house, where he was put to bed. Hispaniola had thus been circumnavigated, and either it was not Cipango or else that wonderland must be a much smaller affair than Toscanelli and Martin Behaim had depicted it.¹ There was something truly mysterious about these Strange Coasts!

When Columbus, after many days, recovered consciousness, he found his brother Bartholomew standing by his bedside. It was six years since they had last parted company at Lisbon, whence the younger brother started for England, while the elder returned to Spain. The news of Christopher's return from his

Arrival of
Bartholomew
Columbus.

¹ Hispaniola continued, however, for many years to be commonly identified with Cipango. See note D on Ruysch's map, 1508, below, vol. ii. p. 114.

first voyage found Bartholomew in Paris, whence he started as soon as he could for Seville, but did not arrive there until just after the second expedition had started. Presently the sovereigns sent him with three ships to Hispaniola, to carry supplies to the colony; and there he arrived while the Admiral was exploring the coast of Cuba. The meeting of the two brothers was a great relief to both. The affection between them was very strong, and each was a support for the other. The Admiral at once proceeded to appoint Bartholomew to the office of Adelantado, which in this instance was equivalent to making him governor of Hispaniola under himself, the Viceroy of the Indies. In making this appointment Columbus seems to have exceeded the authority granted him by the second article of his agreement of April, 1492, with the sovereigns;¹ but they mended the matter in 1497 by themselves investing Bartholomew with the office and dignity of Adelantado.²

Columbus was in need of all the aid he could summon, for, during his absence, the island had become a pandemonium. His brother Diego, a man of refined and studious habits, who afterwards became a priest, was too mild in disposition to govern the hot-heads who had come to Hispaniola to get rich without labour. They would not submit to the rule of this foreigner. Instead of doing honest work they roamed about the island, abusing the Indians and slaying one another in silly quarrels. Chief among

Mutiny in
Hispaniola;
desertion of
Boyle and
Margarite.

¹ See above, p. 417.

² Las Casas, *Hist. de las Indias* tom. ii. p. 80.

the offenders was King Ferdinand's favourite, the commander Margarite; and he was aided and abetted by Friar Boyle. Some time after Bartholomew's arrival, these two men of Aragon gathered about them a party of malcontents and, seizing the ships which had brought that mariner, sailed away to Spain. Making their way to court, they sought pardon for thus deserting the colony, saying that duty to their sovereigns demanded that they should bring home a report of what was going on in the Indies. They decried the value of Columbus's discoveries, and reminded the king that Hispaniola was taking money out of the treasury much faster than it was putting it in; an argument well calculated to influence Ferdinand that summer, for he was getting ready to go to war with France over the Naples affair. Then the two recreants poured forth a stream of accusations against the brothers Columbus, the general purport of which was that they were gross tyrants not fit to be trusted with the command of Spaniards.

No marked effect seems to have been produced by these first complaints, but when Margarite and Boyle were once within reach of Fonseca, we need not wonder that mischief was soon brewing. It was unfortunate for Columbus that his work of exploration was hampered by the necessity of founding a colony and governing a parcel of unruly men let loose in the wilderness, far away from the powerful restraints of civilized society. Such work required undivided attention and extraordinary talent for command. It does not appear that Columbus was lacking in such talent. On the con-

trary both he and his brother Bartholomew seem to have possessed it in a high degree. But the situation was desperately bad when the spirit of mutiny was fomented by deadly enemies at court. I do not find adequate justification for the charges of tyranny brought against Columbus. The veracity and fairness of the history of Las Casas are beyond question; in his divinely beautiful spirit one sees now and then a trace of tenderness even for Fonseca, whose conduct toward him was always as mean and malignant as toward Columbus. One gets from Las Casas the impression that the Admiral's high temper was usually kept under firm control, and that he showed far less severity than most men would have done under similar provocation. Bartholomew was made of sterner stuff, but his whole career presents no instance of wanton cruelty; toward both white men and Indians his conduct was distinguished by clemency and moderation. Under the government of these brothers a few scoundrels were hanged in Hispaniola. Many more ought to have been.

The government of Columbus was not tyrannical.

Of the attempt of Columbus to collect tribute from the native population, and its consequences in developing the system of *repartimientos* out of which grew Indian slavery, I shall treat in a future chapter.¹ That attempt, which was ill-advised and ill-managed, was part of a plan for checking wanton depredations and regulating the relations between the Spaniards and the Indians. The colonists behaved so badly toward

Troubles with the Indians.

¹ See below, vol. ii. pp. 433, 434.

the red men that the chieftain Caonabo, who had destroyed La Navidad the year before, now formed a scheme¹ for a general alliance among the native tribes, hoping with sufficient numbers to overwhelm and exterminate the strangers, in spite of their solid-hoofed monsters and death-dealing thunderbolts. This scheme was revealed to Columbus, soon after his return from the coast of Cuba, by the chieftain Guacanagari, who was an enemy to Caonabo and courted the friendship of the Spaniards. Alonso de Ojeda, by a daring stratagem, captured Caonabo and brought him to Columbus, who treated him kindly but kept him a prisoner until it should be convenient to send him to Spain. But this chieftain's scheme was nevertheless put in operation through the influence of his principal wife Anacaona. An Indian war broke out; roaming bands of Spaniards were ambushed and massacred; and there was fighting in the field, where the natives — assailed by fire-arms and cross-bows, horses and bloodhounds — were woefully defeated.

Thus in the difficult task of controlling mutinous white men and defending the colony against infuriated red men Columbus spent the first twelvemonth after his return from Cuba. In October, 1495, there arrived in the harbour of Isabella four caravels laden with welcome supplies. In one of these ships came Juan Aguado, sent by the sovereigns to gather information respecting the troubles of the colony. This

¹ The first of a series of such schemes in American history, including those of Sassacus, Philip, Pontiac, and to some extent Tecumseh.

appointment was doubtless made in a friendly spirit, for Columbus had formerly recommended Aguado to favour. But the arrival of such a person created a hope, which quickly grew into a belief, that the sovereigns were preparing to deprive Columbus of the government of the island; and, as Irving neatly says, "it was a time of jubilee for offenders; every culprit started up into an accuser." All the ills of the colony, many of them inevitable in such an enterprise, many of them due to the shiftlessness and folly, the cruelty and lust of idle swash-bucklers, were now laid at the door of Columbus. Aguado was presently won over by the malcontents, so Discovery of gold mines. that by the time he was ready to return to Spain, early in 1496, Columbus felt it desirable to go along with him and make his own explanations to the sovereigns. Fortunately for his purposes, just before he started, some rich gold mines were discovered on the south side of the island, in the neighbourhood of the Hayna and Ozema rivers. Moreover there were sundry pits in these mines, which looked like excavations and seemed to indicate that in former times there had been digging done.¹ This discovery confirmed the Admiral in a new theory, which he was beginning to form. If it should turn out that Hispaniola was not Cipango, as the last voyage seemed to suggest, perhaps it might prove to be Ophir!² Probably these ancient

¹ The Indians then living upon the island did not dig, but scraped up the small pieces of gold that were more or less abundant in the beds of shallow streams.

² Peter Martyr, *De Rebus Oceanicis*, dec. i. lib. iv.

excavations were made by King Solomon's men when they came here to get gold for the temple at Jerusalem! If so, one might expect to find silver, ivory, red sandal-wood, apes, and peacocks at no great distance. Just where Ophir was situated no one could exactly tell,¹ but the things that were carried thence to Jerusalem certainly came from "the Indies." Columbus conceived it as probably lying northeastward of the Golden Chersonese (Malacca) and as identical with the island of Hispaniola.

The discovery of these mines led to the transfer of the headquarters of the colony to the mouth of the Ozema river, where, in the summer of 1496, Bartholomew Columbus made a settlement which became the city of San Domingo.² Meanwhile Aguado and the Admiral sailed for Spain early in March, in two caravels overloaded with more than two hundred homesick passengers. In choosing his course Columbus did not show so much sagacity as on his

¹ The original Ophir may be inferred, from *Genesis* x. 29, to have been situated where, as Milton says,

"northeast winds blow
Sabæan odours from the spicy shore
Of Araby the Blest,"

but the name seems to have become applied indiscriminately to the remote countries reached by ships that sailed past that coast; chiefly no doubt, to Hindustan. See Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, bd. i. p. 538.

² Bartholomew's town was built on the left side of the river, and was called New Isabella. In 1504 it was destroyed by a hurricane, and rebuilt on the right bank in its present situation. It was then named San Domingo after the patron saint of Domenico, the father of Columbus.

first return voyage. Instead of working northward till clear of the belt of trade-winds, he kept straight to the east, and so spent a month in beating and tacking before getting out of the Caribbean Sea. Scarcity of food was imminent, and it became necessary to stop at Guadaloupe and make a quantity of cassava bread.¹ It was well that this was done, for as the ships worked slowly across the Atlantic, struggling against perpetual head-winds, the provisions were at length exhausted, and by the first week in June the famine was such that Columbus had some difficulty in preventing the crews from eating their Indian captives, of whom there were thirty or more on board.²

At length, on the 11th of June, the haggard and starving company arrived at Cadiz, and Columbus, while awaiting orders from the sovereigns, stayed at the house of his good friend Bernaldez, the curate of Los Palacios.³ After a month he attended court at Burgos, and was kindly received. No allusion was made to the complaints against him, and the sovereigns promised to furnish ships for a third voyage of discovery. For the moment, how-

¹ While the Spaniards were on this island they encountered a party of tall and powerful women armed with bows and arrows; so that Columbus supposed it must be the Asiatic island of Amazons mentioned by Marco Polo. See Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. ii. pp. 338-340.

² Among them was Caonabo, who died on the voyage.

³ The curate thus heard the story of the second voyage from Columbus himself while it was fresh in his mind. Columbus also left with him written memoranda, so that for the events of this expedition the *Historia de los Reyes Católicos* is of the highest authority.

ever, other things interfered with this enterprise. One was the marriage of the son and daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella to the daughter and son of the Emperor Maximilian. The war with France was at the same time fast draining the treasury. Indeed, for more than twenty years, Castile had been at war nearly all the time, first with Portugal, next with Granada, then with France; and the crown never found it easy to provide money for maritime enterprises. Accordingly, at the earnest solicitation of Vicente Yañez Pinzon and other enterprising mariners, the sovereigns had issued a proclamation, April 10, 1495, granting to all native Spaniards the privilege of making, at their own risk and expense, voyages of discovery or traffic to the newly found coasts. As the crown was to take a pretty heavy tariff out of the profits of these expeditions, while all losses were to be borne by the adventurers, a fairly certain source of revenue, be it great or small, seemed likely to be opened.¹ Columbus protested against

¹ "All vessels were to sail exclusively from the port of Cadiz, and under the inspection of officers appointed by the crown. Those who embarked for Hispaniola without pay, and at their own expense, were to have lands assigned to them, and to be provisioned for one year, with a right to retain such lands and all houses they might erect upon them. Of all gold which they might collect, they were to retain one third for themselves, and pay two thirds to the crown. Of all other articles of merchandise, the produce of the island, they were to pay merely one tenth to the crown. Their purchases were to be made in the presence of officers appointed by the sovereigns, and the royal duties paid into the hands of the king's receiver. Each ship sailing on private enterprise was to take one or two persons named by the royal officers at Cadiz. One tenth of the tonnage of the ship was to be at the service of the crown, free of charge. One tenth of whatever such

this edict, inasmuch as he deemed himself entitled to a patent or monopoly in the work of conducting expeditions to Cathay. The sovereigns evaded the difficulty by an edict of June 2, 1497, declaring that it was never their intention "in any way to affect the rights of the said Don Christopher Columbus." This declaration was, doubtless, intended simply to pacify the Admiral. It did not prevent the authorization of voyages conducted by other persons a couple of years later; and, as I shall show in the next chapter, there are strong reasons for believing that on May 10, 1497, three weeks before this edict, an expedition sailed from Cadiz under the especial auspices of King Ferdinand, with Vicente Yañez Pinzon for its chief commander and Americus Vespuccius for one of its pilots.

It was not until late in the spring of 1498 that the ships were ready for Columbus. Everything that Fonseca could do to vex and delay him was done. One of the bishop's Columbus loses his temper. minions, a converted Moor or Jew named Ximeno Breviesca, behaved with such outrageous insolence that on the day of sailing the Admiral's indignation, so long restrained, at last broke out, and he drove away the fellow with kicks and cuffs.¹ This imprudent act gave Fonseca the

ships should procure in the newly-discovered countries was to be paid to the crown on their return. These regulations included private ships trading to Hispaniola with provisions. For every vessel thus fitted out on private adventure, Columbus, in consideration of his privilege of an eighth of tonnage, was to have the right to freight one on his own account." Irving's *Columbus*, vol. ii. p. 76.

¹ "Parece que uno debiera de, en estos reveses, y, por ventura, en palabras contra él y contra la negociacion destas Indias, mas

opportunity to maintain that what the Admiral's accusers said about his tyrannical disposition must be true.

The expedition started on May 30, 1498, from the little port of San Lucar de Barrameda. There were six ships, carrying about 200 men besides the sailors. On June 21, at the Isle of Ferro, the Admiral divided his fleet, sending three ships directly to Hispaniola, while with the other three he kept on to the Cape Verde islands, whence he steered southwest on the 4th of July. A week later, after a run of about 900 miles, his astrolabe seemed to show that he was within five degrees of the equator.¹ There were three reasons for going so far to the south:—1, the natives of the islands already visited always

que otro señalarse, y segun entendí, no debiera ser cristiano viejo, y creo que se llamaba Ximeno, contra el cual debió el Almirante gravemente sentirse y enojarse, y aguardó el dia que se hizo á la vela, y, ó en la nao que entró, por ventura, el dicho oficial, ó en tierra quando queria desembarcarse, arrebatólo el Almirante, y dále muchas coces ó remesones, por manera que lo trató mal; y á mi parecer, por esta causa principalmente, sobre otras quejas que fueron de acá, y cosas que murmuraron dél y contra él los que bien con él no estaban y le acumularon; los Reyes indignados proveyeron de quitarle la gobernacion." Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, tom. ii. p. 199.

¹ The figure given by Columbus is equivalent only to 360 geographical miles (Navarrete, *Coleccion*, tom. i. p. 246), but as Laf Casas (*Hist.* tom. ii. p. 226) already noticed, there must be some mistake here, for on a S. W. course from the Cape Verde islands it would require a distance of 900 geographical miles to cut the fifth parallel. From the weather that followed, it is clear that Columbus stated his latitude pretty correctly; he had come into the belt of calms. Therefore his error must be in the distance run.

pointed in that direction when gold was mentioned; 2, a learned jeweller, who had travelled in the East, had assured Columbus that gold and gems, as well as spices and rare drugs, were to be found for the most part among black people near the equator; 3, if he should not find any rich islands on the way, a sufficiently long voyage would bring him to the coast of Champa (Cochin China) at a lower point than he had reached on the preceding voyage, and nearer to the Golden Chersonese (Malacca), by doubling which he could enter the Indian ocean. It will be remembered that he supposed the southwesterly curve in the Cuban coast, the farthest point reached in his second voyage, to be the beginning of the coast of Cochin China according to Marco Polo.

Once more through ignorance of the atmospheric conditions of the regions within the tropics Columbus encountered needless perils and hardships. If he had steered from Ferro straight across the ocean a trifle south of west-southwest, he might have made a quick and comfortable voyage, with the trade-wind filling his sails, to the spot where he actually struck land.¹ As it was, however, he naturally followed the custom then so common, of first running to the parallel upon which he intended to sail. This ^{The belt of calms.} long southerly run brought him into the belt of calms or neutral zone between the northern and southern trade-winds, a little north of the equator.²

¹ Humboldt in 1799 did just this thing, starting from Teneriffe and reaching Trinidad in nineteen days. See Bruhn's *Life of Humboldt*, vol. i. p. 263.

² "The strength of the trade-winds depends entirely upon the

No words can describe what followed so well as those of Irving: "The wind suddenly fell, and a dead sultry calm commenced, which lasted for eight days. The air was like a furnace; the tar melted, the seams of the ship yawned; the salt meat became putrid; the wheat was parched as if with fire; the hoops shrank from the wine and water casks, some of which leaked and others burst, while the heat in the holds of the vessels was so suffocating that no one could remain below a sufficient time to prevent the damage that was taking place. The mariners lost all strength and spirits, and sank under the oppressive heat. It seemed as if the old fable of the torrid zone was about to be realized; and that they were approaching a fiery region where it would be impossible to exist."¹

Fortunately, they were in a region where the ocean is comparatively narrow. The longitude reached by Columbus on July 13, when the wind died away, must have been about 36° or 37° W.,

difference in temperature between the equator and the pole; the greater the difference, the stronger the wind. Now, at the present time, the south pole is much colder than the north pole, and the southern trades are consequently much stronger than the northern, so that the neutral zone in which they meet lies some five degrees north of the equator." *Excursions of an Evolutionist*, p. 64.

¹ Irving's *Columbus*, vol. ii. p. 137. One is reminded of a scene in the *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*: —

"All in a hot and copper sky
The bloody sun, at noon,
Right up above the mast did stand,
No bigger than the moon.

"Day after day, day after day,
We stuck, — nor breath nor motion;
As idle as a painted ship
Upon a painted ocean."

and a run of only 800 miles west from that point would have brought him to Cayenne. His course between the 13th and 21st of July must have intersected the thermal equator, or line of greatest mean annual heat on the globe, — an irregular curve which is here deflected as much as five degrees north of the equinoctial line. But although there was not a breath of wind, the powerful equatorial current was quietly driving the ships, much faster than the Admiral could have suspected, to the northwest and toward land. By the end of that stifling week they were in latitude 7° N., and caught the trade-wind on the starboard quarter. Thence after a brisk run of ten days, in sorry plight, with ugly leaks and scarcely a cask of fresh water left, they arrived within sight of land. Three mountain peaks loomed up in the offing before them, and as they drew nearer it appeared that those peaks belonged to one great mountain; wherefore the pious Admiral named the island Trinidad.

Here some surprises were in store for Columbus. Instead of finding black and woolly-haired natives, he found men of cinnamon hue, like ^{Trinidad and} those in Hispaniola, only — strange to ^{the Orinoco.} say — lighter in colour. Then in coasting Trinidad he caught a glimpse of land at the delta of the Orinoco, and called it *Isla Santa*, or Holy Island.¹

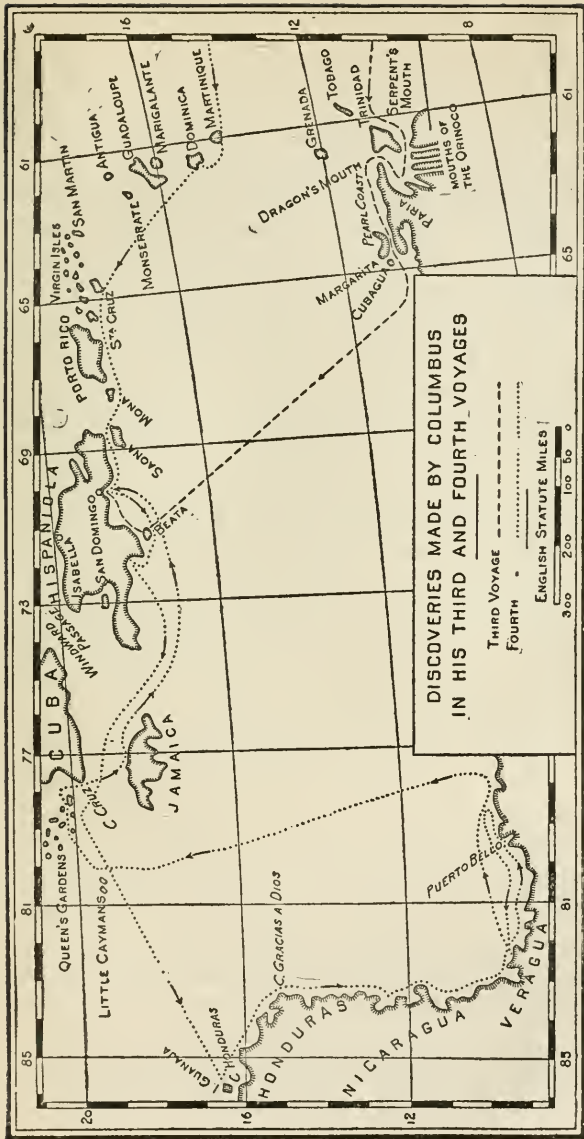
¹ He "gave it the name of *Isla Santa*," says Irving (vol. ii. p. 140), "little imagining that he now, for the first time, beheld that continent, that *Terra Firma*, which had been the object of his earnest search." The reader of this passage should bear in mind that the continent of South America, which nobody had ever heard of, was *not* the object of Columbus's search. The *Terra*

But, on passing into the gulf of Paria, through the strait which he named Serpent's Mouth, his ships were in sore danger of being swamped by the raging surge that poured from three or four of the lesser mouths of that stupendous river. Presently, finding that the water in the gulf was fresh to the taste, he gradually reasoned his way to the correct conclusion, that the billows which had so nearly overwhelmed him must have come out from a river greater than any he had ever known or dreamed of, and that so vast a stream of running water could be produced only upon land of continental dimensions.¹ This coast to the south of him was, therefore, the coast of a continent, with indefinite extension toward the south, a land not laid down upon Toscanelli's or any other map, and of which no one had until that time known anything.²

Firma which was the object of his search was the mainland of Asia, and that he never beheld, though he felt positively sure that he had already set foot upon it in 1492 and 1494.

¹ A modern traveller thus describes this river: "Right and left of us lay, at some distance off, the low banks of the Apuré, at this point quite a broad stream. But before us the waters spread out like a wide dark flood, limited on the horizon only by a low black streak, and here and there showing a few distant hills. This was the Orinoco, rolling with irrepressible power and majesty sea-wards, and often upheaving its billows like the ocean when lashed to fury by the wind. . . . The Orinoco sends a current of fresh water far into the ocean, its waters — generally green, but in the shallows milk-white — contrasting sharply with the indigo blue of the surrounding sea." Bates, *Central America, the West Indies, and South America*, 2d ed., London, 1882, pp. 234, 235. The island of Trinidad forms an obstacle to the escape of this huge volume of fresh water, and hence the furious commotion at the two outlets, the Serpent's Mouth and Dragon's Mouth, especially in July and August, when the Orinoco is swollen with tropical rains.

² In Columbus's own words, in his letter to the sovereigns de-



In spite of the correctness of this surmise, Columbus was still as far from a true interpretation of the whole situation as when he supposed Hispaniola to be Ophir. He entered upon a series of speculations which forcibly remind us how empirical was the notion of the earth's rotundity before the inau-

guration of physical astronomy by Galileo, Kepler, and Newton. We now know that our planet has the only shape

possible for such a rotating mass that once was fluid or nebulous, the shape of a spheroid slightly protuberant at the equator and flattened at the poles; but this knowledge is the outcome of mechanical principles utterly unknown and unsuspected in the days of Columbus. He understood that the earth is a round body, but saw no necessity for its being strictly spherical or spheroidal. He now suggested that it was probably shaped like a pear, rather a blunt and corpulent pear, nearly spherical in its lower part, but with a short, stubby apex in the equatorial region somewhere beyond the point which he had just reached. He fancied he had been sailing up a gentle slope from the burning glassy sea where his ships had been becalmed to this strange and beautiful coast where

he found the climate enchanting. If he were to follow up the mighty river just now revealed, it might lead him to the summit of this apex of the world, the place where the terrestrial paradise, the Garden which the Lord

scribing this third voyage, "Y digo que . . . viene este rio y procede de tierra infinita, pues al austro, de la cual fasta agora no se ha habido noticia." Navarrete, *Coleccion*, tom. i. p. 262.

Speculations
as to the
earth's shape.

The mountain
of Paradise.

planted eastward in Eden, was in all probability situated!¹

As Columbus still held to the opinion that by keeping to the west from that point he should soon reach the coast of Cochin China, his conception of the position of Eden is thus pretty clearly indicated. He imagined it as situated about on the equator, upon a continental mass till then unknown, but evidently closely connected with the continent of Asia if not a part of it. If he had lived long enough to hear of Quito and its immense elevation, I should suppose that might very well have suited his idea of the position of Eden. The coast of this continent, upon which he had now arrived, was either continuous with the coast of Cochin China (Cuba) and Malacca, or would be found to be divided from it by a strait through which one might pass directly into the Indian ocean.

It took some little time for this theory to come to maturity in the mind of Columbus. Not expecting to find any mainland in that quarter, he began by calling different points of the coast different islands. Coming out through the passage which he named Dragon's Mouth, he caught distant glimpses of Tobago and Grenada to starboard, and turning westward followed the Pearl Coast as far as the islands of Margarita and Cuba-

Relation of the
"Eden conti-
nent" to "Co-
chin China."

The Pearl
Coast.

¹ Thus would be explained the astounding force with which the water was poured down. It was common in the Middle Ages to imagine the terrestrial paradise at the top of a mountain. See Dante, *Purgatorio*, canto xxviii. Columbus quotes many authorities in favour of his opinion. The whole letter is worth reading. See Navarrete, tom. i. pp. 242-264.

gua. The fine pearls which he found there in abundance confirmed him in the good opinion he had formed of that country. By this time, the 15th of August, he had so far put facts together as to become convinced of the continental character of that coast, and would have been glad to pursue it westward. But now his strength gave out. During most of the voyage he had suffered acute torments with gout, his temperature had been very feverish, and his eyes were at length so exhausted with perpetual watching that he could no longer make observations. So he left the coast a little beyond Cubagua, and steered straight for Hispaniola, aiming at San Domingo, but hitting the island of Beata because he did not make allowance for the westerly flow of the currents. He arrived at San Domingo on the 30th of August, and found his brother Bartholomew, whom he intended to send at once on a further cruise along the Pearl Coast, while he himself should be resting and recovering strength.

Arrival at San Domingo.

But alas! there was to be no cruising now for the younger brother nor rest for the elder. It was a sad story that Bartholomew had to tell. War with the Indians had broken out afresh, and while the Adelantado was engaged in this business a scoundrel named Roldan had taken advantage of his absence to stir up civil strife. Roldan's rebellion was a result of the ill-advised mission of Aguado. The malcontents in the colony interpreted the Admiral's long stay in Spain as an indication that he had lost favour with the sovereigns and was not coming back to the is-

Roldan's rebellion.

land. Gathering together a strong body of rebels, Roldan retired to Xaragua and formed an alliance with the brother of the late chieftain Caonabo. By the time the Admiral arrived the combination of mutiny with barbaric warfare had brought about a frightful state of things. A party of soldiers, sent by him to suppress Roldan, straightway deserted and joined that rebel. It thus became necessary to come to terms with Roldan, and this revelation of the weakness of the government only made matters worse. Two wretched years were passed in attempts to restore order in Hispaniola, while the work of discovery and exploration was postponed. Meanwhile the items of information that found their way to Spain were skilfully employed by Fonscea in poisoning the minds of the sovereigns, until at last ^{Fonseca's} machinations. they decided to send out a judge to the island, armed with plenary authority to make investigations and settle disputes. The glory which Columbus had won by the first news of the discovery of the Indies had now to some extent faded away. The enterprise yielded as yet no revenue and entailed great expense; and whenever some reprobate found his way back to Spain, the malicious Fonseca prompted him to go to the treasury with a claim for pay alleged to have been wrongfully withheld by the Admiral. Ferdinand Columbus tells how some fifty such scamps were gathered one day in the courtyard of the Alhambra, cursing his father and catching hold of the king's robe, crying, "Pay us! pay us!" and as he and his brother Diego, who were pages in the queen's service, hap-

pened to pass by, they were greeted with hoots: — “There go the sons of the Admiral of Mosquitoland, the man who has discovered a land of vanity and deceit, the grave of Spanish gentlemen!”¹

An added sting was given to such taunts by a great event that happened about this time. In the

summer of 1497, Vasco da Gama started from Lisbon for the Cape of Good Hope, and in the summer of 1499 he returned, after having doubled the cape and crossed the Indian ocean to Calicut on the Malabar coast of Hindustan. His voyage was the next Portuguese step sequent upon that of Bartholomew Dias. There was nothing questionable or dubious about Gama’s triumph. He had seen splendid cities, talked with a powerful Rajah, and met with Arab vessels, their crews madly jealous at the unprecedented sight of Christian ships in those waters; and he brought back with him to Lisbon nutmegs and cloves, pepper and ginger, rubies and emeralds, damask robes with satin linings, bronze chairs with cushions, trumpets of carved ivory, a sunshade of crimson satin, a sword in a silver scabbard, and no end of such gear.² An old civilization had been found and a route of commerce discovered, and a factory was to be set up at once on that Indian coast. What a contrast to the miserable performance of Columbus, who had started with the flower of Spain’s chivalry for rich Ci-

Gama’s voyage to Hindustan, 1497.

¹ “Ecco i figliuoli dell’ Ammiraglio de’ Mosciolini, di colui che ha trovate terre di vanità e d’ inganno, per sepoltura e miseria de’ gentiluomini castigliani.” *Vita dell’ Ammiraglio*, cap. lxxxiv.

² Major, *Prince Henry the Navigator*, pp. 398–401.

pango, and had only led them to a land where they must either starve or do work fit for peasants, while he spent his time in cruising among wild islands! The king of Portugal could now snap his fingers at Ferdinand and Isabella, and if a doubt should have sometimes crossed the minds of those chagrined sovereigns, as to whether this plausible Genoese mariner might not, after all, be a humbug or a crazy enthusiast, we can hardly wonder at it.

The person sent to investigate the affairs of Hispaniola was Francisco de Bobadilla, a knight commander of the order of Calatrava. He carried several documents, one of them Fonseca's creature, Bobadilla. directing him to make inquiries and punish offenders, another containing his appointment as governor, a third commanding Columbus and his brothers to surrender to him all fortresses and other public property.¹ The two latter papers were to be used only in case of such grave misconduct proved against Columbus as to justify his removal from the government. These papers were made out in the spring of 1499, but Bobadilla was not sent out until July, 1500. When he arrived at San Domingo on the 23d of August, the insurrection had been suppressed; the Admiral and Bartholomew were bringing things into order in distant parts of the island, while Diego was left in command at San Domingo. Seven ringleaders had just been hanged, and five more were in prison under sentence of death. If Bobadilla had not

¹ The documents are given in Navarrete, *Coleccion de viages*, tom. ii. pp. 235-240; and, with accompanying narrative, in Las Casas, *Hist. de las Indias*, tom. ii. pp. 472-487.

come upon the scene this wholesome lesson might have worked some improvement in affairs.¹ He destroyed its moral in a twinkling. The first day after landing, he read aloud, at the church door, the paper directing him to make inquiries and punish offenders; and forthwith demanded of Diego Columbus that the condemned prisoners should be delivered up to him. Diego declined to take so important a step until he could get orders from the Admiral. Next day Bobadilla read his second and third papers, proclaimed himself governor, called on Diego to surrender the fortress and public buildings, and renewed his demand for the prisoners. As Diego still hesitated to act before news of these proceedings could be sent to his brother, Bobadilla broke into the fortress, took the prisoners out, and presently set them free. All the rebellious spirits in the colony were thus drawn to the side of Bobadilla, whose royal commission, under such circumstances, gave him irresistible power. He threw Diego into prison and loaded him with fetters. He seized the Admiral's house, and confiscated all his personal property, even including his business papers and private letters. When the Admiral arrived in San Domingo, Bobadilla, without even waiting to see him, sent an officer to put Columbus in chains. him in irons and take him to prison. When Bartholomew arrived, he received the same treatment. The three brothers were

¹ No better justification for the government of the brothers Columbus can be found than to contrast it with the infinitely worse state of affairs that ensued under the administrations of Bobadilla and Ovando. See below, vol. ii. pp. 435-446.

confined in different places, nobody was allowed to visit them, and they were not informed of the offences with which they were charged. While they lay in prison, Bobadilla busied himself with inventing an excuse for this violent behaviour. Finally he hit upon one at which Satan from the depths of his bottomless pit must have grimly smiled. He said that he had arrested and imprisoned the brothers only because he had reason to believe they were inciting the Indians to aid them in resisting the commands of Ferdinand and Isabella!! In short, from the day of his landing Bobadilla made common cause with the insurgent rabble, and when they had furnished him with a ream or so of charges against the Admiral and his brothers, it seemed safe to send these gentlemen to Spain. They were put on board ship, with their fetters upon them, and the officer in charge was instructed by Bobadilla to deliver them into the hands of Bishop Fonseca, who was thus to have the privilege of glutting to the full his revengeful spite.

The master of the ship, shocked at the sight of fetters upon such a man as the Admiral, would have taken them off, but Columbus would not let it be done. No, indeed! ^{Return to} ^{Spain.} they should never come off except by order of the sovereigns, and then he would keep them for the rest of his life, to show how his labours had been rewarded.¹ The event — which always justifies true manliness — proved the sagacity of this proud

¹ Las Casas, *Hist. de las Indias*, tom. ii. p. 501; F. Columbus, *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, cap. lxxxv. Ferdinand adds that he had often seen these fetters hanging in his father's room.

demeanour. Fonseca was baulked of his gratification. The clumsy Bobadilla had overdone the business. The sight of the Admiral's stately and venerable figure in chains, as he passed through the streets of Cadiz, on a December day of that year 1500, awakened a popular outburst of sympathy for him and indignation at his persecutors. While on the ship he had written or dictated a beautiful and touching letter¹ to a lady of whom the queen was fond, the former nurse of the Infante, whose untimely death, three years since, his mother was still mourning. This letter reached the court at Granada, and was read to the queen before she had heard of Bobadilla's performances from any other quarter. A courier was sent in all haste to Cadiz, with orders that the brothers should at once be released, and with a letter to the Admiral, inviting him to court and enclosing an order for money to cover his expenses. The scene in the Alhambra, when Columbus arrived, is one of the most touching in history. Isabella received him with tears in her eyes, and then this much-enduring old man, whose proud and masterful spirit had so long been proof against all wrongs and insults, broke down. He threw himself at the feet of the sovereigns in an agony of tears and sobs.²

How far the sovereigns should be held responsible for the behaviour of their agent is not altogether easy to determine. The appointment of such a creature as Bobadilla was a sad blunder, but one

¹ It is given in full in Las Casas, *op. cit.* tom. ii. pp. 502-510.

² Herrera, *Historia*, dec. i. lib. iv. cap. 10.

such as is liable to be made under any government. Fonseca was very powerful at court, and Bobadilla never would have dared to proceed as he did if he had not known that the bishop would support him. Indeed, from the indecent haste with which he went about his work, without even the pretence of a judicial inquiry, it is probable that he started with private instructions from that quarter. But, while Fonseca had some of the wisdom along with the venom of the serpent, Bobadilla was simply a jackass, and behaved so that in common decency the sovereigns were obliged to disown him. They took no formal or public notice of his written charges against the Admiral, and they assured the latter that he should be reimbursed for his losses and restored to his viceroyalty and other dignities.

How far were the sovereigns responsible for Bobadilla?

This last promise, however, was not fulfilled; partly, perhaps, because Fonseca's influence was still strong enough to prevent it, partly because the sovereigns may have come to the sound and reasonable conclusion that for the present there was no use in committing the government of that disorderly rabble in Hispaniola to a foreigner. What was wanted was a Spanish priest, and a military priest withal, of the sort that Spain then had in plenty. Obedience to priests came natural to Spaniards. The man now selected was Nicolas de Ovando, a knight commander of the order of Alcántara, of whom we shall have more to say hereafter.¹ Suffice it now to observe that he proved himself a famous

Ovando, another creature of Fonseca, appointed governor of Hispaniola.

¹ See below, vol. ii. pp. 435-446.

disciplinarian, and that he was a great favourite with Fonseca, to whom he seems to have owed his appointment. He went out in February, 1502, with a fleet of thirty ships carrying 2,500 persons, for the pendulum of public opinion had taken another swing, and faith in the Indies was renewed. Some great discoveries, to be related in the next chapter, had been made since 1498; and, moreover, the gold mines of Hispaniola were beginning to yield rich treasures.

But, while the sovereigns were not disposed to restore Columbus to his viceroyalty, they were quite ready to send him on another voyage of discovery which was directly suggested by the recent Portuguese voyage of Gama. Since nothing was yet known about the discovery of a New World, the achievement of Gama seemed to have eclipsed that of Columbus. Spain must make a response to Portugal. As already observed, the Admiral supposed the coast of his "Eden continent" (South America) either to be continuous with the coast of Cochin China (Cuba) and Malacca, or else to be divided from that coast by a strait. The latter opinion was the more probable, since Marco Polo and a few other Europeans had sailed from China into the Indian ocean without encountering any great continent that had to be circumnavigated. The recent expedition of Vesputius and Ojeda (1499-1500) had followed the northern coast of South America for a long distance to the west of Cubagua, as far as the gulf of Maracaibo. Columbus now decided to return to the coast of Cochin China (Cuba) and

Purpose of
Columbus's
fourth voyage.

follow the coast southwestward until he should find the passage between his Eden continent and the Golden Chersonese (Malacca) into the Indian ocean. He would thus be able to reach by this western route the same shores of Hindustan which Gama had lately reached by sailing eastward. So confident did he feel of the success of this enterprise, that he wrote a letter to Pope Alexander VI., renewing his vow to furnish troops for the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre.¹ It was no doubt the symptom of a reaction against his misfortunes that he grew more and more mystical in these days, consoling himself with the belief that he was a chosen instrument in the hands of Providence for enlarging the bounds of Christendom. In this mood he made some studies on the prophecies, after the fantastic fashion of his time,² and a habit grew upon him of attributing his discoveries to miraculous inspiration rather than to the good use to which his poetical and scientific mind had put the data furnished by Marco Polo and the ancient geographers.

The armament for the Admiral's fourth and last voyage consisted of four small caravels, of from fifty to seventy tons burthen, with crews numbering, all told, 150 men. His Crossing the Atlantic. brother Bartholomew, and his younger son Ferdinand, then a boy of fourteen, accompanied him. They sailed from Cadiz on the 11th of May, 1502,

¹ Navarrete, *Coleccion*, tom. ii. pp. 280-282.

² The MS. volume of notes on the prophecies is in the Colombina. There is a description of it in Navarrete, tom. ii. pp. 260-273.

and finally left the Canaries behind on the 26th of the same month. The course chosen was the same as on the second voyage, and the unfailing trade-winds brought the ships on the 15th of June to an island called Mantinino, probably Martinique, not more than ten leagues distant from Dominica. The Admiral had been instructed not to touch at Hispaniola upon his way out, probably for fear of further commotions there until Ovando should have succeeded in bringing order out of the confusion ten times worse confounded into which Bobadilla's misgovernment had thrown that island. Columbus might stop there on his return, but not on his outward voyage. His intention had, therefore, been, on reaching the cannibal islands, to steer for Jamaica, thence make the short run to "Cochin China," and then turn southwards. But as one of his caravels threatened soon to become unmanageable, he thought himself justified in touching at San Domingo long enough to hire a sound vessel in place of her. Ovando had assumed the government there in April, and a squadron of 26 or 28 ships, containing Roldan and Bobadilla, with huge quantities of gold wrung from the enslaved Indians, was ready to start for Spain about the end of June. In one of these ships were 4,000 pieces of gold destined for Columbus, probably a part of the reimbursement that had been promised him. On the 29th of June the Admiral arrived in the harbour and stated the nature of his errand. At the same time, as his practised eye had detected the symptoms of an approaching hurricane, he requested permission to stay in the harbour until it should

be over, and he furthermore sent to the commander of the fleet a friendly warning not to venture out to sea at present. His requests and his warnings were alike treated with contumely. He was ordered to leave the harbour, and did so in great indignation. As his first care was for the approaching tempest, he did not go far but found safe anchorage in a sheltered and secluded cove, where his vessels rode the storm with difficulty but without serious damage. Meanwhile the governor's great fleet had rashly put out to sea, and was struck with fatal fury by wind and wave. Twenty or more ships went to the bottom, with Bobadilla, Roldan, and most of the Admiral's principal enemies, besides all the ill-gotten treasure; five or six shattered caravels, unable to proceed, found their way back to San Domingo; of all the fleet, only one ship arrived safe and sound in Spain, and that, says Ferdinand, was the one that had on board his father's gold. Truly it was such an instance of poetical justice as one does not often witness in this world. "We will not inquire now," says Las Casas, who witnessed the affair, "into this remarkable divine judgment, for at the last day of the world it will be made quite clear to us."¹ If such judgments were more often visited upon the right persons, perhaps the ways of Providence would not have so generally come to be regarded as inscrutable.

Columbus not allowed to stop at San Domingo.

¹ "Aqueste tan gran juicio de Dios no curemos de escudriñallo, pues en el dia final deste mundo nos será bien claro." *Hist. d'ias Indias*, tom. iii. p. 32; cf. *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, cap. lxxxvii. As Las Casas was then in San Domingo, having come out in Ovando's fleet, and as Ferdinand Columbus was with his father, the testimony is very direct.

The hurricane was followed by a dead calm, during which the Admiral's ships were carried by the currents into the group of tiny islands called the Queen's Gardens, on the south side of Cuba. With the first favourable breeze he took a southwesterly course, in order to strike that Cochin-Chinese coast farther down toward the Malay peninsula. This brought him directly to the island of Guanaja and to Cape Honduras, which he thus reached without approaching the Yucatan channel.¹

Arrival at
Cape Hondu-
ras.

Upon the Honduras coast the Admiral found evidences of semi-civilization with which he was much elated, — such as copper knives and hatchets, pottery of skilled and artistic workmanship, and cotton garments finely woven and beautifully dyed. Here the Spaniards first tasted the *chicha*, or maize beer, and marvelled at the heavy clubs, armed with sharp blades of obsidian, with which the soldiers of Cortes were by and by to become unpleasantly acquainted. The people here wore cotton clothes, and, according to Ferdinand, the women covered themselves as carefully as the Moorish women of Granada.² On inquiring as to the sources of gold and other wealth, the Admiral was now referred to the west, evidently to Yucatan and Guatemala, or, as he supposed, to the neighbourhood of the Ganges. Evidently the way to reach these countries

¹ In the next chapter I shall give some reasons for supposing that the Admiral had learned the existence of the Yucatan channel from the pilot Ledesma, coupled with information which made it unlikely that a passage into the Indian ocean would be found that way. See below, vol. ii. p. 92.

² *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, cap. lxxxviii.

was to keep the land on the starboard and search for the passage between the Eden continent and the Malay peninsula.¹ This course at first led Columbus eastward for a greater number of leagues than he could have relished. Wind and current were dead against him, too; and when, after forty days of wretched weather, he succeeded in doubling the cape which marks on that coast the end of Honduras and the beginning of Nicaragua, and found it turning square to the south, it was doubtless joy at this auspicious change of direction, as well as the sudden relief from head-winds, that prompted him to name that bold prominence Cape Gracias a Dios, or Thanks to God.

As the ships proceeded southward in the direction of Veragua, evidences of the kind of semi-civilization which we recognize as characteristic of that part of aboriginal America grew more and more numerous. Great houses were seen, built of "stone and lime," or perhaps of rubble stone with adobe mortar. Walls were adorned with carvings and pictographs. Mummies were found in a good state of preservation. There were signs of abundant gold; the natives wore plates

¹ Irving (vol. ii. pp. 386, 387) seems to think it strange that Columbus did not at once turn westward and circumnavigate Yucatan. But if — as Irving supposed — Columbus had not seen the Yucatan channel, and regarded the Honduras coast as continuous with that of Cuba, he could only expect by turning westward to be carried back to Cape Alpha and Omega, where he had already been twice before! In the next chapter, however, I shall show that Columbus may have shaped his course in accordance with the advice of the pilot Ledesma.

of it hung by cotton cords about their necks, and were ready to exchange pieces worth a hundred ducats for tawdry European trinkets. From these people Columbus heard what we should call the first "news of the Pacific Ocean," though it had no such meaning to his mind. From what he heard he understood that he was on the east side of a peninsula, and that there was another sea on the other side, by gaining which he might in ten days reach the mouth of the Ganges.¹ By proceeding on his present course he would soon come to a "narrow place" between the two seas. There was a curious equivocation here. No doubt the Indians were honest and correct in what they tried to tell Columbus. But by the "narrow place" they meant narrow land, not narrow water; not a strait which connected but an isthmus which divided the two seas, not the Strait of Malacca, but the Isthmus of Darien!² Columbus, of course, understood them to mean the strait for which he was looking, and in his excitement at approaching the long-expected goal he pressed on without waiting to verify the reports of gold mines in the neighbourhood, a thing that could be done at any time.³ By the 5th of December, however,

Fruitless
search for the
Strait of Ma-
lacca.

¹ Navarrete, *Coleccion de viages*, tom. i. p. 299.

² *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, cap. lxxxix. ; Humboldt, *Examen Critique*, tom. i. p. 350.

³ "Nothing could evince more clearly his generous ambition than hurrying in this brief manner along a coast where wealth was to be gathered at every step, for the purpose of seeking a strait which, however it might produce vast benefit to mankind, could yield little else to himself than the glory of the discovery." Irving's *Columbus*, vol. ii. p. 406. In this voyage, however, the

having reached a point on the isthmus, a few leagues east of Puerto Bello, without finding the strait, he yielded to the remonstrances of the crews, and retraced his course to Veragua. If the strait could not be found, the next best tidings to carry home to Spain would be the certain information of the discovery of gold mines, and it was decided to make a settlement here which might serve as a base for future operations. Futile attempt to make a settlement. Three months of misery followed. Many of the party were massacred by the Indians, the stock of food was nearly exhausted, and the ships were pierced by worms until it was feared there would be no means left for going home. Accordingly, it was decided to abandon the enterprise and return to Hispaniola.¹ In order to allow for the strong westerly currents in the Caribbean sea, the Admiral first sailed eastward almost to the gulf of Darien, and then turned to the north. The allowance was not enough, however. The ships were again carried into the Queen's Gardens, where they were caught in a storm and nearly beaten to pieces. At length, on St. John's eve, June 23, 1503, the crazy wrecks — now full of water and unable to sail another league — were beached on

express purpose from the start was to find the strait of Malacca as a passage to the very same regions which had been visited by Gama, and Columbus expected thus to get wealth enough to equip an army of Crusaders. Irving's statement does not correctly describe the Admiral's purpose, and as savouring of misplaced eulogy, is sure to provoke a reaction on the part of captious critics.

¹ A graphic account of these scenes, in which he took part, is given by Ferdinand Columbus, *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, cap. xciii.—cvi.

the coast of Jamaica and converted into a sort of rude fortress; and while two trusty Columbus shipwrecked. men were sent over to San Domingo in a canoe, to obtain relief, Columbus and his party remained shipwrecked in Jamaica. They waited there a whole year before it proved possible to get any relief from Ovando. He was a slippery knave, who knew how to deal out promises without taking the first step toward fulfilment.

It was a terrible year that Columbus spent upon the wild coast of Jamaica. To all the horrors A year of misery. inseparable from such a situation there was added the horror of mutiny. The year did not end until there had been a pitched battle, in which the doughty Bartholomew was, as usual, victorious. The ringleader was captured, and of the other mutineers such as were not slain in the fight were humbled and pardoned. At length Ovando's conduct began to arouse indignation in San Domingo, and was openly condemned from the pulpit; so that, late in June, 1504, he sent over to Jamaica a couple of ships which brought away the Admiral and his starving party. Ovando greeted the brothers Columbus with his customary hypocritical courtesy, which they well understood. During the past year the island of Hispaniola had been the scene of atrocities such as have scarcely been surpassed in history. I shall give a brief account of them in a future chapter. Columbus was not cheered by what he saw and heard, and lost no time in starting for Spain. On the 7th of November, 1504, after a tempestuous voyage and narrow escape from ship-

wreck, he landed at San Lucar de Barrameda and made his way to Seville. Queen Isabella was then on her death-bed, and ^{Last return to Spain.} breathed her last just nineteen days later.

The death of the queen deprived Columbus of the only protector who could stand between him and Fonseca. The reimbursement for the wrongs which he had suffered at that man's hands was never made. The last eighteen months of the Admiral's life were spent in sickness and poverty. Accumulated hardship and disappointment had broken him down, and he died on Ascension day, May 20, 1506, at Valladolid. ^{Death of Columbus.}

So little heed was taken of his passing away that the local annals of that city, "which give almost every insignificant event from 1333 to 1539, day by day, do not mention it."¹ His remains were buried in the Franciscan monastery at Valladolid, whence they were removed in 1513 to the monastery of Las Cuevas, at Seville, where the body of his son Diego, second Admiral and Viceroy of the Indies, was buried in 1526. Ten years after this date, the bones of father and son were removed to Hispaniola, to the cathedral of San Domingo; whence they have since been transferred to Havana. The result of so many removals has been to raise doubts as to whether the ashes now reposing at Havana are really those of Columbus and his son; and over this question there has been much critical discussion, of a sort that we may cheerfully leave to those who like to spend their time over such trivialities.

¹ *Harrisse, Notes on Columbus*, New York, 1866, p. 73.

There is a tradition that Ferdinand and Isabella, at some date unspecified, had granted to Columbus, as a legend for his coat-of-arms, the noble motto: —

Á Castilla y á Leon
Nuevo mundo dió Colon,

i. e. “To Castile-and-Leon Columbus gave a New World;” and we are further told that, when the Admiral’s bones were removed to Seville, this motto was, by order of King Ferdinand, inscribed upon his tomb.¹ This tradition crumbles under the touch of historical criticism. The Admiral’s coat-of-arms, as finally emblazoned under his own inspection at Seville in 1502, quarters the royal Castle-and-Lion of the kingdom of Castile with his own devices of five anchors, and a group of golden islands with a bit of Terra Firma, upon a blue sea. But there is no legend of any sort, nor is anything of the kind mentioned by Las Casas or Bernaldez or Peter Martyr. The first allusion to such a motto is by Oviedo, in 1535, who gives it a somewhat different turn: —

Por Castilla y por Leon
Nuevo mundo halló Colon,

i. e. “For Castile-and-Leon Columbus found a New World.” But the other form is no doubt the better, for Ferdinand Columbus, at some time not later than 1537, had adopted it, and it may be read to-day upon his tomb in the cathedral at Seville. The time-honoured tradition has evidently trans-

¹ *Vita del Ammiraglio*, cap. cvii. This is unquestionably a gloss of the translator Ulloa. Cf. HARRISSE, *Christophe Colomb*, tom. ii. pp. 177-179.

ferred to the father the legend adopted, if not originally devised, by his son.



But why is this mere question of heraldry a matter of importance for the historian? Simply because it furnishes one of the most striking among many illustrations of the fact that at no time during the life of Columbus, nor for some years after his death, did anybody use the phrase "New World" with conscious reference to *his* discoveries. At the time of his death their true significance had not yet begun to dawn upon the mind of any voyager or any writer. It was supposed that he had found a new route to the Indies by sailing west, and that in the course of this achievement he had discovered some new islands and a bit or bits of Terra Firma of more or less doubtful commercial value. To group these items of discovery into an organic whole, and to ascertain that they belonged to a whole quite distinct from the Old World, required the work of many other discoverers, companions and successors to Columbus. In the following chapter I shall

endeavour to show how the conception of the New World was thus originated and at length became developed into the form with which we are now familiar.

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THE
DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

*WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF ANCIENT AMERICA
AND THE SPANISH CONQUEST*

BY

JOHN FISKE

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II.

Then I unbar the doors; my paths lead out
The exodus of nations; I disperse
Men to all shores that frown the hoary main.
I too have arts and sorceries;
Illusion dwells forever with the wave.
I make some coast alluring, some lone isle
To distant men, who must go there or die.

EMERSON



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THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

CHAPTER VII.

MUNDUS NOVUS.

SOMETIMES in Wagner's musical dramas the introduction of a few notes from some leading melody foretells the inevitable catastrophe toward which the action is moving; as when in Lohengrin's bridal chamber the well-known sound of the distant Grail motive steals suddenly upon the ear, and the heart of the rapt listener is smitten with a sense of impending doom. So in the drama of maritime discovery, as glimpses of new worlds were beginning to reward the enterprising crowns of Spain and Portugal, for a moment there came from the north a few brief notes fraught with ominous portent. The power for whom destiny had reserved the world empire of which these southern nations — so noble in aim, so mistaken in policy — were dreaming stretched forth her hand, in quiet disregard of papal bulls, and laid it upon the western shore of the ocean. It was only for a moment, and long years were to pass before the consequences were developed. But in truth the first fateful note that heralded the coming English

supremacy was sounded when John Cabot's tiny craft sailed out from the Bristol channel on a bright May morning of 1497.

The story of the Cabots can be briefly told. Less is known about them and their voyages than one could wish.¹ John Cabot, a native
John Cabot. of Genoa, moved thence to Venice, where, after a residence of fifteen years, he was admitted to full rights of citizenship in 1476. He married a Venetian lady and had three sons, the second of whom, Sebastian, was born in Venice some time before March, 1474. Nothing is known about the life of John Cabot at Venice, except that he seems to have been a merchant and mariner, and that once in Arabia, meeting a caravan laden with spices, he made particular inquiries regarding the remote countries where such goods were obtained. It is not impossible that he may have reasoned his way, independently of Columbus, to the conclusion that those countries might be reached by sailing westward;² but there is no evidence that such was the case. About 1490 Cabot moved to England with his family and made his home in Bristol,³ and he may have been

¹ The best critical discussion of the subject is that of M. HARRISSE, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, Paris, 1882. Most of the author's conclusions seem to me very strongly supported.

² This seems to be implied by the words of the late Dr. Charles Deane: — "Accepting the new views as to 'the roundness of the earth,' as Columbus had done, he was quite disposed to put them to a practical test." Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 1. But is it not strange to find so learned a writer alluding to the ancient doctrine of the earth's globular form as "new" in the time of Columbus!

³ M. d'Avezac's suggestion (*Bulletin de la Société de Géogra-*

one of the persons who were convinced at that time by the arguments of Bartholomew Columbus.

Bristol was then the principal seaport of England, and the centre of trade for the Iceland fisheries.¹ The merchants of that town were fond of maritime enterprise, and their ships had already ventured some distance

The merchants of Bristol.

out upon the Atlantic. William of Worcester informs us that in the summer of 1480 the wealthy merchant John Jay and another sent out a couple of ships, one of them of eighty tons burthen, commanded by Thomas Lloyd, "the most scientific mariner in all England," in order to find "the island of Brazil to the west of Ireland," but after sailing the sea for nine weeks without making any discovery foul weather sent them back to Ireland.² From a letter of Pedro de Ayala, one of the Spanish embassy in London in 1498, it would appear

phie, Paris, 1872, 6^e série, tom. iv. p. 44) that Columbus may have consulted with Cabot at Bristol in 1477 seems, therefore, quite improbable.

¹ See Hunt's *Bristol*, pp. 44, 137; Magnusson, *Om de Engelskes Handel paa Island*, Copenhagen, 1833, p. 147.

² "1480 die jullij navis . . . et Joh[ann]is Jay junioris ponderis 80 doliorum inceperunt viagium apud portum Bristolliaë de Kyngrode usque ad insulam de Brasyllæ in occidentali parte Hiberniæ, sulcando maria per . . . et . . . Thlyde [i. e. Th. Lyde = Lloyd] est magister scientificus marinarius tocius Angliæ, et noua venerunt Bristolliaë die lune 18 die septembris, quod dicta navis velaverunt maria per circa 9 menses nec invenerunt insulam sed per tempestas maris reversi sunt usque portum . . . in Hibernia pro reposicione navis et mariniorum." *Itinerarium Willelmi de Wyrcestre*, MS. in library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, No. 210, p. 195, apud HARRISSE, *op. cit.* p. 44. See also Fox-Bourne, *English Merchants*, vol. i. p. 105. Though the Latin says nine months, it is evident that only nine weeks are meant to be included between "a day of July" and the 18th day of September.

that several expeditions, beginning perhaps as early as 1491, may have sailed from Bristol, at the instigation of John Cabot, in search of the imaginary islands of Brazil and Antilia.¹

We are told that the news of the first voyage of Columbus was received by the Cabots and their English friends with much admiration.

Effects of the
news from
Columbus.

To have reached the coast of China by sailing westward was declared a wonderful achievement, and it was resolved to go and do likewise. On the 21st of January, 1496, the Spanish ambassador Puebla informed his sovereigns that "a person had come, like Columbus, to propose to the king of England an enterprise like that of the Indies." On the 28th of March the sovereigns instructed Puebla to warn Henry VII. that such an enterprise could not be put into execution by him without prejudice to Spain and Portugal.² But before this remonstrance arrived, the king had already issued letters patent, authorizing John Cabot and his three sons "to sail to the east, west, or north, with five ships carrying the English flag, to seek and discover all the islands, countries, regions, or provinces of pagans in whatever part of the world."³ The expedition must return to the port of Bristol, and the king was to have one fifth of the profits. By implicitly excluding southerly

¹ Ayala to Ferdinand and Isabella, July 25, 1498; HARRISSE, p. 329. The reader has doubtless already observed these fabulous islands on the Toscanelli map; see above, vol. i. p. 357.

² Ferdinand and Isabella to Puebla, March 28, 1496; HARRISSE, p. 315.

³ "Pro Johanne Cabot et filiis suis super Terra Incognita investiganda," March 5, 1496; HARRISSE, p. 313.

courses it was probably intended, as far as possible, to avoid occasions for conflict with Spain or Portugal.

The voyage seems to have been made with a single ship, named the Matthew, or Matthews, after the evangelist, or perhaps after some English patron.¹ The crew numbered eighteen men. Sebastian Cabot may quite probably have accompanied his father. They sailed from Bristol early in May, 1497,² and discovered what was supposed to be the Chinese coast, "in the territory of the Grand Cham," on the 24th of June. By the end of July they had returned to Bristol, and on the 10th of August we find thrifty Henry VII. giving "to hym that founde the new isle" the munificent

John Cabot
finds land
supposed to be
Cathay, June
24, 1497.

¹ Barrett, *History and Antiquities of Bristol*, 1789, p. 172. A contemporary MS., preserved in the British Museum, says that besides the flagship equipped by the king there were three or four others, apparently equipped by private enterprise: — "In anno 13 Henr. VII. This yere the Kyng at the besy request and supplicacion of a Straunger venisian, which [i. e. who] by a Cœart [i. e. chart] made hymself expert in knowyng of the world caused the Kyng to manne a ship w^t vytaill and other necessairies for to seche an Iland wherein the said Straunger surmysed to be grete commodities: w^t which ship by the Kynges grace so Rygged went 3 or 4 moo oute of Bristowe, the said Straunger beyng Conditor of the saide Flete, wheryn dyuers merchauntes as well of London as Bristow aventured goodes and sleight merchaundises, which departed from the West Cuntrey in the begynnyng of Somer, but to this present moneth came nevir Knowlege of their exploit." See HARRISSE, p. 316. On page 50 M. HARRISSE seems disposed to adopt this statement, but its authority is fatally impaired by the last sentence, which shows that already the writer had mixed up the first voyage with the second, as was afterwards commonly done.

² The date is often incorrectly given as 1494, owing to an old misreading of M. CCCC. XCIII instead of M. CCCC. XCVII.

largess of £10 with which to celebrate the achievement.¹

The news in England seems to have taken the form that Cabot had discovered the isles of Brazil and the Seven Cities, and the kingdom of the Great Khan. A Venetian gentleman, Lorenzo Pasqualigo, writing from London August 23, 1497, says that "honours are heaped upon Cabot, he is called Grand Admiral, he is dressed in silk, and the English run after him like madmen."² It seemed to Cabot that by returning to the point where he had found land, and then proceeding somewhat to the southward, he could find the wealthy island of Cipango, and this time we do not hear that any dread of collision with Spain prevailed upon the king to discountenance such an undertaking. A second expedition, consisting of five or six ships, sailed from Bristol in April, 1498, and explored a part of the coast of North America. In a despatch dated July 25, Ayala told his sovereigns that its return was expected in September. One of the vessels, much damaged by stress of weather, took refuge in an Irish port. When the others returned we do not know, nor do we hear anything more of John Cabot. It is probable that he sailed as commander of the expedition, and it has been

John Cabot
and his son
Sebastian go
in search of
Cipango,
April, 1498.

¹ HARRISSE, pp. 51, 59. "Fazi bona ziera," says Pasqualigo; "pour s'amuser," says HARRISSE, or, as one might put it, "to go on a spree." It must be remembered that £10 then was equivalent to at least £100 of to-day. The king also granted to Cabot a yearly pension of £20, to be paid out of the receipts of the Bristol custom-house.

² The letter is given in HARRISSE, p. 322.

supposed that he may have died upon the voyage, leaving the command to his son Sebastian. It has further been supposed, on extremely slight evidence, that Sebastian may have conducted a third voyage in 1501 or 1503.

Sebastian Cabot married a Spanish lady, and seems to have gone to Spain soon after the death of Henry VII.¹ He entered the service of Ferdinand of Aragon October 20, 1512. In 1518 Charles V. appointed him Pilot Major of Spain; we shall presently find him at the congress of Badajoz in 1524; from 1526 to 1530 he was engaged in a disastrous expedition to the river La Plata, and on his return he was thrown into prison because of complaints urged against him by his mutinous crews. The Council of the Indies condemned him to two years of exile at Oran in Africa,² but the emperor seems to have remitted the sentence as unjust, and presently he returned to the discharge of his duties as Pilot Major. In 1548 he left the service of Spain and went back to England, where he was appointed governor of a company of merchants, organized for the purpose of discovering a northeast passage to China.³ This enterprise opened a trade between England and Russia by way of the White Sea; and in 1556 the Muscovy Company received its charter, and Sebastian Cabot was appointed its governor. He seems to have died in London in 1557, or soon afterwards.

Later career
of Sebastian
Cabot.

¹ Peter Martyr, dec. iii. lib. vi. fol. 55.

² Navarrete, *Biblioteca marítima*, tom. ii. p. 699.

³ Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 6.

The life of the younger Cabot thus extended over the whole of the period during which Europeans were gradually awakening to the astounding fact that the western coasts of the Atlantic were not the coasts of Asia, but of a new continent, the existence of which had never been suspected by any human being, except in the unheeded guess of Strabo cited in a previous chapter.¹ The sixty years following 1497 saw new geographical facts accumulate much faster than geographical theory could interpret them, as the series of old maps reproduced in the present volume will abundantly show. By the end of that time the revolution in knowledge had become so tremendous, and men were carried so far away from the old point of view, that their minds grew confused as to the earlier stages by which the change had been effected. Hence the views and purposes ascribed to the Cabots by writers in the middle of the sixteenth century have served only to perplex the subject in the minds of later historians. In Ramusio's collection of voyages an anonymous writer puts into the mouth of Sebastian Cabot more or less autobiographical narrative, in which there are almost as many blunders as lines. In this narrative the death of John Cabot is placed before 1496, and Sebastian is said to have conducted the first voyage in that year. It thus happened that until quite recently the discovery of

Perplexities caused by the rapid accumulation of geographical facts in the sixteenth century.

¹ See above, vol. i. p. 370.

² Ramusio, *Raccolta di Navigazioni e Viaggi*, Venice, 1550, tom. i.

the continent of North America was attributed to the son, while the father was wellnigh forgotten. It is to Ramusio's narrator, moreover, that we owe the ridiculous statement — repeated by almost every historian from that day to this — that the purpose of the voyage of 1498 was the discovery of a "northwest passage" to the coast of Asia! As I shall hereafter show, the idea of a northwest passage through or around what we call America to the coast of Asia did not spring up in men's minds until after 1522, and it was one of the consequences of the voyage of Magellan.¹ There is no reason for supposing that Sebastian Cabot in 1498 suspected that the coast before him was anything but that of Asia, and it does not appear that he contributed anything toward the discovery of the fact that the newly found lands were part of a new continent, though he lived long enough to become familiar with that fact, as gradually revealed through the voyages of other navigators.

The slight contemporary mention, which is all that we have of the voyages of the Cabots in 1497 and 1498, does not enable us to determine with precision the parts of the North American coast that were visited. We know that a chart of the first voyage was made, for both the Spanish envoys, Puebla and Ayala, writing between August 24, 1497, and July 25, 1498, mentioned having seen such a chart, and from an inspection of it they concluded that the distance run did not exceed 400 leagues. The Venetian merchant, Pasqualigo, gave the dis-

What part of North America did the Cabots visit?

¹ See below, pp. 487-490.

tance more correctly as 700 leagues, and added that Cabot followed the coast of the "territory of the Grand Khan" for 300 leagues, and in returning saw two islands to starboard. An early tradition fixed upon the coast of Labrador as the region first visited, and until lately this has been the prevailing opinion.

The chart seen by the Spanish ministers in London is unfortunately lost. But a map engraved in

Map of 1544,
attributed to
Sebastian
Cabot.

Germany or Flanders in 1544 or later, and said to be after a drawing by Sebastian Cabot,¹ has at the north of what we call the island of Cape Breton the legend "*prima tierra vista*," i. e. "*first land seen*;" and in this connection there is a marginal inscription, Spanish and Latin, saying:— "This country was discovered by John Cabot, a Venetian, and Sebastian Cabot, his son, in the year of our Saviour Jesus Christ M. CCCC. XCIII² on the 24th of June in the morning, which country they called *prima tierra vista*, and a large island near by they named St. John because they discovered it on the same day." Starting from this information it has been supposed that the navigators, passing this St. John, which we call Prince Edward island, coasted around the gulf of St. Lawrence and passed out through the strait of Belle Isle. The two islands

¹ It was discovered in 1843 in the house of a clergyman in Bavaria, and is now in the National Library at Paris. There is a beautiful facsimile of it in colours in HARRISSE'S *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, and it is described by M. d'AVEZAC, *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 1857, 4^e série, tom. xiv. pp. 268-270.

² This date is wrong. The first two letters after *xc* should be joined together at the bottom, making a *v*.

seen on the starboard would then be points on the northern coast of Newfoundland, and a considerable part of Pasqualigo's 300 leagues of coasting would thus be accounted for. But inasmuch as the Matthew had returned to Bristol by the first of August, it may be doubted whether so long a route could have been traversed within five weeks.

If we could be sure that the map of 1544 in its present shape and with all its legends emanated from Sebastian Cabot, and was drawn with the aid of charts made at the time of discovery, its authority would be very high indeed. But there are some reasons for supposing it to have been amended or "touched up" by the engraver, and it is evidently compiled from charts made later than 1536, for it shows the results of Jacques Cartier's explorations in the gulf of St. Lawrence. Its statement as to the first landfall is, moreover, in conflict with the testimony of the merchant Robert Thorne, of Bristol, in 1527,¹ and with that of two maps made at Seville in 1527 and 1529, according to which the "prima tierra vista" was somewhere on the coast of Labrador. It must be remembered, too, that John Cabot was instructed to take northerly and westerly courses, not southerly, and an important despatch from Raimondo de Soncino, in London, to the Duke of Milan, dated December 18, 1497, describes his course in accordance with these instructions. It is perfectly definite and altogether probable. According to this account Cabot sailed from Bristol in a small ship, manned by eighteen per-

Testimony
of Robert
Thorne.

¹ Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, vol. i. p. 216.

sons, and having cleared the western shores of Ireland, turned northward, after a few days headed for Asia, and stood mainly west till he reached "Terra Firma," where he planted the royal standard, and forthwith returned to England.¹ In other words, he followed the common custom in those days of first running to a chosen parallel, and then following that parallel to the point of destination. Such a course could hardly have landed him anywhere save on the coast of Labrador. Supposing his return voyage simply to have reversed this course, running south-easterly to the latitude of the English channel and then sailing due east, he may easily have coasted 300 leagues with land to starboard before finally bearing away from Cape Race. This view is in harmony with the fact that on the desolate coasts passed he saw no Indians or other human beings. He noticed the abundance of codfish, however, in the waters about Newfoundland, and declared that the English would no longer need to go to Iceland for their fish. Our informant adds

Cabot's course,
as described
by Soncino.

¹ "Cum uno piccolo naviglio e xviii persone se pose ala fortuna, et partitosi da Bristo porto occidentale de questo regno et passato Ibernia più occidentale, e poi alzatosi verso il septentrione, comenció ad navigare ale parte orientale [i. e. toward eastern Asia], lassandosi (fra qualche giorni) la tramontana ad mano drita, et havendo assai errato, infine capioe in terra ferma, dove posto la bandera regia, et tolto la possessione per questa Alteza, et preso certi segnali, se ne retornato." See HARRISSE, p. 324. The phrase "havendo assai errato" is rendered by Dr. Deane "having wandered about considerably" (Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, iii. 54), but in this context it seems to me rather to mean "having wandered sufficiently far [from Europe]," i. e. having gone far enough he found Terra Firma.

that Master John, being foreign-born and poor, would have been set down as a liar had not his crew, who were mostly Bristol men, confirmed everything he said.

With regard to the coasts visited in the expedition of 1498 our sole contemporary authority is the remarkable map made in 1500 by the Biscayan pilot, Juan de La Cosa, who ^{La Cosa's map, 1500.} had sailed with Columbus on his first and second voyages. So far as is known, this is the earliest map in existence made since 1492, and its importance is very great.¹ Las Casas calls La Cosa the

¹ A copy of the western sheet of this celebrated map, sketched upon a reduced scale after the copy in Humboldt's *Examen critique*, forms the frontispiece to the present volume. The original was found and identified by Humboldt in the library of Baron Walckenaer in 1832, and after the death of the latter it was bought April 21, 1853, at an auction sale in Paris, for the queen of Spain against Henry Stevens, for 4,020 francs. It is now to be seen at the Naval Museum in Madrid. It was made by La Cosa at Puerto Santa Maria, near Cadiz, at some time between June and October, in the year 1500 (see Leguina, *Juan de la Cosa*, Madrid, 1877, p. 70). It is superbly illuminated with colours and gold. Its scale of proportions, remarkably correct in some places, is notably defective in others. The Newfoundland region is properly brought near to the papal meridian of demarcation, and what we call Brazil is cut by it; which may possibly indicate that La Cosa had heard the news of Cabral's discovery, presently to be noticed, which reached Lisbon late in June. The Azores and Cape Verde islands are much too far west. The voyages of which the results are distinctly indicated upon the map are the first three of Columbus, the two of the Cabots, that of Ojeda (1498-99), and that of Pinzon (1499-1500), and, as we shall presently see, the map gives very important and striking testimony regarding the first voyage of Vespuccius. The coast-lines and islands marked by La Cosa with names and flags represent results of actual exploration so far as known to La Cosa or exhibited to him by means of charts or log-books. The coast-lines and islands without names represent in general his unverified theory of the situation.

best pilot of his day. His reputation as a cartographer was also high, and his maps were much admired. The map before us was evidently drawn with honesty and care. It represents the discoveries of the Cabots as extending over 360 leagues of coast, or about as far as from the strait of Belle Isle to Cape Cod, and the names from "Cabo de Ynglaterra" to "Cabo Descubier-to" are probably taken from English sources. But whether the coast exhibited is that of the continent within the gulf of St. Lawrence, or the southern coast of Newfoundland with that of Nova Scotia, is by no means clear.¹ The names end

The Cabot voyages probably ranged from Labrador, through the gulf of St. Lawrence, and perhaps as far as Cape Cod.

Of the northern island "Frislanda" he must probably have been told by Columbus, for he could not have known anything of the Zeno narrative, first made public in 1558. In the middle of the west side of the map is a vignette representing Christopher (the Christ-bearer) wading through the waters, carrying upon his shoulders the infant Christ or Sun of Righteousness, to shine upon the heathen. At the bottom of the vignette is the legend "Juan de la cosa la fizo en el puerto des^{ta} m^{ra} en año de 1500." The original is five feet nine inches long by three feet two inches wide, and is a map of the world. The full-sized facsimile published by M. Jomard (in his *Monuments de la géographie*, pl. xvi.) is in three elephant folio sheets, of which the frontispiece to this volume represents the third, or western. The hypothetical coast-line of Brazil, at the bottom, is cut off square, so that the map may be there attached to a roller; and beyond the cut-off this same coast-line is continued on the first, or eastern sheet, as the coast of Asia east of the Ganges. In the opinion of most geographers of that time, the situation of Quinsay (Hang-chow) in China would come a little to the west of the westernmost English flagstaff.

¹ The former view, which is that of Humboldt, is perhaps the more probable. See Ghillany, *Geschichte des Seefahrers Ritter Martin Behaim*, Nuremberg, 1853, p. 2. The latter view is held by Dr. Kohl (*Documentary History of Maine*, vol. i. p. 154), who

near the mouth of a large river, which may very probably be meant for the St. Lawrence, and beyond the names we see two more English flags with the legend, "Sea discovered by Englishmen." Inasmuch as it would be eminently possible to sail through the gulf of St. Lawrence without becoming aware of the existence of Newfoundland, except at the strait of Belle Isle (which at its narrowest is about ten miles wide), one is inclined to suspect that the "Isla de la Trinidad" may represent all that the voyagers saw of that large island. It is worthy of note that on the so-called Sebastian Cabot map of 1544 Newfoundland does not yet appear as a single mass of land, but as an archipelago of not less than eleven large islands with more than thirty small ones. By this time the reader is doubtless beginning to have "a realizing sense"

identifies "Cabo de Ynglaterra" with Cape Race. To me it seems more likely that Cabo de Ynglaterra is the promontory just north of Inuvuktoke inlet on the coast of Labrador, and that the island to the right of it (Ysla Verde) is meant for Greenland. If, then, Isla de la Trinidad is the northern extremity of Newfoundland and the river by Cabo Descubierto is the St. Lawrence, we have a consistent and not improbable view. In spite of the two additional flags, the coast to the left of the St. Lawrence is evidently hypothetical; the next river is probably meant for the Hoang-ho in China (called by Polo the Caramoran; see Yule's *Marco Polo*, ii. 104-106), and the "sea discovered by the English" was probably supposed to be the Yellow Sea.

There is no good ground for the statement that Sebastian Cabot sailed as far south as Florida. "The remark of Peter Martyr, in 1515, about Cabot's reaching on the American coast the latitude of Gibraltar, and finding himself then on a meridian of longitude far enough west to leave Cuba on his left, is simply absurd, dilemmatize it as you will. Such a voyage would have landed him near Cincinnati." Stevens, *Historical and Geographical Notes*, p. 35.

of the fact that the work of discovering America was not such a simple and instantaneous affair as is often tacitly assumed.

The second voyage of the Cabots was regarded in England as a failure, for the same reason that the later voyages of Columbus were regarded with diminishing interest in Spain, because there was much outlay and little profit. Whatever there was to be found on these tantalizing coasts, it surely was not golden Cathay. The inhospitable shores of Labrador offered much less that was enticing than the balmy valleys of Hispaniola. Furs do not seem as yet to have attracted attention, and although the unrivalled fisheries were duly observed and reported, it was some time before the Bristol merchants availed themselves of this information, for they considered the Iceland fisheries safer.¹ There was thus little to encourage the cautious Henry VII. in further exploration. In 1505 he made a contract with some sailors from the Azores for a voyage to "the New-found-land," and one item of the result may be read in an account-book of the treasury:—"To Portyngales that brought popyn-gais and catts of the mountaigne with other Stuf to the Kinges grace, 5 l."² In the reign of Henry VIII., and in one and the same year, 1527, we find mention of two voyages from Portsmouth, the one conducted by John Rut, in the *Samson* and the *Mary* of

Why the Cabot voyages were not followed up.

Voyage of John Rut, 1527.

¹ Hunt's *Bristol*, p 137.

² HARRISSE, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, pp. 142, 272.

Guilford, the other by a certain Master Grube, in the *Dominus Vobiscum*, the latter being perhaps the most obscure of all the voyages of that century. I suspect that the two voyages were identical and the reports multifarious.¹ Rut's expedition was undertaken, at the instance of Robert Thorne, of Bristol, for the purpose of finding a route to Cathay. It encountered vast icebergs; the *Samson* was lost with all its crew, and the *Mary* "durst not go no further to the northward for fear of more ice;" so after reaching Cape Race and the bay of St. John's she returned to England.²

We hear of no further enterprises of this sort during the reign of Henry VIII. The lack of interest in maritime discovery is shown by the very small number of books on such matters published in England, — only twelve before 1576.³ We may suppose that public attention was for the time monopolized by the struggles of the Reformation, and, even had the incentives to western voyages been much stronger than they seem to have been, there was serious risk of their leading to diplomatic complications with Spain. The government of Charles V. kept a lynx-eyed watch upon all trespassers to the west of Borgia's meridian.⁴ It was not until the Protestant England of Elizabeth had come to a life and death grapple with

Change in the situation between the reign of Henry VIII. and that of Elizabeth.

¹ See HARRISSE, *op. cit.* p. 294.

² Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, vol. iii. p. 129; Purchas his *Pilgrimes*, vol. iii. p. 809; Fox-Bourne, *English Merchants*, vol. i. p. 159; De Costa, *Northmen in Maine*, pp. 43-62.

³ Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, vol. iii. pp. 199-208.

⁴ See HARRISSE, *op. cit.* p. 146.

Spain, and not until the discovery of America had advanced much nearer to completion, so that its value began to be more correctly understood, that political and commercial motives combined in determining England to attack Spain through America, and to deprive her of supremacy in the colonial and maritime world. Then the voyages of the Cabots assumed an importance entirely new, and could be quoted as the basis of a prior claim, on the part of the English crown, to lands which it had discovered. In view of all that has since happened, as we see these navigators coming upon the scene for a moment in the very lifetime of Columbus, and setting up the royal standard of England upon a bit of the American coast, we may well be reminded of the phrase of prophetic song that heralds a distant but inevitable doom.

La Cosa's map shows that definite information of the Cabot voyages and their results had been sent to Spain before the summer of 1500. Similar information was possessed in Portugal, and the enterprising King Emanuel (who had succeeded John II. in 1495) was led to try what could be accomplished by a voyage to the northwest. Some of the land visited by the Cabots seemed to lie very near Borgia's meridian; perhaps on closer inspection it might be found to lie to the east of it. There can be little doubt that this was one of the leading motives which prompted the voyages of the brothers Cortereal. Into the somewhat vexed details of these expeditions it is not necessary for

Portuguese
voyages to
Labrador; the
brothers Cor-
tereal, 1500-
1502.

our purposes to enter. The brothers Gaspar and Miguel Cortereal were gentlemen of high consideration in Portugal. Two or three voyages were made by Gaspar in the course of the years 1500 and 1501; and from the last voyage two of his ships returned to Lisbon without him, and he was never heard of again. On May 10, 1502, Miguel sailed with three caravels in search of his brother; and again it happened that two of the ships returned in safety, but the commander and his flagship never returned. The incidents of the various voyages are sadly confused; but it seems clear that the coasts visited by Gaspar Cortereal were mainly within the region already explored by the Cabots, from Labrador perhaps as far south as the bay of Fundy. He probably followed the eastern shores of Newfoundland, and crossed over to Greenland. He brought home wild men (*homines silvestres*) and white bears, as well as a gilded sword-hilt and some silver trinkets of Venetian manufacture which the natives had evidently obtained from the Cabots.¹ The coast which he had followed, or part of it, was declared to lie to the east of the papal meridian and to belong to Portugal. A despatch dated October 17, 1501, recounting these facts, was sent to Ercole d' Este, Duke of Ferrara, by his agent or envoy, Alberto Cantino,

¹ These voyages are ably discussed by M. HARRISSE, *Les Cortereal et leurs voyages au Nouveau Monde*, Paris, 1883; see also the accounts in PESCHEL'S *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, 2^e aufl., Stuttgart, 1877; KUNSTMANN, *Die Entdeckung Amerikas*, München, 1859; LAFITAU, *Histoire des découvertes des Portugais dans le Nouveau Monde*, Paris, 1733, 2 vols. 4to; WINSOR, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, vol. iv. pp. 1-4, 12-16.

then resident in Lisbon. An elaborate map, concerning which we shall presently have more to say, was made for Cantino at a cost of twelve golden ducats, and carried by him to Italy in the autumn of 1502. This map is now preserved in the Biblioteca Estense at Modena.¹ On it we see the papal meridian cutting through Brazil, and we see the outer coast of Newfoundland laid down to the east of the meridian and

The Cantino map, 1502.

¹ The rude sketch here presented gives no idea whatever of the fulness of detail and the gorgeous beauty of this remarkable map. A full-sized facsimile of the western portion, 3 feet 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches in width by 3 feet 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height, in the original colours, is to be found in the portfolio accompanying M. HARRISSE'S work on the *Cortereals*. The continents are given in a soft green, the islands in rich blues and reds. Flags in their proper colours mark the different sovereignties, from that of the Turks at Constantinople to that of the Spaniards near Maracaibo. The two tropics are in red, the equator in gold, and the papal line of demarcation in a brilliant blue. Africa is characterized by a hilly landscape in pale blues and greens, a castellated Portuguese fortress, native huts, negroes in jet black, birds of various hue, and a huge lion-headed figure in brown and gold. A circular structure called "Tower of Babilonja" appears in Egypt, while Russia is marked by a pile of characteristic architecture suggestive of Moscow. Newfoundland, placed to the east of the papal meridian and labelled "Terra del Rey de Portugall," is decked out with trees in green and gold. The Brazilian coast — the southern part of which is given from hearsay, chiefly from the third voyage of Vesputius, who returned to Lisbon September 7, 1502 (as is proved, among other things, by its giving the name of the Bay of All Saints, discovered in that voyage) — is adorned with tall trees in green, gold, and brown, among which are interspersed smaller trees and shrubs in various shades of blue, and three enormous paroquets intensely red, with white beaks and claws, and divers wing and tail feathers in blue, buff, and gold. The ocean is of an ivory tint, and the lettering, sometimes gothic sometimes cursive, is in black and red. Every detail speaks for the intense and loving interest felt in this kind of work.

labelled "Land of the King of Portugal." The southern extremity of Greenland is also depicted with remarkable clearness. The islands afterwards known as West Indies, heretofore known



Sketch of part of the Cantino map, 1502.

simply as Indies, here appear for the first time as Antilles (*has Antilhas*).

Portuguese sailors were prompt in availing themselves of the treasures of the Newfoundland fisheries. By 1525 a short-lived Portuguese colony had been established on Cape Breton island.¹ But,

¹ Souza, *Tratado das Ilhas Novas*, p. 5; HARRISSE, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 76.

as the name of that island reminds us, the Portuguese had sturdy rivals in this work. As early as 1504 that spot was visited by Breton, Norman, and Basque sailors, and from that time forth the fisheries were frequented by all these people, as well as the Portuguese.¹ The name "Baccalaos,"

The New-
foundland
fisheries —
Baccalaos.

applied on most of the early maps to Newfoundland or the adjacent regions, is the Basque name for codfish.² The English came later upon the scene. Had England been more prompt in following up the Cabot voyages, there would probably have been a serious dispute, for Portugal did not cease to claim the

¹ When John Rut reached the bay of St. John, August 3, 1527, he found two Portuguese, one Breton, and eleven Norman ships fishing there. *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. v. p. 822; HARRISSE, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 75; BROWN, *History of the Island of Cape Breton*, p. 13.

² See the book of the Jesuit father, Georges Fournier, *Hydrographie*, 2^e éd., Paris, 1667. Peter Martyr is mistaken in saying that the land was named Baccalaos (by Sebastian Cabot) because it was the native name for codfish. Gomara's account, as rendered by Richard Eden, in 1555, is entertaining:—"The newe lande of Baccalaos is a coulde region, whose inhabytantes are Idolatours and praye to the sonne and moone and dyuers Idoles. They are whyte people and very rustical, for they eate flesshe and fysshe and all other things rawe. Sumtymes also they eate man's flesshe priuily, so that their Cacique have no knowledge thereof [!]. The apparell, both of men and women, is made of beares skynnes, although they have sables and marternes, not greatly esteemed because they are lyttle. Sum of them go naked in sommer and weare apparell only in wynter. The Brytons and Frenche men are accustomed to take fysshe in the coastes of these lands, where is found great plenty of Tunnies which the inhabytauntes caul Baccalaos, whereof the land was so named. . . . In all this newe lande is neyther citie nor castell, but they lyue in companies lyke hearde of beastes." *The First Three English Books on America*, Birmingham, 1885, p. 345.

sovereignty of Newfoundland, on the ground that it lay to the east of the papal meridian, and in those days it was not easy to disprove this assumption.¹ But the question was swallowed up in the events of 1580, when Spain conquered and annexed Portugal; and it was not long after that time that the inability of the Spaniards to maintain their mastery of the sea left the wealth of these fisheries to be shared between France and England.

While these northern voyages are highly interesting in their relations to the subsequent work of English colonization, nevertheless in the history of the discovery of the New World they occupy but a subordinate place. John Cabot was probably the first commander since the days of the Vikings to set foot upon the continent of North America, yet it would be ridiculous to compare his achievement with that of Columbus. The latter, in spite of its admixture of error with truth, was a scientific triumph of the first order. It was Columbus who showed the way across the Sea of Darkness, and when once he had stood that egg upon its end it was easy enough for others to follow.² On the other hand, in so far as the dis-

As links in the chain of discovery, the northern voyages were far less important than the southern.

¹ The reader will observe the name of Cortereal upon Newfoundland as an island on Sebastian Münster's map of 1540; as an archipelago on Mercator's map of 1541; and as part of the mainland on Lok's map of 1582. See below, pp. 499, 153, 525.

² The anecdote of Columbus and the egg is told by Benzoni, *Historia del Mondo Nuovo*, Venice, 1572, p. 12. It belongs to the class of migratory myths, having already been told of Brunel-

covery of America was completed when it was made known to Europeans that what Columbus had found was not Asia, but a New World, the northern voyages had absolutely nothing to do with its completion. The causal sequence of events, from Columbus to Magellan, which brought out the fact that a New World had been discovered, would not have been altered if the voyages of the Cabots had never been made. It was only by voyages to the south that the eyes of Europeans could be opened to the real significance of what was going on. Our attention is thus directed to the famous navigator who, without himself understanding the true state of the case, nevertheless went far toward revealing it. The later voyages of Vespuccius began to give a new meaning to the work of Columbus, and prepared the way for the grand consummation by Magellan.

Amerigo Vespucci¹ was born at Florence on

leschi, the great architect who built the dome of the cathedral at Florence about 1420. As Voltaire says, in this connection, "La plupart des bons mots sont des redites." *Essai sur les Mœurs*, tom. iii. p. 351.

¹ Amerigo, Amerrigo, Merigo, Morigo, Almerico, Alberico, Alberigo; Vespucci, Vespucy, Vespuchy, Vespuche, Vesputio, Vespulsius, Espuchi, Despuchi; latinized Americus Vespuccius. *Amerigo* is an italianized form of the old German *Amalrich* (not *Enmerich*), which in mediæval French became *Amaury*. It means "the steadfast" ("celui qui endure des labeurs"). See Humboldt, *Examen critique*, tom. iv. pp. 52-57. This derivation would naturally make the accent fall upon the penult, *Amerigo*, *Americus*; and thus light seems to be thrown upon the scanning of George Herbert's verses, written in 1631, during the Puritan exodus: —

"Religion stands on tip-toe in our land,
Readie to passe to the American strand."

The Church Militant, 235.

the 18th of March, 1452 (N. S.). He was the third son of Anastasio Vespucci and Lisabetta Mini. The family was old and respectable, and had been wealthy. Anastasio was a notary public. His brother Giorgio Antonio was a Dominican monk, an accomplished Hellenist in those days of the Renaissance, and a friend of the martyr Savonarola. One of Amerigo's brothers, Antonio, studied at the university of Pisa. The second, Jerome, engaged in some business which took him to Palestine, where he suffered many hardships. Amerigo was educated by his uncle, the Dominican, who seems to have had several youth under his care; among these fellow-students was the famous Piero Soderini, afterward gonfaloniere of Florence from 1502 to 1512.¹ Amerigo acquired some knowledge of Latin and was sufficiently affected by the spirit of the age to be fond of making classical quotations, but his scholarship did not go very far. At some time, however, if not in his early years, he acquired an excellent practical knowledge of astronomy, and in the art of calculating latitudes and longitudes he became an expert unsurpassed by any of his contemporaries.² After his school days were over, he was taken into the great commercial house of the

Early life of
Americus Ves-
puccius.

¹ See Guicciardini, *Storia Fiorentina*, cap. xxv.; Trollope's *History of the Commonwealth of Florence*, vol. iv. pp. 294, 337.

² See the testimony of Sebastian Cabot and Peter Martyr, and Humboldt's remarks in connection therewith, in *Examen critique*, tom. iv. pp. 144, 183, 191; tom. v. p. 36. Considering his strong inclination for astronomical studies, one is inclined to wonder whether Vespuccius may not have profited by the instruction or conversation of his fellow-townsmen Toscanelli. How could he fail to have done so?

Medici, and seems to have led an uneventful life at Florence until he was nearly forty years of age.¹ He devoted his leisure hours to the study of geography, and was an eager collector of maps, charts, and globes. On one occasion he paid 130 golden ducats for a map made in 1439 by Gabriel de Valsequa.² He also became an expert map-maker himself,³ and along with such tastes one

¹ What little is known of the early life of Vespuccius is summed up in Bandini, *Vita e lettere di Amerigo Vespucci*, Florence, 1745. The only intelligent modern treatise on the life and voyages of this navigator is Varnhagen's collection of monographs — *Amerigo Vespucci: son caractère, ses écrits (même les moins authentiques), sa vie et ses navigations*, Lima, 1865; *Le premier voyage de Amerigo Vespucci définitivement expliqué dans ses détails*, Vienna, 1869; *Nouvelles recherches sur les derniers voyages du navigateur florentin, et le reste des documents et éclaircissements sur lui*, Vienna, 1869; *Postface aux trois livraisons sur Amerigo Vespucci*, Vienna, 1870; *Ainda Amerigo Vespucci: novos estudos e achegas especialmente em favor da interpretação dada á sua la viagem em 1497-98*, Vienna, 1874. These are usually bound together in one small folio volume. Sometimes the French monographs are found together without the Portuguese monograph. Varnhagen's book has made everything else antiquated, and no one who has not mastered it in all its details is entitled to speak about Vespuccius. In the English language there is no good book on the subject. The defence by Lester and Foster (*Life and Voyages of Americus Vespuccius*, New York, 1846) had some good points for its time, but is now utterly antiquated and worse than useless. The chapter by the late Sydney Howard Gay, in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. ii. chap. ii., is quite unworthy of its place in that excellent work; but its defects are to some extent atoned for by the editor's critical notes.

² In 1848 this map "was still in the library of Count de Montenegro at Palma, in the island of Majorca." Harris, *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima, Additions*, p. xxiii. It is the only relic of Vespuccius to which we can point as existing in the present century.

³ "I repayred to the byshoppe of Burges [Fonseca] beinge the chiefe refuge of this nauigation. As wee were therfore secretly

can easily see how there was a latent love of adventure which it only required circumstances to bring out. He seems in these earlier years, as throughout his life, to have won and retained the respect of all who knew him, as a man of integrity and modesty, quiet, but somewhat playful in manner, mild and placable in temper, and endowed with keen intelligence. He seems to have been of middle height, and somewhat brawny, with aquiline features and olive complexion, black eyes and hair, and a mouth at once firm and refined.

The Medici had important business interests in Spain, and at some time between the midsummer of 1489 and the end of ^{Vespucius} goes to Spain. 1491 they sent Vespucius to Barcelona as their confidential agent. He took with him several young Florentines who had been placed under his care, and among them his own nephew, Giovanni (afterwards spanished into Juan) Vespucci, a very capable youth who accompanied him in some if not all his voyages, and lived to be regarded as one of the most accomplished navigators and cosmographers of the age.¹ Early in 1493 Americus seems

together in one chamber, we had many instrumentes perteynyng to these affayres, as globes and many of those mappes which are commonly cauled the shipmans cardes, or cardes of the sea. Of the which, one was drawn by the Portugales, whereunto Americus Vesputius is sayde to have put his hande, beinge a man moste experte in this facultie and a Florentyne borne; who also vnder the stipende of the Portugales hadde sayled towarde the south pole." Peter Martyr, *Decades of the Newe Worlde*, Eden's translation, 1555, dec. ii. lib. x.

¹ "The younge Vesputius is one to whom Americus Vesputius his vncle left the exact knowledge of the mariners facultie, as it were by inheritance after his death, for he was a very expert mais-

to have formed some sort of connection with the Florentine commercial house of Juanoto Berardi, at Seville.¹ This Berardi, who had been domiciled in Spain for more than nine years and was a friend of Columbus, was employed by the crown in fitting out ships for the Atlantic voyages. On the 9th of April, 1495, we find him signing a contract engaging to furnish twelve vessels with an aggregate burthen of 900 tons, and to have four of them ready that same month, four more in June, and the rest in September.² We shall presently find this contract quite interesting and its date eloquent. In December of that same year Berardi died, and we find Vespuccius taking his place and fulfilling what remained to be fulfilled of the contract and sundry obligations growing out of it. From the above facts the statement, often made, that Vespuccius took part in fitting out the second voyage of Columbus is quite probable. He can

ter in the knowledge of his carde, his compasse, and the eleuation of the pole starre with all that pertaineth therto. . . . Vesputius is my verve familiar frende, and a wyttie younge man in whose company I take great pleasure, and therefore vse hym oftentimes for my geste." *Id.*, dec. iii. lib. v.

¹ "Vostra Mag. sapra, come el motiuo della venuta mia in questo regno di Spagna fu p. tractare mercatantie: & come seguissi in q'sto proposito circa di quattro anni: nequalli uiddi & connobbi edisuariati mouime'ti della fortuna; . . . deliberai *lasciarmi della mercantia* & porre elmio fine in cosa piu laudabile & ferma: che fu che midisposi dandare a uedere parte del mondo, & le sue marauiglie." *Lettera di Amerigo Vespucci delle isole nouamente trouate in quattro suoi viaggi*, — written to Soderini from Lisbon, September 4, 1504; primitive text reprinted in Varnhagen, Lima, 1865, p. 35.

² See the document in Varnhagen, p. 93; Navarrete, tom. ii. pp. 159-162.

hardly have failed to become acquainted with Columbus in the summer of 1493, if he had not known him before. The relations between the two seem always to have been most cordial;¹ and after the Admiral's death his sons seem to have continued to hold the Florentine navigator in high esteem.

Our information concerning Americus Vespu-
cius, from the early part of the year
1496 until after his return from the
Portuguese to the Spanish service in
the latter part of 1504, rests primarily upon his
two famous letters; the one addressed to his old
patron Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de' Medici (a
cousin of Lorenzo the Magnificent) and written in
March or April, 1503, giving an account of his
third voyage:² the other addressed to his old
school-fellow Piero Soderini and dated from Lis-
bon, September 4, 1504, giving a brief account of
four voyages which he had made under various
commanders in the capacity of astronomer or pilot.³

His letters to
Medici and
Soderini.

¹ See the Admiral's letter to his son Diego, dated February 5, 1505, in Navarrete, tom. i. p. 351.

² The earliest Latin and Italian texts are given in Varnhagen, pp. 9-26.

³ The primitive Italian text and the famous Latin version presently to be noticed are given in Varnhagen, pp. 33-64.

Varnhagen prints three other letters, attributed to Vespu-
cius, which have been often quoted. They are all ad-
dressed to Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de' Medici: — 1. relating to the second voyage,
and dated July 18, 1500, first published in 1745 by Bandini; it is
unquestionably a forgery, not older than the seventeenth century,
and has done much to bemuddle the story of Vespu-
cius; 2. dated from Cape Verde, June 4, 1501, while starting on the third voy-
age, first published in 1827 by Baldelli; the document itself is
not original, but I am inclined to think it may perhaps be made

These letters, for reasons presently to be set forth, became speedily popular, and many editions were published, more especially in France, Germany, and Italy. It is extremely improbable that proof-sheets of any of these editions could ever have been read by the author, and it is perfectly clear that if his eye ever rested at any time upon the few strange errors of editing and proof-reading which were destined to embroil and perplex his story in the minds of future generations, he could not possibly have foreseen or dimly surmised what wretched complications were going to flow from the slight admixtures of error in the printed text. For Americus died, as Columbus had died, without ever having suspected the real significance of the discoveries in which he had been concerned.

The letter to Soderini gives an account of four voyages in which the writer took part, the first two in the service of Spain, the other two in the service of Portugal. The first expedition sailed from Cadiz May 10, 1497, and returned October 15, 1498, after having explored a coast so long as to seem unquestionably that of a continent. This voyage, as we shall see, was concerned with parts of America

The four
voyages de-
scribed in the
letters : —
First voyage.

up from genuine notes or memoranda; 3. relating to the third voyage, and dated 1502, first published in 1789 by Bartolozzi. I do not regard it as genuine, but as it adds nothing to what is contained in the genuine letters, the point is of no great importance.

A Spanish letter from Vespuccius to Cardinal Ximenes is published by Augusto Zeri, in his *Tre Lettere di Colombo e Vespucci*, Rome, 1881; but it has no reference to the questions discussed in the present chapter.

not visited again until 1513 and 1517. It discovered nothing that was calculated to invest it with much importance in Spain, though it by no means passed without notice there, as has often been wrongly asserted. Outside of Spain it came to attract more attention, but in an unfortunate way, for a slight but very serious error in proof-reading or editing in the most important of the Latin versions caused it after a while to be practically identified with the second voyage, made two years later. This confusion eventually led to most outrageous imputations upon the good name of Americus, which it has been left for the present century to remove.

The second voyage of Vespuccius was that in which he accompanied Alonso de Ojeda ^{Second} and Juan de La Cosa, from May 20, ^{voyage.} 1499, to June, 1500. They explored the northern coast of South America from some point on what we would now call the north coast of Brazil, as far as the Pearl Coast visited by Columbus in the preceding year; and they went beyond, as far as the gulf of Maracaibo. Here the squadron seems to have become divided, Ojeda going over to Hispaniola in September, while Vespuccius remained cruising till February.

In the autumn of 1500, or early in 1501, at the invitation of King Emanuel of Portugal, Vespuccius transferred his services to that ^{Third voyage.} country. His third voyage was from Lisbon, May 14, 1501, to September 7, 1502. He pursued the Brazilian coast as far as latitude 34° S., and ran thence S. E., as far as the island of

South Georgia. I shall presently show why it was that such a voyage, into this wholly new part of the world, excited public curiosity even more keenly than those of Columbus and Gama, and how curiously but naturally it led to the placing of the name "America" upon the map.

In a fourth voyage, from June 10, 1503, to June 18, 1504, Vespuccius, with Gonzalo Coelho, undertook to follow the Brazilian coast to its end or until they should find some passage into the Indian ocean. This expedition met with disasters, and after reaching latitude 23° S., Vespuccius returned to Lisbon without accomplishing anything.

In the autumn of 1504 Americus returned to the service of Spain with the rank of captain and a salary of 30,000 maravedis. He went on two more voyages, in company with La Cosa, in 1505 and 1507, for the exploration of the gulf of Urabá and the coasts adjoining. It seems to have been early in 1505 that he married a Spanish lady, Maria Cerezo, and became legally domiciled at Seville. On the 22d of March, 1508, because of the growing interest in voyages to the Indies and the increasing number of squadrons equipped for such a purpose, the government created the highly responsible office of Pilot Major of Spain. It was to be the duty of this officer to institute and superintend examinations for all candidates for the position of pilot, to judge of their proficiency in practical astronomy and navigation, and to issue certificates of competence to the successful candidates. Such work involved the es-

tablishment and supervision of regular methods of training in nautical science. The pilot major was also general inspector of maps, globes, and sailing charts, and he was expected to provide for the compilation of a "Carta Padron Real," or authoritative government map, which was to be revised and amended with reference to new information brought home by pilots from the Indies year after year.¹ On the 6th of August, 1508, this important office was conferred upon Vespuccius, with a salary of 75,000 maravedis. It was but a short time that Americus lived to discharge the duties of pilot major. After his death, which occurred at Seville, February 22, 1512, he was succeeded in that office by Juan Diaz de Solis, who in turn was succeeded by Sebastian Cabot.

Vespuccius appointed pilot major of Spain.

His death.

In view of the Egyptian darkness that has heretofore enveloped, and in the popular mind still surrounds, the subject of Americus Vespuccius and his voyages, it has seemed advisable to complete the mere outline of the events of his life before entering into discussion, in the hope of showing where the truth is to be found and how the mistakes have been made. The reader will find it convenient to bear in mind this simple outline sketch while I now return to the consideration of the first and second voyages, and point out how the mystery that has so long surrounded them has

¹ The official document describing the duties and powers of the pilot major is given in Navarrete, *Coleccion de viages*, tom. iii. pp. 299-302.

been in great part cleared away and seems likely ere long to be completely dispelled.

First we must note the character of our primary and only detailed authority for the events of all four voyages, the letter from Vespuccius to Soderini, dated Lisbon, September 4, 1504. Observe that this is not a formal or official document; it is not a report from a naval commander or the conductor of a scientific expedition to the head of his department. It is the business of such official reports to give names and incidents, dates and distances, and all relevant statistical information, with the greatest possible fulness and precision; and if there is any noticeable deficiency in this regard, we are entitled to blame the writer. With informal letters written to one's friends the case is very different. If Vespuccius, in sending to his old school-mate a cursory account of his adventures during seven years past, failed to mention sundry details which it annoys and puzzles us not to know, we have no business to find fault with him. He had a perfect right to tell his story in his own way. He was writing to a friend, not posing for posterity. Some querulous critics have blamed him for not mentioning the names of his commanders, as if he were intending to convey a false impression of having commanded in these voyages himself. No such impression is conveyed to the reader, however, but quite the contrary. On the first voyage Americus describes himself as invited by King Ferdinand to "assist" in the enterprise; as to his position in the second voyage there is no im-

The letter
from Vespuccius
to Soderini.

plication whatever ; as to the third and fourth he expressly mentions that he served under other captains. His whole letter shows plainly enough that on his most important voyages he went in the capacity of "astronomer." During the latter half of the fifteenth century, as voyages were extending farther and farther into unknown stretches of sea, it became customary to sail with such an officer on board. Each ship had its captain, its "master" (or mate), and its pilot ; and for the squadron, besides its captain-general, and its chief pilot, expert in the knack and mystery of navigation, there was apt to be (whenever it was possible to find one) a person well skilled in the astrolabe, fertile in expedients for determining longitude, and familiar with the history of voyages and with the maps and speculations of learned geographers. Sometimes there was a commander, like Columbus, who combined all these accomplishments in himself ; but in the case of many captains, even of such superb navigators as Pinzon and La Cosa, much more in the case of land-lubbers like Bastidas and Ojeda, it was felt desirable to have the assistance of a specialist in cosmography. Such was evidently the position occupied by Vespucius ; and occasions might and did arise in which it gave him the control of the situation, and made the voyage, for all historical purposes, his voyage.

He went on his earlier voyages in the capacity of astronomer.

It is certainly much to be regretted that in the narrative of his first expedition Vespucius did not happen to mention the name of the chief commander. If he had realized what a world of trouble

one little name, such as Pinzon, would have saved us he would doubtless have obliged us by doing so. However, as already observed, he was writing not for us, but for his friend, and he told Soderini only what he thought would interest him. In his preface Americus somewhat playfully apologizes for presuming to intrude upon that magistrate's arduous cares of state with so long a letter. He accordingly refrains from giving professional details, except in stating latitudes and longitudes and distances run, and even here he leaves gaps and contents himself with general statements that to us are sometimes far from satisfactory. He also gives very few proper names of places, either those supposed to be current among the natives, or those applied by the discoverers. But of such facts as would be likely to interest Soderini he gives plenty. He describes, with the keen zest of a naturalist, the beasts, birds, and fishes, the trees, herbs, and fruits, of the countries visited; their climates, the stars in their firmament, the personal appearance and habits of the natives, their food and weapons, their houses and canoes, their ceremonies and their diversity of tongues. Such details as these proved intensely interesting, not only to Soderini, but to many another reader, as was shown by the wide circulation obtained by the letter when once it had found its way into print. In an age when Pope Leo X. sat up all night reading the "Decades" of Peter Martyr, curiosity and the vague sense of wonder were aroused to the highest degree, and the facts observed by Vespuccius — although told

Character of
his descrip-
tions.

in the hurried and rambling style of an offhand epistle — were well adapted to satisfy and further to stimulate these cravings. But for the modern investigator, engaged upon the problem of determining precise localities in tropical America, these descriptions are too general. They may sometimes be made to apply to more than one region, and we are again reminded of the difficulty which one finds in describing a walk or drive over country roads and making it intelligible to others without the aid of *recognized proper names*. The reader will please note these italics, for it is an error in proper names that has been chiefly responsible for the complicated misunderstandings that have done such injustice to Vespuccius.

In the letter to Lorenzo de' Medici, written about April, 1503, reference is made to a book, or group of three pamphlets, which Vespuccius had already written, giving a definite and detailed account of his voyages. He tells Lorenzo that the pamphlet describing the third voyage is now in the hands of the King of Portugal, and he hopes it will soon be returned to him. He hopes at some future day, when more at leisure, to utilize these materials in writing a treatise on cosmography, in order that posterity may remember him and that God's creative work in a region unknown to the ancients may be made known. If God shall spare his life until he can settle down quietly at Florence, he hopes then, with the aid and counsel of learned men, to be able to complete such a book.¹ But

The Quattro Giornate, the lost book of Vespuccius.

¹ "Vt si quando mihi ocium dabitur possim omnia hec singu-

just now he is about to start on a fourth voyage, the results of which will probably need to be added to the book. In the letter to Soderini, written seventeen months later, after the return from the fourth voyage, Americus refers more than once to this book, under the title "Four Journeys" (*Quattro Giornate*). It is not yet published, he says, because he needs more time to revise it; in this narrative everything will be minutely described.¹ It is thus quite clear why Vespucci was not more explicit in his letters; and we can also well understand how his arduous duties as pilot major of Spain would delay the publication of his book until discourteous death² overtook him. Unfortunately, while versions of the hastily written letters, intended only for the moment, have survived, the manuscript of the carefully written book, so conscientiously withheld until it could be perfected, has perished.³

laria atque mirabilia colligere, et vel geographicæ vel cosmographicæ librum conscribere: ut mei recordatio apud posteros vivat, & omnipotentis dei cognoscatur tam immensum artificium in parte priscis ignotum, nobis autem cognitum. . . . Patriam & quietem repetere conabor, vbi & cum peritis conferre: & ab amicis id opus proficiendum confortari et adjuvari valeam." Varnhagen, p. 25.

¹ "In questa gente, & in loro terra conobbi & uiddi tanti de loro costumi & lor modi di uiuere, che no' curo di allargarmi in epsi: perche sopra V. M. come in ciascuno delli miei uiaggi ho notate le cose piu marauigliose: & tutto ho ridocto in un uolume in stilo di geografia: & le intitolo LE QUATTRO GIORNATE: nella quale opera sicontiene le cose p. minuto & per anchora no' sene data fuora copia, perche me necessario conferirla." Varnhagen, p. 45.

² "Morte villana;" see Dante, *Vita Nuova*, viii., and Professor Norton's charming version.

³ One hesitates to say too positively about any book that it has perished. Things have such queer ways of turning up, as for instance Aristotle's treatise on the government of Athens, after its

As for the letters themselves, the manuscripts are nowhere forthcoming, and until lately it has been maintained that none of the printed texts are originals, but that all are reprints from a primitive text that has been lost. Of the letter to Soderini the version which has played the most important part in history is the Latin one first published at the press of the little college at Saint-Dié in Lorraine, April 25 (vij Kl' Maij), 1507. We shall presently have more to say about the remarkable book in which this version appears; suffice it here to observe that it was translated, not from an original text, but from an intermediate French version, which is lost. Of late years, however, we have detected, in an excessively rare Italian text, the original from which the famous Lorraine version was ultimately derived. Of this little book M. HARRISSE was able in 1872 to mention four copies as still existing, — one in the Palatine library at Florence, one in the library of the Marquis Gino Capponi in that city, one in the British Museum, and one purchased at Havana in 1863 by the eminent Brazilian historian, FRANCISCO ADOLPHO DE VARNHAGEN, Viscount de Porto Seguro. This last-named copy had once been in the Cartuja at Seville, and it was bound in

The Latin version (1507) of the letter to Soderini.

Recent discovery of the primitive Italian text, 1505-06.

Rip Van Winkle slumber of two thousand years. Of a certain copy of Oviedo's first folio (Toledo, 1526) M. HARRISSE observes: "The only other copy which we know of this extremely rare book is in Havana, and was found in a Madrid butcher's stall, as the illiterate dealer in meat was tearing it to wrap a sirloin of beef which a pretty *manola* had just purchased." *Notes on Columbus*, New York, 1866, p. 13.

vellum together with a tract of St. Basil, printed at Florence by the printer Gian Stefano di Carlo di Pavia, for the publisher Pietro Pacini, of Pescia, in 1506. From the manner in which the edges of the leaves were gnawed it was evident that the two tracts had been within the same cover for a great length of time. Closer examination showed that they were printed from the same font of type; and a passage in Girolamo Priuli's diary, dated July 9, 1506, says that the voyages of Vespuccius have already been printed.¹ If we were absolutely sure that this statement refers to this edition, it would settle its date beyond all question; but as there is no other edition ever heard of or known to have existed to which it can possibly refer, the circumstantial evidence becomes exceedingly strong. Moreover the language of this text is a corrupt Italian, abounding in such Spanish and Portuguese words and turns of expression as Vespuccius would have been likely, during fourteen years of residence in the Iberian peninsula and of association with its sailors, to incorporate into his everyday speech. This fact is very significant, for if a book thus printed in Florence were a translation from anything else, its language would be likely to be the ordinary Italian of the time, not a jargon salted with Atlantic brine. Altogether it seems in the highest degree probable that we have here the primitive text, long given up for lost, of

¹ " Questa navigazione, e la natura delle persone, e li viaggi, e li venti, e tutto sono in stampa notati con gran intelligenza." Foscarini, *Letteratura veneziana*, Padua, 1752, p. 179.

Lettera di Amerigo vespucci
delle isole nonamente
trouate in quattro
snoi viaggi.



Facsimile of title-page of the original Italian edition of the letter
from Vespucci to Soderini, published at Florence, 1505-06.

the ever memorable letter from Vespuccius to his former schoolmate Soderini.¹

If now we compare this primitive text with the Latin of the Lorraine version of 1507, we observe that in the latter one proper name — the Indian name of a place visited by Americus on his first voyage — has been altered. In the original it is *Lariab*; in the Latin it has become *Parias*. This looks like an instance of injudicious editing on the part of the Latin translator, although, of course, it may be a case of careless proof-reading. *Lariab* is a queer-looking word. It is no wonder that a scholar in his

Change of the Indian name *Lariab* into the Indian name *Parias* in the Latin version of 1507; original source of all the calumny against Americus.

¹ The title of this edition is *Lettera di Amerigo Vespucci delle isole nuouamente trouate in quattro suoi viaggi*, sixteen unnumbered leaves in quarto. It is No. 87 in HARRISSE'S *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, New York, 1866, where the date 1516 is conjecturally assigned it; but that date is clearly wrong, as M. HARRISSE has since recognized. In the *Additions* (Paris, 1872) to his great work he is inclined to adopt VARNHAGEN'S date, 1505-1506, and considers it "almost certain" that this text was the original source of the Lorraine Latin version published April 25, 1507. M. d'AVEZAC is of the same opinion; see his *Martin Waltzemüller*, p. 46. For the whole argument, see VARNHAGEN, *Amerigo Vespucci*, pp. 27-31. This primitive text is reproduced, page for page and line for line, with all its typographical peculiarities and its few quaint wood cuts, by VARNHAGEN. Mr. QUARITCH (*Rough List*, No. 111, April 16, 1891, p. 52) says there are five copies extant. He bought one for £524 at the sale of the late Dr. COURT'S library at Paris in 1884; and it is now, I believe, in the library of Mr. C. H. KALBFLEISCH, of New York. From this original Mr. QUARITCH published in 1885 a facsimile reproduction, which may be bought for five guineas, and an English translation, price two guineas and a half; so that now for the first time since the discovery of America an English reader not thoroughly at home in Italian thickly interlarded with Spanish and Portuguese can see for himself what Vespuccius really said.

study among the mountains of Lorraine could make nothing of it. If he had happened to be acquainted with the language of the Huastecas, who dwelt at that time about the river Panuco, — fierce and dreaded enemies of their southern neighbours, the Aztecs, — he would have known that names of places in that region were apt to end in *ab* (Tanlajab, Tancuayalab, Tancuallalab),¹ very much as English names of towns are apt to end in *ham* and Persian names of countries in *stan*. But as such facts were quite beyond our worthy translator's ken, we cannot much blame him if he felt that such a word as Lariab needed doctoring. Parias (Paria) was known to be the native name of a region on the western shores of the Atlantic, and so Lariab became Parias. As the distance from the one place to the other is more than two thousand miles, this little emendation shifted the scene of the first voyage beyond all recognition, and cast the whole subject into an outer darkness where there has since been much groaning and gnashing of teeth.

Another curious circumstance came in to confirm this error. On his first voyage, shortly before arriving at Lariab, Vespuccius saw an Indian town built over the water, "like Venice." He counted forty-four large wooden houses, "like barracks," supported on huge tree-trunks and communicating with each other by bridges that could be drawn

How the "little wooden Venice" aided and abetted the error.

¹ Orozco y Berra, *Geografía de lenguas y carta etnográfica de México*, p. 289; Varnhagen, *Le premier voyage de Vespucci*, p. 20.

up in case of danger. This may well have been a village of communal houses of the Chontals on the coast of Tabasco ; but such villages were afterwards seen on the gulf of Maracaibo, and one of them was called Venezuela,¹ or "Little Venice," a name since spread over a territory nearly twice as large as France. So the amphibious town described by Vespuccius was incontinently moved to Maracaibo, as if there could be only one such place, as if that style of defensive building had not been common enough in many ages and in many parts of the earth, from ancient Switzerland to modern Siam. Such "little Venices" might once have been seen near the mouth of the Amazon, and there is now, or has lately been, a similar town named Bodegas, on the coast of Ecuador, near Guayaquil.²

Thus *in spite of the latitudes and longitudes distinctly stated by Vespuccius in his letter*, did Lariab and the little wooden Venice get shifted from the gulf of Mexico to the northern coast of South America. Now there is no question that Vespuccius in his second voyage, with Ojeda for captain, did sail along that coast, visiting the gulfs of Paria and Maracaibo. This was in the

The charge that Vespuccius feigned to have discovered the coast of Paria in 1497.

¹ The name occurs in this place on La Cosa's map, which thus confirms the common statement that Ojeda found such a village on his first voyage (Vespuccius's second) in 1499. Ojeda at first called the gulf "the lake of St. Bartholomew," because he discovered it on the 24th of August ; some years afterward he spoke of it as "gulf of Venice" (*golfo de Venecia*). See Navarrete, *Coleccion*, tom. iii. p. 8.

² Varnhagen, *Le premier voyage de Vespucci*, p. 13.

summer of 1499, one year after a part of the same coast had been visited by Columbus. Hence in a later period, long after the actors in these scenes had been gathered unto their fathers, and when people had begun to wonder how the New World could ever have come to be called America instead of Columbia, it was suggested that the first voyage described by Vespuccius must be merely a clumsy and fictitious duplicate of the second, and that he invented it and thrust it back from 1499 to 1497, in order that he might be accredited with the "discovery of the continent" one year in advance of his friend Columbus. It was assumed that he must have written his letter to Soderini with the base intention of supplanting his friend, and that the shabby device was successful. This explanation seemed so simple and intelligible that it became quite generally adopted, and it held its ground until the subject began to be *critically* studied and Alexander von Humboldt showed, about sixty years ago, that the first naming of America occurred in no such way as had been supposed.

The date 1497 had nothing whatever to do with the naming of America.

As soon as we refrain from projecting our modern knowledge of geography into the past, as soon as we pause to consider how these great events appeared to the actors themselves, the absurdity of this accusation against Americus becomes evident. We are told that he falsely pretended to have visited Paria and Maracaibo in 1497, in order to claim priority over Columbus in the discovery of "the continent." What continent?

When Vespuccius wrote that letter to Soderini, in 1504, neither he nor anybody else suspected that what we now call America had been discovered. The only continent of which there could be any question, so far as supplanting Columbus was concerned, was Asia. But in 1504 Columbus was generally supposed to have discovered the continent of Asia, by his new route, in 1492. In that year and in 1494, taking the two voyages together, he had sailed more than a thousand miles along the coast of Cuba without detecting its insular character. As the history of that time has always, until very lately, been written, we have been told that the insularity of Cuba was first revealed by Sebastian de Ocampo, who circumnavigated it in 1508. If this opinion were correct, Americus could not possibly have undertaken to antedate Columbus with his figure 1497; it would have been necessary for him to feign a voyage earlier than the autumn of 1492. As I shall presently show, however, Americus probably did know, in 1504, that Cuba was an island, inasmuch as in 1497-98 he had passed to the west of it himself, touching the coasts of both Yucatan and Florida! If this view is correct, then he did visit what we now know to have been the continent of America, but which he supposed to be the continent of Asia, a year in advance of Columbus, and of course the accusation against him falls to the ground. From this dilemma there seems to be no escape.

The perplexity surrounding the account of the first voyage of Vespuccius is therefore chiefly due

Absurdity inherent in the charge.

to the lack of intelligence with which it has been read. There is no reason whatever for imagining dishonesty in his narrative, and no reason for not admitting it as evidence on the same terms as those upon which we admit other contemporary documents. The court presumes the witness to be truthful until adequate reason has been alleged for a contrary presumption. What, then, are we to conclude in the case of this voyage of 1497?

The evidence that no such voyage was made in that year *along the Pearl Coast* is as strong as it is possible for negative evidence to be; indeed it seems unanswerable. We have seen how Columbus, owing to his troubles with rebellious Spaniards and the machinations of his enemy Fonseca, was deprived of his government of Hispaniola, and how he ended his days in poverty and neglect, vainly urging King Ferdinand (as acting regent of Castile) to reinstate him in the dignities and emoluments which had been secured to him by solemn compact under the royal seal in April, 1492. The right to these dignities and emoluments was inherited by his eldest son, Don Diego Columbus, and that young man was earnest in pressing his claims. He urged that Ovando should be recalled from Hispaniola and himself duly installed as viceroy of the Indies, with his percentage of the revenues accruing from Hispaniola, the Pearl Coast, and such other regions as his father had discovered. Whether these claims of Diego would ever have received any recognition, except for one fortunate circumstance, may be doubted. Diego seems to have

Claims of Diego Columbus.

inherited his father's good fortune in winning the hearts of aristocratic ladies. He had lived in the royal household since he was taken there as a page in 1492, and in 1508 he married a princess, Maria de Toledo, whose paternal grandmother was sister to the mother of Ferdinand the Catholic.¹ The next year Ovando was recalled from Hispaniola, and Diego, accompanied by his bride and many people from the court, went out and assumed the government of the Indies.² The king, however, was not prepared to admit the full claims of Diego Columbus to a percentage on the revenues without interposing every obstacle in his power. It was understood that the matter must be adjusted by litigation; and in 1508, the year of his marriage, Diego brought suit against the crown of Castile, in the fiscal court of that kingdom, for the full restitution of rights and emoluments wrongfully withheld from the heir of the Admiral Don Christopher Columbus. This suit dawdled along for several years, as such suits are apt to do. Various pleas in abatement of Diego's demands were presented by the crown. At length in 1513 a plea was put in which invested the case with fresh interest, inasmuch that Diego came home from Hispaniola to give it his personal care. The king had taken it into his head to subject the Admiral's claims as discoverer to a critical examination, in the hope of paring them down to as small a figure as possible.

His lawsuit
against the
crown.

¹ See HARRISSE, *Christophe Colomb*, tom. ii. p. 247.

² HERRERA, dec. i. cap. vii. p. 189; OVIEDO, *Historia general de las Indias*, tom. i. p. 97.

An inquiry was accordingly instituted in 1513, and renewed in 1515, in order to define by a judicial decision how much Columbus had discovered and how far the work of other navigators might properly be held to diminish his claims to originality. Observe that the question at issue was not as to "who discovered America." It was a question of much narrower and more definite import, and the interest felt in it by both parties to the suit was mainly a pecuniary interest. The question was:—in just what islands and stretches of "terra firma" in the Indies was Diego Columbus entitled to claim a share in the revenues on the strength of his father's discoveries? What might have been done by other Spanish navigators, outside of the regions visited by Christopher Columbus, was quite irrelevant; the Columbus family could have no claim upon such regions. The investigation, therefore, was directed chiefly upon three points:—1. great pains were taken to bring out all the facts relating to the discovery of the rich Pearl Coast; 2. much less attention was given to the Admiral's last voyage along Honduras and Veragua; and 3. some attempt was made to see if his merit in first pointing out the way to the Indies could be diminished by proof of indispensable aid rendered by Martin Alonso Pinzon and others.

These interrogatories and answers, which were published in the great work of Navarrete under the general title of *Probanzas*,¹ are simply invaluable for the light which they throw upon the

¹ Navarrete, *Coleccion de viages*, tom. iii. pp. 538-615.

The great judicial inquiry
— the *Probanzas*.

biography of Columbus and some of the more minute details in the history of the time. With regard to the alleged voyage of Vespuccius (*as along the Pearl Coast*) in 1497 they are quite conclusive. Nearly a hundred witnesses were examined under oath, including Alonso de Ojeda himself, who made the voyage along that coast in 1499, when he had with him Juan de La Cosa, Americus Vespuccius, and other pilots.¹ Ojeda was a friend of Fonseca and an enemy of Columbus. In his voyage of 1499 he used a copy of a chart, furnished him by Fonseca, which had been made by Columbus the year before and sent by him to the sovereigns. At the time of the *Probanzas*, Vespuccius and La Cosa were both in their graves and could not be summoned as witnesses, but Ojeda's testimony was positive and explicit that Columbus was the discoverer of the Pearl Coast. Now if his own pilot, Vespuccius, had visited that coast in 1497, Ojeda could not have failed to know the fact, and he would have been only too glad to proclaim it. If such a fact could have been established, it would at once have settled the question as to the Pearl Coast in favour of the king, and there would have been no need of the elaborate but weak and unsuccessful arguments to which the crown lawyers had recourse. The result of the inquiry was overwhelmingly in favour of Columbus; and from beginning to end

It proves that Vespuccius did not discover the Pearl Coast in 1497.

¹ "En este viage que este dicho testigo trujo consigo á Juan de la Cosa, piloto, e Morigo Vespuche, e otros pilotos." Navarrete, tom. iii. p 544.

not an interrogatory nor an answer, either on the part of Diego or on the part of the crown, betrayed the faintest glimmering of a consciousness that anybody had ever made, *or that anybody had ever professed to have made*, a voyage along the Pearl Coast before 1498.

This fact has been commonly and rightly regarded as decisive. It makes it morally certain that Vespuccius did not visit Paria or Maracaibo or the coast between them in 1497. But it contains another implication which seems to have passed without notice. *It makes it equally certain that Vespuccius had never professed to have made such a voyage.*

It proves, with equal force, that he never professed to have done so.

At the beginning of the *Probanzas*, in 1513, the Italian letter from Vespuccius to Soderini had been in print at least seven years; the Latin version, which made it accessible to educated men all over Europe, had been in print six years, and was so popular that it had gone through at least six editions. We can hardly suppose the letter to have been unknown in Spain; indeed we know that one copy of the Italian original was in Spain in 1513 in the possession of Ferdinand Columbus, who bought it in Rome in September, 1512, for five *cuattrini*.¹ From 1508 until his death in February, 1512, Americus held one of the highest positions in the Spanish marine. Now if the Pilot Major of Spain had ever made any public pretensions which in any way tended to invalidate the claim of Diego Columbus, that his father had first discovered the Pearl Coast, can we for a moment

¹ HARRISSE, *Fernand Colomb*, p. 11.

suppose that at just that time, with such a lawsuit impending, the king would not have heard of those pretensions and used them for all they were worth? It is not supposable. The fact that neither party to the suit knew of such claims on the part of Americus proves *not only that they were unfounded, but that they had never been made.* It shows that contemporary Spaniards, familiar with the facts and reading the narrative of his voyages, did not understand the first one as referring to the Pearl Coast, but to an entirely different region.

It was M. Varnhagen who first turned inquiry on this subject in the right direction. Where does Vespuccius *say* that he went on his first voyage? He says that he started May 10, 1497, from Cadiz and ran to the Grand Canary, the distance of which from Lisbon he calls 280 leagues. We thus find the length of the league used by Vespuccius and get a scale wherewith to measure his distances. That run is not likely to have been made in less than seven days, and as he staid eight days more at the Grand Canary, he must have started thence about May 25. After a run of 37 (or 27) days¹ he made land in a direction about west-southwest from the Canaries and distant 1,000 leagues, in latitude 16° N. and longitude 75° W. from the meridian of the Grand Canary. If we suppose this land to have been Cape Honduras, the latitude, about which Vespuccius was least likely to be mistaken, is exactly right; his distance by dead

The landfall on the first voyage of Vespuccius was near Cape Honduras.

¹ See below, p. 87, note.

reckoning is somewhat too small, probably because he failed to allow for the acceleration due to the westward current in the Caribbean sea; and his longitude is scarcely 5° in excess, a very moderate error for those days. The northern coast of Honduras not only thus suits the conditions of the case,¹ but makes the subsequent details of the voyage consistent and intelligible. Having taken a correct start by simply following the words of Vespuceus himself, from a primitive text, without reference to any preconceived theories or traditions, M. Varnhagen finds, from further analysis of the narrative, that he sailed around Yucatan, and found his aquatic village of communal houses,² his little wooden Venice, on the shore of Tabasco. Thence, after a fight with the natives in which a few tawny prisoners³ were captured and carried on board the caravels, Vespuceus seems to have taken a straight course to the Huasteca country by

¹ The entrance to the gulf of Maracaibo is about 12° N. by 52° W. from Canaries; Paria, at the other end of the Pearl Coast, is about 11° N. by 44° W. from Canaries; so that no point on that coast can by any possibility be intended by Vespuceus.

² In a single house Vespuceus found 600 people, and in one place he estimated the population of 13 houses as about 4,000, or rather more than 300 to a house. These figures are eminently probable.

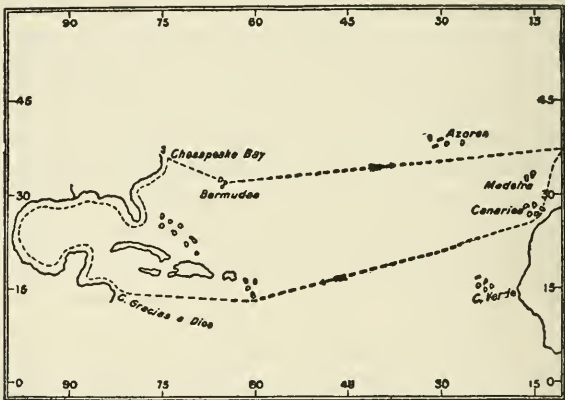
³ They were of medium stature, and well proportioned, with reddish skin like a lion's: — "Sono di mediana statura, molto ben proportionati: le lor carni sono di colore che pende in rosso come pelle di liono." *Lettera* (ed. 1505-1506), fol. a. iii. recto. Varnhagen, p. 37. He notes their ornaments of gorgeous feathers, their hammocks, and their "paternostrini che fanno dossi di peschi," i. e. "paternosters made of fish-bones" (fol. a. iv. verso), meaning strings analogous to *quipus* and to wampum-belts. See below, p. 299.

Tampico, without touching at points in the region subject or tributary to the Aztec confederacy.

The "province of Lariab."

This Tampico country was what Vespucius understood to be called Lariab.

He again gives the latitude definitely and correctly as 23° N.,¹ and he mentions a few interesting circumstances. He saw the natives roasting a dreadfully ugly animal, "like a serpent, [dragon?] only it had no wings." It was about the



First voyage of Vespucius (with Pinzon and Solis, 1497-98).

size of a kid, half as long again as a man's arm, with a hard skin of various hues, a snout and face like a serpent's, and a saw-like crest running from the top of its head down the middle of its back and on to the upper part of its tail. The sailors

¹ It is just 2,400 miles distant, as the crow flies, from Paria, the region with which it has so long been stupidly identified. This has been preëminently one of the cases mentioned by Bishop Berkeley, in which commentators first kick up a dust and then wonder why they cannot see through it!

saw many of these creatures, and were afraid to touch them lest they might have a venomous bite, but the natives esteemed them as delicacies. This is an excellent description of the iguana, the flesh of which is to this day an important article of food in tropical America.¹ These Huastecas also made cakes or

Roasted
iguanas and
fish patties.

¹ “Doue uede'mo che arrostiuano un certo animale ch' pareua un serpe'te, saluo ch' no' teneua alia, & nella apparenza ta'to brutto, che molto cimarauiglia'mo della sua fiera: Anda'mo cosi p. le lor case, o uero tra bacche & haua'mo molti di questi serpe'te uiui, & eron legati pe piedi . . . : eron di tanto fiero aspetto, che nessuno di noi no' ardiua di torne uno, pensando, ch' eron uenenosi: sono di grandeza di uno caureto & di ln'gheza braccia uno & mezo: te'gono epiedi lunghi & grossi & armati co' grosse unghie: tengono la pelle dura, & sono di uarii colori: elmuso & faccia tengon di serpe'te: & dal naso simuoue loro una cresta come una segha, che passa loro p. elmezo delle schiene infino alla sommita della coda: in co'elusione gli giudica'mo serpi & uenenosi, segli ma'gianano.” *Lettera*, fol. a. v. recto. Varnhagen, p. 43. Compare the description in the *Century Dictionary*: — “It attains a length of five feet or more, and presents a rather formidable appearance, but is inoffensive unless molested; . . . its flesh is much used for food. The tail is very long, compressed, and tapering; a row of scales along the back is developed into a serrate crest or dorsal ridge; the head is covered with scaly plates; . . . its coloration is variegated with brownish, greenish, and yellowish tints.” Yet this well-known animal has sorely puzzled the commentators. It is not easy to imagine, says Navarrete (tom. iii. p. 225), what kind of a serpent this could have been, as big as a kid, and with wings and feet (*y que tenian alas y pies*), and he is inclined to set it down as “one of Vespucio's many absurdities” (*uno de los muchos absurdos de Vespucio en sus relaciones*). Apparently Navarrete could not read his own text correctly when a chance was offered for a fling at poor old Vespucius, for that text (on the very same page!!) reads “only it did NOT have wings” (*solo que no tenia alas*)! Why should Vespucius have taken the pains to say that it had no wings? It probably indicates that he had only a literary acquaintance with serpents, and dimly confused them with dragons.

patties out of small fish, which they kneaded up with a sort of pastry and baked upon red-hot coals. The Spaniards tasted them and found them good.¹ The people were enemies of those whom the Spaniards had found in the "little Venice" over on the Tabasco shore, and when it was observed that some of the latter were shackled prisoners on board the caravels,² the white men were forthwith greeted as friends. The Indians received them most hospitably, and under their escort twenty-three of the mariners, among whom Vespuceus was one, made a journey some eighteen leagues inland, to see what could be found in that country. They visited several villages, composed of communal houses. In one of these villages, described as well

Navarrete's remark is a fair specimen of the mingled dulness and flippancy with which commentators have been wont to treat the great Florentine sailor, — finding it easier to charge him with absurdities than patiently to ascertain his meaning. Even Mr. Lester, in a different temper from Navarrete, thinks that "the navigator has perhaps drawn somewhat upon his imagination in his description of this animal" (*Life of Americus Vespuceus*, p. 129). Yet, as we have here seen, his description is strictly accurate, and I cite it in illustration of the general faithfulness of his narrative. — As for the flesh of the ugly reptile, I do not find any mention of it among the 1,394 dishes described by Alessandro Filippini, of Delmonico's, in his interesting book, *The Table*, New York, 1889; but one fancies that it might be so treated as to commend itself to epicures, even as the peerless terrapin, of which one of our British cousins is said to have declared, "Upon my word, it's not so nasty as it looks!" I have been told that the flavour of the iguana reminds one of spring chicken.

¹ "Proua'molo, & troua'mo che era buono." Compare some of the Mexican dishes mentioned below, p. 268.

² They were expert swimmers and thought nothing of jumping overboard and striking out for the shore, even when it was several leagues distant and out of sight; so that all those whom the Spaniards had not put in irons had escaped.

peopled, the number of such houses was but nine. Lions and panthers (i. e. probably pumas and ocelots) were seen, but neither horse, ass, nor cow, nor any kind of domesticated animal.¹ It was a populous country, with no end of rivers,² and an astonishing quantity of birds of most brilliant plumages. The people were struck dumb with amazement at the sight of the white strangers, and when they had so far recovered themselves as to ask the latter whence they came, the Spaniards gave them to understand that they came from beyond the sky.

After leaving this country of Lariab the ships kept still to the northwest for a short distance, and then followed the windings of the coast for 870 leagues,³ frequently landing and doing petty traffic with the natives.

Coasting to
Florida and
around it.

¹ "No te'ghono caualli ne muli, ne co' reuerentia asini, ne cani, ne di sorte alcuna bestiampe peculioso, ne uaccino: ma sono ta'ti li altri animali che te'ghono & tueti sono saluatichi, & di nessuno siseruono per loro seruitio, che no' siposson contare." *Lettera*, fol. h. i. recto. Varnhagen, p. 45.

² "Questa terra e populatissima, & di gente piena, & dinfiniti fiumi." *Id.* The whole description agrees with Tampico.

³ According to the most obvious reading of the text they sailed N. W. for 870 leagues, but this would be impossible upon any theory of the voyage: — "Partimo di questo porto: la prouincia sidice Lariab: & nauiga'mo allungo della costa sempre a uista della terra, tanto che corre'mo dessa 870 leghe tutta uia uerso el maestrale," etc. *Lettera*, fol. b. i. verso. Varnhagen, p. 46. Does *tuttavia* here mean "always," or "still"? For the equivalent Spanish *todavia* the latter meaning is the more primary and usual. M. Varnhagen supposes that the words "tutta uia uerso el maestrale" belong in the writer's mind with "partimo di questo porto;" so that the sense would be, "we sailed from this port still to the N. W., and we followed the coast always in sight of land until we had run 870 leagues" (*Le premier voyage de*

They bought a little gold, but not much. Here the letter hurries over the scene somewhat abruptly. It was not likely that Soderini would be particularly interested in the shape of these strange coasts, and as for red Indians, much had already been said about them in the earlier part of the letter. So we are brought quickly to the end of the journey. After traversing the 870 leagues of crooked coast the ships found themselves in "the finest harbour in the world." It was in June, 1498, thirteen months since they had started from Spain. The ships were leaky and otherwise dilapidated, no discoveries of abundant gold or spices or jewels, calculated to awaken enthusiasm, had been made, and the men were tired of the voyage. It was therefore unanimously agreed¹ to beach and repair the ships, and then return home. They spent seven-and-thirty days in this unrivalled harbour, preparing for the home voyage, and found the natives very hospitable. These red men courted the aid of the white strangers. On some islands a hundred leagues or more out at sea there lived a fierce race of cannibals, who from time to

Vespucci, p. 22). If the style of Vespucci were that of a correct and elegant writer, such a reading would be hardly admissible, but as his style was anything but correct and elegant, perhaps it may pass. Or perhaps N. W. may have been carelessly substituted for N. E., as would have been easy if signs were used in the manuscript instead of words like *maestrale* and *greco*. Then it would mean that the *general* direction after leaving Lariab was N. E. Upon any possible supposition there is a blunder in the statement as it appears in the printed text.

¹ "Acchorda'mo di comune consiglio porre le nostre navi amonte, & ricorrerle per stancharle, che faceuano molta acqua," etc. fol. b. i. verso.

time in fleets of canoes invaded the coasts of the mainland and carried off human victims by the score. Here a source of profit for the Spaniards was suggested; for Columbus, as we shall hereafter see,¹ had already set the example of kidnapping cannibals, and it was coming to be a recognized doctrine, on the part of the Spanish government, that it was right for people "guilty of that unnatural crime" to be sold into slavery. The expedition with which Vespuccius was sailing weighed anchor late in August, taking ^{The Bermu-} das seven of the friendly Indians for guides, on condition that they should return to the mainland in their own canoes. The Indians were glad to go on these terms and witness the discomfiture of their enemies. After a week's voyage they fell in with the islands, some peopled, others uninhabited, evidently the Bermudas,² 600 miles from Cape Hatteras as the crow flies. The Spaniards landed on an island called Iti, and had a brisk fight with a large body of the cannibals, who defended themselves manfully, but could not withstand firearms. More than 200 prisoners were taken, seven of whom were presented to the seven Indian guides. Taking a large canoe from the island, these friendly barbarians paddled away westward, "right merry and marvelling at our power."³ "We also

¹ See below, p. 433.

² When these islands were rediscovered in 1522 they were entirely depopulated, — an instance, no doubt, of the frightful thoroughness with which the Spanish kidnappers from Hispaniola had done their work during the interval.

³ "Sene tornarono allor terra molto allegri, marauiglia'dosi delle nostre forze." If they ever succeeded in getting home, one does not need to be told of the lurid fate of the captives.

set sail for Spain, with 222 prisoners, slaves; and arrived in the port of Cadiz on the 15th day of October, 1498, where we were well received and sold our slaves. This is what happened to me in this my first voyage that may be most worth telling."¹

The words of Vespuccius are too vague to enable us, without help from other sources, to determine the situation of that "finest harbour in the world," where the expedition made its last halt before striking eastward into the Atlantic. So much depends upon the quantity of allowance to be made for tacking and for the sinuosities of the coast-line, that it is impossible to say with any confidence to what point a run of 870 leagues from Tampico would have brought the ships. It is clear that they must have sailed between Cuba and Florida, and must have taken their final start from some point on the Atlantic coast of what is now the United States. The conditions of the case seemed at first to M. Varnhagen to point to the waters of the Chesapeake, but he was afterward inclined to

¹ "Noi alsi facemo uela p. Spagna con 222 prigioni schiaui: & giugnemo nel porto di Calis adi 15 doctobre 1498 doue fumo ben ricevuti & vende'mo nostri schiaui. Questo e, quello che miacchadde in questo mio primo uiaggio di piu notabile." Fol. b. ii. verso. It was a dreadful number of slaves to pack away in four caravels, and 22 has been suggested as a more probable figure. Perhaps so; mistakes in numerals are easy and frequent. The annals of the slave trade, however, give grewsome instances of what human greed can do. "De nos jours encore," observes Varnhagen, "que la traite des nègres est presque entièrement supprimée, nous avons vu aborder au Callao, venant de Chine, dans un seul navire, quelques cents Coolies: plus de la dixième partie de ces Coolies avait péri à bord, pendant le traversée."

designate Cape Cañaveral on the Florida coast as the final point of departure for the cannibal islands which apparently must have been the Bermudas.¹ But, as Mr. Hubert Bancroft suggests, it is hard to imagine what port near Cape Cañaveral could have been called the best harbour in the world, except "by a navigator little familiar with good harbours." I shall presently point to some reasons for believing that capes Charles and Cañaveral were probably the northern and southern limits between which the final departure was taken. Meanwhile another and more important question claims our attention.

We have hitherto been considering only the statements of Vespucci himself in an informal letter. It has been urged, with reference to the credibility of these statements, that there is no contemporary allusion whatever to such a voyage, either in books of history or in archives.² There is strong reason for believing that this sweeping assertion is far from correct, and that contemporary allusions have not been found simply because scholars have sought them in the wrong quarter. With their backs turned upon Lariab they have been staring

Why critics have found no contemporary allusions to this voyage.

¹ Varnhagen, *Amerigo Vespucci*, Lima, 1865, p. 99, and chart at the end; *Le premier voyage de Vespucci*, Vienna, 1869, p. 30.

² "It should first of all be noted that the sole authority for a voyage made by Vespucci in 1497 is Vespucci himself. All contemporary history, other than his own letters [it should be *letter*], is absolutely silent in regard to such a voyage, whether it be history in printed books, or in the archives of those kingdoms of Europe where the precious documents touching the earlier expeditions to the New World were deposited." S. H. Gay, in Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, ii. 137.

PRINCIPAL SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE VOYAGES SOUTH OF TROPIC OF CANCER.

N. B. — *Portuguese in Italics.*

NO.	NAME.	DATE.	PLACE.
1	Columbus I.	Aug. 3, 1492 — March 15, 1493.	Several Bahamas; Cuba and Hayti, north coasts.
2	Columbus II.	Sept. 25, 1493 — June 11, 1496.	Several lesser Antilles; Jamaica; Cuba and Hayti, south coasts.
3	Pinzon and Solis, Vespucius I.	May 10, 1497 — Oct. 15, 1498.	North coast of Honduras, gulf of Mexico, Florida, Bermudas.
4	<i>Gama.</i>	<i>July 8, 1497 — July 10, 1499.</i>	<i>West coast of Hindustan via Cape of Good Hope.</i>
5	Columbus III.	May 30, 1498 — Nov. 25, 1500.	Trinidad, Paria, and Pearl Coast as far west as Cubagua.
6	Ojeda, La Cosa, Vespucius II.	May 16, 1499 — June, 1500.	From some point on north coast of Brazil to Paria and westward to Maracalbo, and to Cape de la Vela.
7	Pinzon.	Dec., 1499 — Sept., 1500.	Brazilian coast at about 8° S., and thence northward.
8	Lepe.	Jan. — June, 1500.	Brazilian coast to about 10° S.
9	<i>Cabral.</i>	<i>March 9, 1500 — July, 1501.</i>	<i>Brazilian coast from about 12° to 16° 30' S., thence via Cape of Good Hope to Hindustan.</i>
10	Bastidas, La Cosa.	Oct., 1500 — Sept., 1502.	From Pearl Coast westward to Puerto Bello on isthmus of Darien.
11	<i>Nuno Manuel?</i> <i>Vespucius III.</i>	<i>May 14, 1501 — Sept. 7, 1502.</i>	<i>Brazilian coast from 5° to 34° S., thence to South Georgia island, 64° S.</i>
12	Columbus IV.	May 11, 1502 — Nov. 7, 1504.	From Cape Honduras eastward and southward to gulf of Darien.

13	Coelho, Vespucius IV.	June 10, 1503 — June 18, 1504.	Brazilian coast, Vespucius to about 23° S., Coelho to about 40° S.
14	Christonião Jaques.	1503.	Brazilian and Patagonian coasts to about 52° S.
15	La Cosa, Vespucius V.	May — Dec., 1505.	Search for a strait in gulf of Darien and Atrato river.
16	Almeida.	1506.	Ceylon.
17	La Cosa, Vespucius VI.	March — Nov., 1507.	Further explorations about Darien.
18	Pinzon and Solis.	June 29, 1508 — Oct., 1509.	Brazilian coast, etc., to about 40° S.
19	Ocampo.	1508.	From Hayti circumnavigated Cuba.
20	Sequeira.	1509.	Malacca.
21	Abreu and Serrano.	1512.	The Spice Islands (Moluccas) by eastward route.
22	Ponce de Leon.	1513.	Florida.
23	Solis.	1516.	Search for a strait at river La Plata.
24	Andrade.	1517.	First voyage of European ships to China.
25	Córdova.	1517.	Rediscovery and circumnavigation of Yucatan.
26	Grijalva.	1518.	Exploration of gulf of Mexico.
27	Cortes.	1519.	March into Mexico.
28	Magellan, Elcano.	Sept. 20, 1519 — Sept. 8, 1522.	The Spice Islands (Moluccas) by westward route, circumnavigating the globe.

at Paria, and might have gone on staring to eternity without seeing what was all the time behind them. So, too, one might look long into narratives and archives, and look in vain for a "voyage of Vespuceius," for it was customary to speak of a voyage by the name of the commanding officer, and the language of Vespuceius distinctly implies that in this voyage of 1497 he was not the commander; he was chosen by King Ferdinand "to go with the ships and *assist* in the work of discovery."¹ Let us, then, turn our faces toward Lariab,

and see if contemporary documents know anything about a voyage into the gulf of Mexico earlier than those of Ocampo in 1508 and Ponce de Leon in 1513. We find at once a remarkable and significant group of allusions, both in narratives and in archives, to such a voyage, undertaken by no less a person than Vicente Yañez Pinzon, captain of the little ship *Niña* in the first voyage of Columbus. Associated with Pinzon, and probably second in command, was another consummate sailor, Juan Diaz de Solis, who in 1512 succeeded Vespuceius as pilot major of Spain.

The date commonly assigned to this voyage of Pinzon and Solis is 1506. The figure rests upon the single unsupported statement of Antonio de Herrera, whose great work was published in 1601.²

¹ "Che fu, chel Re don Ferrando di Castiglia haue'do a mandare quattro navi a discoprire nuoue terre uerso loccidente fu electo per sua alteza che io fussi in essa flocta per adiutare a discoprire." *Lettera*, fol. a. ii. recto. Varnhagen, p. 35.

² Herrera, *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las islas i tierra firme del Mar Oceano*, Madrid, 1601, 4 vols. in quarto.

For events that happened in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, this book cannot be cited as of original authority. It is a compilation of priceless value, but not without grave defects. Mr. Hubert Bancroft is quite right in saying that we find in it "evidences everywhere of inexperience and incompetent assistance. Now that we have before us many of the sources of Herrera's material, we can see that his notes were badly extracted and compiled in a bungling manner; so much so that in addition to the ordinary errors, from which to some extent the most carefully executed work cannot be expected to be wholly free, there are many and serious discrepancies and contradictions for which there is no excuse, the cause being simply carelessness."¹

Antonio de
Herrera.

Now Herrera tells us that when it had been made known in Castile what the Admiral had discovered afresh, Pinzon and Solis made up their minds to go and further pursue the route which he had taken; and from the Guanajos islands on the northern coast of Honduras they sailed westward and passed the Golfo Dulce² without seeing it, but they gave the name of Navidad to what is now known as the bay of Honduras. Thence they discovered the mountains (or lands) of *Caria* and a considerable part of Yucatan. But *as there was nobody who followed up that discovery*, nothing more was known about

His account of
the first
voyage of Pin-
zon and Solis.

¹ *History of Central America*, San Francisco, 1882, vol. i. p. 317.

² For the position of the Golfo Dulce, see the map of the region around Tuzulutlan, below, p. 466. It is simply the deep inlet at the head of the bay of Honduras.

those coasts until the whole of New Spain was discovered [in 1517-19] from Cuba. The principal object of these navigators, Pinzon and Solis, adds Herrera, was, through a spirit of rivalry with the Admiral, to discover land and to pass beyond what he had discovered.¹

¹ The passage in Herrera is somewhat confused and involved, from the wrong connection in which he conceived it; but when once we have fathomed the confusion under which he laboured, it is remarkable how nearly right he was in the principal items of his statement: — “Sabido en Castilla lo que havia descubierto de nuevo el Almirante, Juan Diaz de Solis i Vincente Yañez Pinzou determinaron de ir à proseguir el camino que dejaba hecho, i fueron à tomar el hilo desde las islas de los Guanajos i volver de ellas à levante; pero navegaron desde las dichas islas hácia el poniente hasta el parage de el Golfo Dulce, aunque no lo vieron, porque está escondido; reconocieron la entrada que hace la mar entre la tierra que contiene el Golfo, i la de Yucatan que es como una grande ensenada, ó baia, que asi llaman los marineros. . . . Y como vieron aquel rincón grande que hace la Mar entre dos Tierras, la una que está à la mano esquierda teniendo las espaldas à Oriente, que es la costa que contiene el Puerto de Caballos, i adelante de él el Golfo Dulce: i la otra de mano derecha, la costa del reino de Iucatan, parecióles gran baia, i por esto la llamaron ia gran Baia de Navidad, desde donde descubrieron las sierras [tierras?] de Caria; bolvieron al Norte, i descubrieron mucha parte de el reino de Yucatan, pero como despues no hubo nadie, que prosiguiese aquel Descubrimiento, no se supo mas, hasta que se descubrió todo lo de Nueva España desde la isla de Cuba, i estos Descubridores principalmente pretendian descubrir tierra por emulacion del Almirante, i pasar adelante de lo que él havia descubierto” (dec. i. lib. vi. cap. 17). *Pretendian* here does not mean “pretended,” but “undertook” or “attempted.” The allusion to *sierras de Caria* has always been felt to be puzzling, as no mountain-chains are known which it seems to fit. The expression is evidently taken by Herrera from Pinzon’s testimony in the *Probanzas*, in which occur several other names now unintelligible, such as the countries of *Camaroná*, *Chabaca*, and *Pintigron*, which Pinzon says he visited after turning northward from Honduras, but to which we have no further clue. The lapse into oblivion of

In this statement Herrera understands the voyage of Pinzon and Solis to have been consequent upon the news of what Columbus had discovered in his fourth voyage (1502–1504); and this opinion is evidently based upon his interpretation of the testimony of Pinzon himself and other sailors in the *Probanzas*. It is a very natural way in which to read that testimony if we have nothing but the text itself to guide us; and if Herrera made a mischievous mistake we cannot blame him. There are the strongest reasons for believing that he did make such a mistake, and that this voyage of Pinzon and Solis was made, not in consequence of the fourth voyage of Columbus, but in consequence of the news of what he had discovered in 1494 in the course of his second voyage.

Herrera got
the date
wrong — 1506
instead of
1497.

In the first place the evidence collected by Navarrete seems to prove conclusively that Pinzon did not go upon any voyage of discovery between the end of the year 1504 and June 29, 1508. A voyage for him was indeed contemplated as early as February or April, 1505, but it was not a voyage in the direction of Honduras, nor had it any reference to the fourth voyage of Columbus. On the contrary, as we shall hereafter see, it was a direct consequence of the fourth voyage of Vespuceus. Its object was

Pinzon did not
go on any
voyage in
1506.

so many names known to the first navigators is just what we might expect in the case of a voyage which was not followed up for twenty years (cf. Nos. 3, 25, 26 in my table of voyages). We shall presently have a similar illustration in the names upon a part of the Cantino map.

the further exploration of the Brazilian coast south of the tropic of Capricorn, and while it was planned early in 1505, the fear of complications with Portugal prevented such an expedition from sailing until the summer of 1508. During that interval we keep coming upon documents that prove the presence of Pinzon in Spain; and it is not for a moment to be supposed that while thus concerned in this enterprise he could have been at the same time engaged in a long voyage into the gulf of Mexico.¹ We have no alternative but to suppose that Herrera's date of 1506 for Pinzon's Honduras voyage is a mistake, and that he ought to have made it consequent, not upon the fourth, but upon the second, voyage of Columbus.

It was all the more easy to make such a mistake since the farthest point reached by Columbus upon the southern coast of Cuba in June, 1494, was not far from the point whence he crossed from Cuba to Honduras in July, 1503. If he had kept

¹ We find Pinzon in Spain receiving a payment of 10,000 maravedis, February 28, 1505 (Navarrete, *Coleccion*, iii. 112); he is appointed to command a fortress in San Juan de Porto Rico, March 14, 1505 (iii. 112); the king wishes to consult with Pinzon and Vesputius about a projected voyage, May 17, 1505 (iii. 302); Pinzon wants a lawsuit settled, as it is hindering his departure on a voyage, September 28, 1505 (iii. 113); he is in Spain, busy on work on which he has evidently been engaged for a good while, August 23, 1506 (iii. 294); on September 15, 1506, the officers of the Casa de la Contratacion inform the king that the expedition will not be able to sail before February, 1507 (iii. 321); by that time the growl from Portugal has become so audible that the expedition is for the time abandoned and the ships used for other purposes (*id.*). These documents evidently relate to one and the same voyage, and they leave no place for a voyage to Honduras and the gulf of Mexico.

straight ahead in the former voyage and left the coast of Cuba, he would have crossed to Honduras very much as in the latter voyage. It is not strange, then, that in the mind of Herrera, as perhaps even in the *report* of the *Probanzas* upon which Herrera seems to have relied, the two voyages should have got more or less mixed together.

Assuming, then, that Pinzon's first voyage was consequent upon news received from Columbus in 1494, and that it was the voyage upon which Vespuccius describes himself as having sailed in May, 1497, we can understand sundry statements in early historians of the Discovery, that have heretofore been unintelligible. Peter Martyr, in a passage written before Testimony of Peter Martyr. 1508, says:—“For there are many which affirme that they haue sayled rownd about Cuba. But whether it bee so or not, or whether enuyinge the good fortune of this man [Columbus] they seeke occasions of querelinge ageynste hym, I cannot judge. But tyme shall speake, which in tyme appointed, reuealeth both truth and falsehod.”¹ In another place Martyr says that Vicente Yañez sailed about Cuba, which had hitherto, because of its great size, been regarded as continent; and having found that this is an island, he went on and struck upon other lands to the west of it.² Again

¹ “Neque enim desunt qui se circuisse Cubam audeant dicere. An hæc ita sint, an invidia tanti inventi occasiones quærant in hunc virum, non dijudico: tempus loquetur, in quo verus iudex invigilat.” Martyr, dec. i. lib. vi. As Humboldt says, this last clause shows conclusively that the passage was written before Ocampo's voyage in 1508.

² “Vicentius Annez . . . Cubam, a multis ad ea usque tem-

Gomara says that three years before Columbus visited the coast of Honduras that coast had been discovered by Pinzon and Solis.¹ Gomara's three years should be five, but the main fact is the fact of priority, which is again expressly affirmed by Oviedo (in 1526-35):— "Some persons have attributed the discovery of the bay of Honduras to Don Christopher Columbus, the first Admiral, saying that he discovered it. But that is not true; for it was discovered by the pilots Vicente Yañez Pinzon, Juan Diaz de Solis, and Pedro de Ledesma, with three caravels, and that was before Vicente Yañez had discovered the river Amazon,"² in other words, before January, 1500. This explicit and definite testimony from a contemporary first-hand authority is not lightly to be set aside.

There can be little doubt that Oviedo, Gomara, Martyr, Herrera, and the witnesses in the tenth section of the *Probanzas*, in their various refer-

pora ob suam magnitudinem continentem putatam, circuivit. . . . Vicentius Annez cognito jam experimento patenti Cubam esse insulam, processit ulterius et terras alias ad occidentem Cubæ offendit." *Id.*, dec. ii. lib. vii.

¹ "Descubrió Christoual Colon treziētas y setēta leguas de costa, que ponen de rio grande de Higueras al Nõbre de Dios, el año de mil y quinientos y dos; dizen empero algunos q̄ tres años ante lo auian andado Vicente Yañez Pinzon y Juan Diaz de Solis, q̄ fueron grandísimos descubridores." Gomara, *Historia general de las Indias*, Antwerp, 1554, cap. lv. fol. 63 recto.

² "Algunos atribuyen al Almirante primero, Don Christoual Colon, diciendo que él lo descubrió. Y no es así; porque el golfo de Higueras lo descubrieron los pilotos Vicente Yañez Pinzon é Johan Diaz de Solis é Pedro de Ledesma, con tres caravelas, antes que el Vicente Yañez descubriese el rio Marañon." Oviedo, *Historia general de las Indias*, Madrid, 1851, tom. ii. p. 140.

ences to the voyage of Pinzon and Solis, are all referring to the first voyage described by Vespuccius in his letter to Soderini, — a voyage which achieved the first discovery of Honduras, with parts of the coasts of Mexico and Florida, and which first revealed to some persons the insularity of Cuba. Here the map made in 1500 by La Cosa becomes quite interesting. It will be remembered that this able navigator was with Columbus on that memorable occasion in June, 1494, when all hands solemnly subscribed to the belief that Cuba was part of the Asiatic continent.¹ On that

¹ This affair, so grotesque according to modern notions, is usually misrepresented; e. g. "Columbus voyaged for India, thought his first landing was there, and forced his crew to swear they thought so too by threatening to cut out their tongues." (Prof. J. D. Butler, in a very meritorious paper on "The Naming of America," in *Transactions of Wisconsin Academy of Sciences*, 1874, vol. ii. pp. 203-219.) The passage in Henry Stevens's *Hist. and Geog. Notes*, p. 12, to which the writer refers, does not justify such a statement. Stevens simply says "caused his captains, his pilots, his master of charts [La Cosa], and all his sailors to sign a declaration under oath, that they believed Cuba to be part of the continent of Asia near Mangi." The notary's original document, preserved in the Archives of the Indies at Seville (printed in Navarrete, tom. ii. pp. 143-149), does not indicate that in this "causing" there was either any force or any threat used. The officers and men were asked to state their dissenting views if they had any. Nobody seems to have had any, and there is no reason for supposing that anybody signed the declaration reluctantly. The formal provision, that if any one should afterward deny that on this occasion he had expressed the opinion written down in the document he should have the tip of his tongue slit (as was often done to liars), was simply a bit of genuine mediævalism, about equivalent to the solemn imprecations of modern children: "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer wishes they may drop down dead in their tracks if they ever tell of this and rot," as Mark Twain so faithfully puts it. For the owlish gravity with which some modern writers use this incident in evidence of the Admiral's alleged

occasion, La Cosa declared that he had never heard of an island with 335 leagues length of coast from east to west, and that from the contour of this coast, as well as its apparently interminable length, he had no sort of doubt that it was the mainland. We have no reason for supposing that La Cosa did not mean precisely what he said. Yet upon his famous map, of which a sketch is prefixed to the present volume, Cuba is distinctly represented as an island. On the north of it the left-hand flagstaff marks the westernmost point reached by Columbus and La Cosa in 1492; on the south we read *C. Bien Espera*, the "Cape of Good Hope" where in 1494 La Cosa and his comrades all testified that to the best of their knowledge and belief they were on the coast of Asia; and just to the south of this cape we see a few small islands whereunto the map-maker's fancy has added a goodly archipelago of bigger ones. The shore on the west of these islands Columbus called *Evangelista*, deeming it "fraught with good tidings" for him when he should come that way again. On the map we see "Abangelista," albeit written too far to the west. Then Cuba is terminated by a western coast-line all the way around from the archipelago to the flagstaff, — a coast-line which, as even an unpractised eye may see, is drawn not from exploration, but from theory or from hearsay. On the original map

Cuba represented as an island on La Cosa's map, 1500.

"deceitfulness" and weakness of character, the proper answer is a peal of Homeric laughter. I have described the affair above, vol. i. pp. 476, 477, with as much seriousness as I think it deserves.

this western coast-line is abruptly cut off with a dash of green paint.¹ This means to my mind that when La Cosa drew the map, between June and October, 1500, he had been informed of, or brought to believe in, the insularity of Cuba, but had not seen a chart of its western extremity. Where did he get his information? The answer is obvious. He had just returned from that voyage on the Pearl Coast with Ojeda (the second voyage of Vespuccius) in which he and Vespuccius were associated as pilots. Evidently the latter had told him of the discovery of a passage between Cuba and the mainland two years before, but had not shown him his charts, which very likely were then in the hands of Bishop Fonseca. Hence it appears that the continental coast-line opposite Cuba was drawn not wholly from theory, but partly from hearsay. The protruding land at the words "Mar Oceanuz" and below may indicate that La Cosa

¹ Hence the late Henry Stevens suggested that La Cosa did not intend to be understood as representing Cuba as an island, but only meant to show that his own definite knowledge did not go beyond the archipelago on the south and the flagstaff on the north. (*Historical and Geographical Notes*, London, 1869, p. 13.) But if that was all that he meant to show, why did he separate Cuba from the mainland at all? The mere fact of the separation indicates a knowledge of something to the west of "Abangalista," though confessedly a dim knowledge. At least it indicates a decided change of opinion since 1494; otherwise La Cosa would not only have made the western end of Cuba flare like the outline of a trumpet, but beyond the flagstaff it would have trended strongly to the northward and become continuous with the mainland. At the archipelago it would have been prolonged indefinitely to the southwest, and there would have been nothing of that vague but unmistakable suggestion of the gulf of Mexico which La Cosa cannot have got from any other source than the first voyage of Vespuccius.

had heard something about Florida, but having no drawings to guide him, had pictured it to himself as a big promontory rather than a peninsula.

The striking suggestion thus afforded by the map of La Cosa is confirmed with overwhelming force by that of Alberto Cantino already mentioned in connection with the voyages of the brothers Cortereal. This map was made in Portugal by some cartographer unknown, at the order of Alberto Cantino, who carried it to Italy in the autumn of 1502, and sent it to Ercole d' Este, Duke of Ferrara. It had reached the duke, or was on its way to him, November 19, 1502, as we know from Cantino's letter of that date written at Rome. It has been carefully preserved, and since 1868 has been accessible in the Biblioteca Estense at Modena; but it is only within the past ten years that scholars have begun to wake up to its importance.

The Cantino map,¹ which gives both Hayti and Cuba, not only represents the latter as an island, terminated on the west by a *hypothetical* coast, but goes on to depict a considerable portion of the coast-line of the United States, including both sides of the peninsula

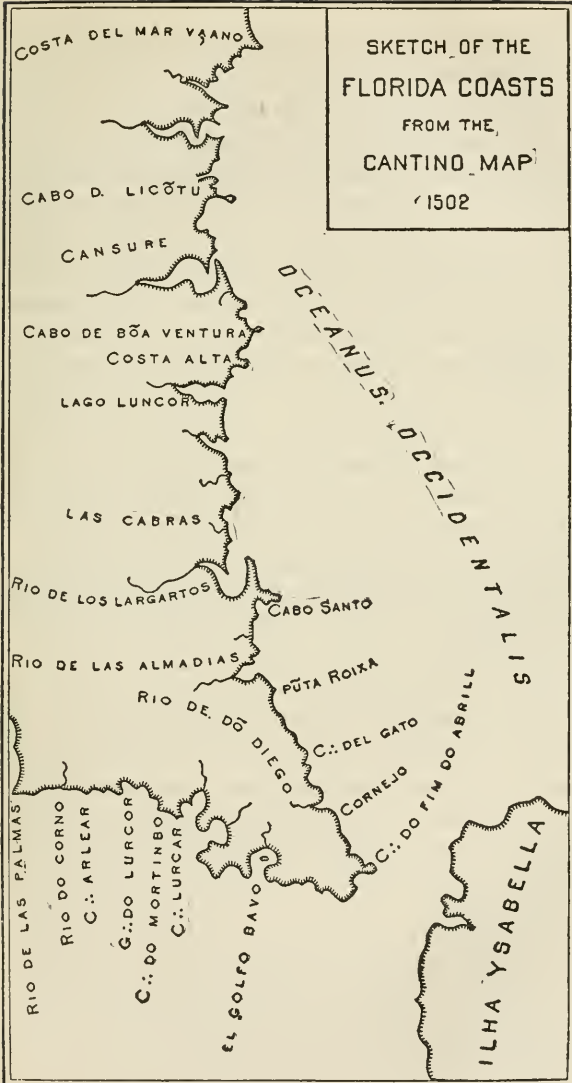
What it
proves con-
cerning
Florida.

¹ A sketch showing the relative positions was given above on page 21. This sketch of the Florida coasts I have copied from the full-sized facsimile published in 1883 by M. HARRISSE, and have taken pains to reproduce with accuracy the details of the coast-line. Off the southwestern coast the original has a group of islands which I have omitted in order to get room for the names. One cannot do all that one would like on so small a page. These islands may be seen on the other sketch just mentioned. On the original map the coasts end abruptly just where they touch my border, at "Rio de las Palmas" and "Costa del Mar Vãano."

SKETCH OF THE
FLORIDA COASTS

FROM THE
CANTINO MAP

1502



of Florida, and all this is depicted as a *visited* coast, with sundry details of bay and headland, upon which are placed twenty-two local names. A few of these names have been distorted beyond recognition by the Portuguese draughtsman, but their original form is unquestionably Spanish and not Portuguese. The names furnish absolute proof that this part of the map was copied from a Spanish map¹ by a person not familiar with Spanish, and furthermore that this copyist was a Portuguese. These names, like fossils from an age extinct, are eloquent in their silence. As I shall presently show, they had ceased to be understood before the rediscovery of Florida by Ponce de Leon in 1513; the continuity of tradition was broken off short. All this means that THIS PORTION OF THE UNITED STATES COAST WAS VISITED AND MAPPED BY SPANISH MARINERS BEFORE NOVEMBER, 1502, AND THAT THE VOYAGE IN WHICH THIS WAS DONE WAS NOT FOLLOWED UP.

It is not only clear that the Cantino map was copied or compiled from an older Spanish map or maps; it is also clear that it was not based upon the map of La Cosa, but upon some entirely different authority. For upon the northern coast of South America, where La Cosa has forty-five names² and Cantino twenty-nine, only three of

¹ The mistakes are mistakes of the eye, not of the ear; they stand for misread letters, not for misheard sounds. M. HARRISSE, in his work on the Cortereals, demonstrates that no Portuguese voyages, nor any *recorded* voyage whatever, except that of Vespuccius in 1497-98, will account for this delineation of Florida upon the Cantino map.

² They are not all given in my reduced sketch.

these names agree on the two maps. It therefore appears that the Cantino map, while it represents knowledge gained at some length of time before the autumn of 1502, also gives testimony that is independent, and not a mere repetition of the testimony of La Cosa.

It is worth our while here to follow out a little further some of the relations of this map to the cartography of that time. The original from which it was made exercised much more influence than that of La Cosa, which does not seem to have been engraved or extensively copied. In the edition of Ptolemy published at Strasburg in 1513 there is a remarkable map, made before 1508¹ by Martin

Waldseemüller's map, the *Tabula Terre Nove*, made before 1508.

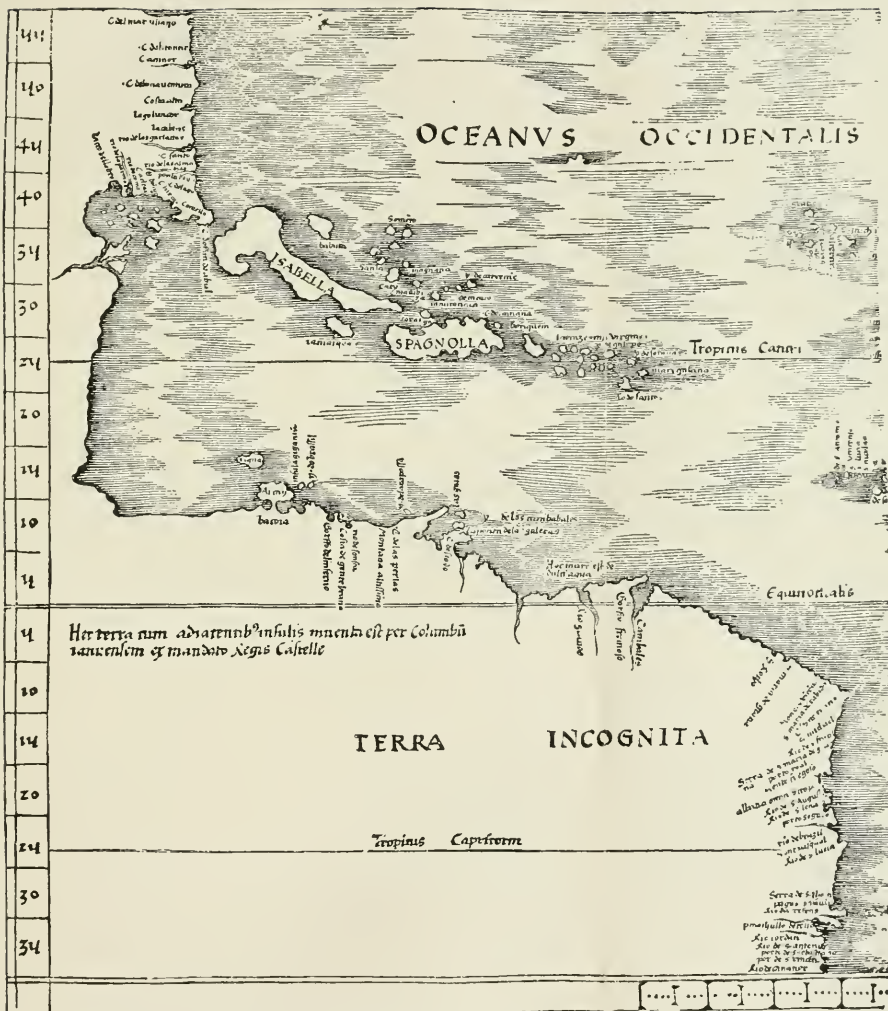
¹ "Charta autem Marina, quam Hydrographiam vocant, per Admiralem quondam serenissimi Portugaliæ [Castellæ?] regis Ferdinandi, cæteros denique lustratores verissimis peragrationsibus lustrata: ministerio Renati dum vixit, nunc pie mortui Ducis illustrissimi Lotharingiæ liberius prælographationi tradita est," etc., *anglicè*, "The sailing chart, or Hydrography, as it is called, rectified by means of very exact navigations made by a former Admiral of the most gracious King Ferdinand of Portugal [Castile?], and thereafter by other explorers, was liberally given to be engraved by the care of the most illustrious René, in his lifetime Duke of Lorraine, now deceased," etc. Avezac, *Martin Waltze-müller*, p. 153; cf. Lelewel, *Géographie du Moyen Age*, tom. ii. pp. 157-160; Humboldt, *Examen critique*, tom. iv. p. 109. As René died in 1508, this is perhaps the earliest engraved map now extant showing portions of America, though the map made by Johann Ruysch and published in the edition of Ptolemy issued at Rome, August 13, 1508 (see below, p. 114), may have been engraved earlier. The Waldseemüller map, known by its title *Tabula Terre Nove*, seems to have been made after an original chart obtained from Portugal by Duke René in 1504 (see Harris, *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, p. 108). The "former Admiral" above mentioned is probably Columbus, and calling Ferdinand "king of Portugal" was a mere slip of the pen. It

Waldseemüller, a geographer of whom we shall have more to say hereafter. This map, known as *Tabula Terre Nove*, has been a puzzle to scholars, but a long step is taken toward understanding it when we learn that it was made from an original chart which found its way from Portugal into Lorraine in 1504, and when we furthermore see that this original must have been the same that was followed by Cantino's draughtsman. This is proved by the identity in names, of which the following list, containing all the names upon the Florida coasts, is sufficiently striking:—

CANTINO.	TABULA TERRE NOVE.	MEANINGS.
Río de las palmas,	lago de loro,	parrot lake.
rio do corno,	Río de la pargas,	river of palms.
C. arlear,	rio de como,	{ dogwood river ? }
G. do lurcor,	C. arlear,	{ r. <i>corvo</i> , crow river ? }
C. do mortinbo,	G. dolivor,	?
C. lurcar,	C. lurcar,	?
el golfo bavo,		?
C. do fim do abril,	C. doffim de abril,	cape of the end of April.
cornejo,	comello,	dogwood ?
Río de do diego,		river of Don Diego.
C. del gato,	C. de lago,	cape of the cat.
puta Roixa,	ponta royal,	{ red point ? }
Río de las almadias,	rio de las amadias,	{ p. <i>Bayxa</i> , ¹ low point ? }
Cabo Santo,	C. Santo,	river of canoes.
Río de los largartos,	rio de los garlartos,	holy cape.
las cabras,	la cablas ?	river of lizards, or alligators.
lago luncor,	lago luncor,	?
Costa alta,	Costa alta,	l. <i>luengo</i> , long lagoon ?
Cabo de boa ventura,	C. de bona Ventura,	high coast.
Cansure,	Camnor,	cape of good fortune.
Cabo d. licotu,	C. del itontir,	?
Costa del mar vaano,	C. del mar usiano,	<i>C. del encontro</i> , ¹ cape of meeting ?
		{ coast } of the ocean sea.
		{ cape ? }

has often been called "The Admiral's Map," but that phrase is misleading. It represents, as the editors say, the results of voyages made by Columbus, "and thereafter by other explorers;" but it is not likely that it emanated from Columbus. It leads us much more directly back to Vespucci.

¹ I am indebted for these two suggestions to M. HARRISSE, *Les Corte-Real*, pp. 89, 90.



TABULA TERRE NOVE, IN THE 1513 PTOLEMY,

Made by Martin Waldseemüller before 1508.

Of the twenty-two names on Cantino's coasts of Florida, nineteen are thus repeated in the later map. Originally Spanish, these names have on the Portuguese map in a few instances been deformed beyond recognition; on the Lorraine map the deformity is generally carried a little farther, as we might expect. There can be no doubt that, so far as the delineation of Florida is concerned, the two maps are drawn from the same source. Observe the conclusions to which this fact carries us. As the history of the Discovery of America has usually been written, Florida was first visited by Ponce de Leon on Easter Sunday, 1512; and a superficial observer might not be surprised at seeing the Florida coasts laid down on a map first published in 1513; perhaps, too, it might not occur to him that the peculiar names on these coasts are not derived from the explorations that began with Ponce de Leon. But now, while on the one hand it has lately been proved that Ponce de Leon did not see Florida until Easter Sunday, 1513,¹ on the other hand the map of the 1513 Ptolemy was certainly made before 1508, and the comparison with the Cantino map proves it to have been drawn from an original as old as 1502, and probably older. It follows, therefore, with the force of absolute demonstration, that the coasts of Florida were explored and the insularity of Cuba detected before 1502. There is no possible escape from this conclusion.

The Florida coasts were visited by Spaniards before 1502.

¹ See Peschel, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 521; Kohl, in *Documentary History of Maine*, vol. i. p. 240; Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, ii. 233.

But this is not the whole story. Our facts show that while Florida was visited at that early date, and while for the moment the discovery attracted enough attention, among cartographers at least, to leave its indelible impression upon more than one map, nevertheless it soon ceased to occupy attention and became forgotten, so that the names it left behind became a source of worry and confusion for map-makers. Because Florida (as yet without a name) purported to be a piece of continent, and because until after 1508 most people believed Cuba to be a piece of continent, the old maps used to mix them together without rhyme or reason; and the perplexity was increased by the fact that the true Cuba was often called Isabella. Sometimes the island appeared under the latter designation, while the name Cuba was placed upon the Florida peninsula; sometimes the two were fused into one, because while geographers found both countries mentioned or drawn upon maps, they knew only of the one as being actually visited, and hence tried to correct the apparent error. For example, in Johann Ruysch's map, 1508, to the west of Hispaniola we see an island abruptly cut off with the scroll marked C, upon which is the legend, "the ships of Ferdinand, king of Spain, have come as far as here."¹ Now this might be meant for Cuba, and the two ends of the scroll might be intended to mark the two farthest points reached by Columbus in 1492 and 1494; or it may be meant for Florida, partially capsized, — an accident not uncommon in early

How the old
map-makers
were puzzled.

¹ See below, p. 114.

maps, — and the scroll may simply show what Ruysch was able to gather from the original of the Cantino map. That the latter is probably the true explanation is indicated by the names:¹ — at the eastern point we have *C. de Fundabril*, and, going thence to the right, *Corveo* (for *Cornejo*) and *C. Elicontii* (for *C. de licontu*); going to the left, we have *Culcar* (for *C. arlear*) and then *Lago del Oro*. This seems to show what Ruysch had in mind. On the other hand, on Stobnicza's map, 1512, which was in part derived from the Cantino source, we see the islands of "Spagnolla" and "Isabella" rudely drawn in much the same outline as in the *Tabula Terre Nove*, but the name "Isabella" has taken refuge upon the mainland.²

These examples show that the geographers of that time had more facts set before them than they were able to assimilate. In some directions a steady succession of voyages served to correct imperfections in theory and to attach certain names permanently to certain localities. But the facts relating to the gulf of Mexico and Florida remained indigestible because from fifteen to twenty years elapsed before the earliest voyage in those waters was followed up and the first crude impressions made definite. The names applied to those coasts soon sank into oblivion, and when the actors in that generation had all passed from the scene, the very memory of the voyage itself was lost, the maps which it in-

Why they
were thus
puzzled.

¹ There is not room enough for them on my reduced sketch of this map.

² See below, p. 178.

spired slept unheeded in the gloom of great libraries, the only literary document describing it was wrongly referred to a very different voyage, and the illustrious writer of that document became the target for all manner of ignorant abuse.

There is little room for doubt that the first voyage of Vespuccius was made just as he describes it in his own sea-faring dialect. No other source is known from which those Florida coasts, depicted with their long-forgotten names upon the Cantino and Waldseemüller maps, can possibly have come. We must either admit that Americus Vespuccius circumnavigated the Florida peninsula before 1502, or we must *invent* some voyage, never heard of and never mentioned by anybody, in which that thing was done; and as the latter alternative is not likely to commend itself to sensible minds, we are driven to the former.¹ But if Vespuccius

The voyage of Vespuccius in 1497-98 is the only voyage on record that explains the Cantino map.

¹ "De toutes les expéditions maritimes du xv^e siècle, celle-ci [the first voyage of Vespuccius] est la seule qui cadre avec les configurations géographiques que l'on relève sur la carte de Cantino." HARRISSE, *Les Corte-Real*, p. 107. In a footnote to this passage M. HARRISSE is strongly tempted to believe that the Portuguese map which Peter Martyr saw in Bishop Fonseca's office, "wherunto Americus Vesputius is sayde to have put his hande," was the very prototype of the map made in Lisbon for Cantino. Yet M. HARRISSE finds a difficulty in supposing that the voyage which inspired the Cantino map was made before 1500. If it had been, he thinks the Florida coasts would have been delineated and studded with names on La Cosa's map. Since La Cosa, when he made his map, had just been for a year in company with Vespuccius, why had not the latter put him in possession of all the facts recorded upon the Cantino map, if he knew them? To M. HARRISSE this difficulty seems so formidable that he is actually disposed to *invent* a voyage between 1500 and 1502 in order to account for the Cantino map! *Les Corte-Real*, p. 151. To my mind the

made this voyage before November, 1502, then he must have made it exactly when he says he did, in 1497-98, for we can trace him through the whole intervening period and know that he was all the time busy with other things.

To return, then, to the beginning, and sum up the case, it seems to me that things must have happened about as follows:—

It was in the course of the year 1494 that Ferdinand and Isabella began to feel somewhat disappointed at the meagre results obtained by Columbus. The wealth of Cathay and Cipango had not been found, the colonists, who had expected to meet with pearls and gold growing on bushes, were sick and angry, Friar Boyle was preaching that the Admiral was a humbug, and the expensive work of discovery was going on at a snail's pace. Meanwhile Vicente Yañez Pinzon and other bold spirits were grumbling at the monopoly granted to Columbus and begging to be allowed to make ventures for themselves. Now in this connection several documents preserved in the Archives of the Indies at Seville are very significant. On the 9th of April, 1495, the sovereigns issued their letter of credentials to Juan Aguado, whom they were about sending to Hispaniola to inquire into the charges

How it came about that Vespuccius and Pinzon made this voyage in 1497.

difficulty does not exist. La Cosa's map seems to me—as I have already observed—to show just the knowledge which he must have gained from conversation with Vespuccius without seeing a chart of the Florida coast; and I see no reason why Vespuccius must necessarily have carried such a chart with him on a voyage to the Pearl Coast, or why he should have been anxious to impart all the details of his professional experience to a brother pilot.

against Columbus.¹ On that very same day they signed the contract with Berardi, whereby the latter bound himself to furnish twelve vessels, four to be ready at once, four in June, and four in September. On the next day they issued the decree throwing open the navigation to the Indies and granting to all native Spaniards, on certain prescribed conditions, the privilege of making voyages to the newly found coasts. On the 12th they instructed Fonseca to put Aguado in command of the first four caravels.² All these acts were coherent parts of a settled policy which the sovereigns were then pursuing. Under the permission of April 10, says Gomara, quite a number of navigators sailed, some at their own expense, others at the expense of the king; all hoped to acquire fame and wealth,

¹ The reader may like to see the form of this sort of letter, which so often carried dismay to explorers, worthy and unworthy, in the New World: — “El Rey é la Reina: Caballeros y Escuderos y otras personas que por nuestro mandado estais en las Indias, a l'á vos enviamos á Juan Aguado, nuestro Repostero, el cual de nuestra parte vos hablará. Nos vos mandamos que le dedes fe y creencia. De Madrid á nveve de Abril de mil y cuatrocientos y noventa y cinco años. — YO EL REY. — YO LA REINA. — Por mandado del Rey é de la Reina nuestros Señores — HERNAND ALVAREZ.” Las Casas, *Hist. de las Indias*, tom. ii. p. 110; *anglicè*: —

THE KING AND THE QUEEN:

Cavaliers, Esquires, and other persons, who by our command are in the Indies, we send you thither Juan Aguado, our Gentleman of the Chamber, who will speak to you on our part. We command that you give him faith and credence. From Madrid the ninth of April, one thousand four hundred and ninety-five.

I THE KING: I THE QUEEN.

By command of the King and Queen, our Lords,

HERNAND ALVAREZ.

Brief but comprehensive!

² Navarrete, *Coleccion*, tom. ii. pp. 159-169.

but since for the most part they only succeeded in ruining themselves with their discovering, their voyages were forgotten.¹

The delays in fitting out such expeditions were apt to be many and vexatious. Of the twelve caravels which Berardi was to furnish, the first four started off in August, with Aguado in command. The second squadron of ^{The three Berardi squadrons.} four, which was to have been ready in June, was not yet fully equipped in December, when Berardi died. Then Vespuceus, representing the house of Berardi, took up the work and sent the four caravels to sea February 3, 1496. They were only two days out when a frightful storm overtook and wrecked them, though most of the crews were saved.² The third squadron of four caravels was, I believe, that which finally sailed May 10,

¹ "Entendiendo quan grandissimas tierras eran las que Christoval Colon descubria, fueron muchos á continuar el descubrimiento de todas; unos á su costa, otros á la del Rey, y todos pensando enriquecer, ganar fama y medrar con los Reyes. Pero como los mas dellos no hizieron sino descubrir y gastarse, no quedó memoria de todos, que yo sepa," etc. Gomara, *Historia general de las Indias*, Saragossa, 1553, fol. 50.

² These particulars are from memoranda in MS., extracted by Muñoz from account-books in the Casa de Contratacion at Seville. See Irving's *Columbus*, vol. iii. p. 397. Irving and Navarrete had access to the documents of Muñoz, and Navarrete (tom. iii. p. 317), in speaking of a payment made from the treasury on January 12, 1496, observes that Vespuceus "went on attending to everything until the armada was despatched from San Lucar," i. e. February 3, 1496. Humboldt strangely interpreted this statement as meaning that Vespuceus fitted out the third expedition of Columbus, and was thus kept in Spain till May 30, 1498 (*Examen critique*, tom. iv. p. 208). This ingenious *alibi*, often quoted as proving the impossibility of a voyage anywhere by Vespuceus in 1497, is not sustained.

1497. While it was getting ready Vicente Yañez Pinzon returned from the Levant, whither he had been sent on important business by the sovereigns in December, 1495.¹ Columbus, who had returned to Spain in June, 1496, protested against what he considered an invasion of his monopoly, and on June 2, 1497, the sovereigns issued a decree which for the moment was practically equivalent to a revocation of the general license accorded to navigators by the decree of April 10, 1495.² Observe that this revocation was not issued until after the third squadron had sailed! The sovereigns were not going to be balked in the little scheme which they had set on foot two years before, and for which they had paid out, through Vespucci, so many thousands of maravedis.³ So the expedition sailed, with Pinzon in chief command and Solis second, with Ledesma for one of the pilots, and Vespucci as pilot and cosmographer.

The course taken and the coasts visited have already been sufficiently indicated. The landfall

¹ Navarrete, tom. iii. p. 75.

² Navarrete, tom. ii. p. 201.

³ Vespucci speaks of the expedition as sailing in the service of King Ferdinand. He does not say "their highnesses," or "Los Reyes," the sovereigns, but mentions only the king, and this agrees with Gomara's expression above quoted, "some at their own expense, others at the expense of the king," and also with the expression of the pilot Ledesma in his testimony in the *Probanzas*, "por mandado de S. A." (Navarrete, tom. iii. p. 558). On the other hand Pinzon, in his testimony, says "por mandado de SS. AA." (which he would not have been likely to say, by the way, if he had been referring to events of the year 1506, after the queen's death). On the whole it seems not unlikely that this was especially Ferdinand's venture.

was undoubtedly upon the northern coast of Honduras,¹ points on the coasts of Yucatan and Tabasco were visited, then a straight run was made to Tampico, and thence the coast was followed to some

How far north did Vespuceius follow the coast of the United States?

¹ It was a very common custom to name newly-discovered places after the saint upon whose day they were discovered. When you see a saint's name on a cape or bay, it is good ground for a presumption that the name was given by some explorer who first visited it on that saint's day. When you see *Navidad* it generally means Christmas, but not unfrequently June 24, the Nativity of John the Baptist. When Herrera tells us that Pinzon and Solis discovered the bay of Honduras and named it "Baia de Navidad," it affords a strong presumption that it was discovered on St. John's day. The ships, as we have seen, probably started May 25 from the Grand Canary, whence a run of 27 days would bring their landfall at or near Cape Honduras on June 21. Three more days would enable them to recognize the water to the west of that point as a great bay. But the primitive text of Vespuceius says the landfall occurred after 37 days. As the figure is given in Arabic numerals there is a good chance for error. Curiously enough, the Latin version of 1507 says "viginti septem vix elapsis diebus," i. e. "after barely twenty-seven days." Is this a mistake, or an emendation suggested to the Latin translator by some outside source of information? The latter, I suspect. With the trade wind nearly dead astern, and with the powerful westward current in the Caribbean sea, the quicker run is the more probable, and it fits the name *Navidad*. The reader will remember that this same June 24, 1497, was the date of John Cabot's landfall on the northeastern coast of North America. If the Latin figure is correct, Vespuceius probably saw "the continent" two or three days before Cabot. The question may have interest for readers fond of such trifles. It is really of no consequence what navigator — after the genius of Columbus had opened the way — happened to be the first to see land which we have since come to know as part of the coast-line of a continental system distinct from the Old World. Nor has the question a historic interest of any sort; for, as we shall see, considerations of "priority" connected with this voyage of 1497 had nothing whatever to do with the naming of America.

point on the Atlantic coast of the United States which may perhaps be determined if any one can succeed in interpreting the details of the Cantino map. If the latitudes on the *Tabula Terre Nove* were given with any approach to correctness, it would be helpful in deciding this point; but they are hopelessly wrong. Though Vespucci was in all probability the original source of this part of the map, it is impossible that he should ever have given such latitudes. It is pretty clear that the data must have been "amended" by Waldseemüller to suit some fancy of his own. The Pearl Coast is not far out of place, but Hispaniola is more than five degrees too far north and above the tropic of Cancer; the tip of Florida comes in 35° , which is ten degrees too far north; and for aught we know the error may go on increasing to the top of the map. The latitude assigned to "C. del mar usitano" is 55° , the latitude of Hopedale on the coast of Labrador! That is of course absurd. But if we turn back to the Cantino sketch of Florida and suppose the *proportions* of the sailing chart from which it was taken to have been fairly preserved, we may give a sort of definiteness to our guessing. As a starting-point, what is the "River of Palms"? M. Varnhagen thinks it is the Mississippi,¹ and if we were to adopt that scale it would throw the "Costa del mar usitano" as far north as Long Island. But I suspect that M. Varnhagen is mistaken. This "River of Palms" may be seen in the same place upon the *Tabula Terre Nove*, and farther to the left, a little above the 30th parallel,

¹ Varnhagen, *Amérigo Vespucci*, p. 98.

we see the delta-like mouth of a much larger river, which strongly suggests the Mississippi. Although it is tilted too far to the left and the coastline is incorrectly drawn, such things are what we expect to find in these old maps. It seems to me that this is the Mississippi, and that the river of the palms or palmettos is the Appalachicola, while the lake of the parrots may be St. Andrew's bay or Santa Rosa bay. With the scale thus reduced the "Costa del mar vaano" (which should probably be "Cabo del mar oceano") may very probably represent Cape Hatteras. If this was the point reached by Vespucius, as he says, in June, 1498, we can easily understand the significance of the name "Cape of the end of April,"¹ applied to the extremity of Florida.

Perhaps as far as the Chesapeake.

The reader must not attach to these suggestions an importance which I am far from claiming for them. The subject is a difficult one, and stands much in need of further clues, which perhaps may yet be found. The obscurity in which this voyage has so long been enveloped is due chiefly to the fact that it was not followed up till many years had elapsed, and the reason for this neglect impresses upon us forcibly the impossibility of understanding the history of the Discovery of America unless we bear in mind

Why the voyage was not followed up.

¹ On St. Bernard's day, August 20, Vespucius was very likely at the Bermudas, and Mr. Hubert Bancroft (*Central America*, vol. i. p. 106) suggests that "the Bermudas may have been the archipelago of San Bernardo, famous for its fierce Carib population, but generally located off the gulf of Urabá." This seems not unlikely.

all the attendant circumstances. One might at first suppose that a voyage which revealed some 4,000 miles of the coast of North America would have attracted much attention in Spain and have become altogether too famous to be soon forgotten. Such an argument, however, loses sight of the fact that these early voyagers were not trying to "discover America." There was nothing to astonish them in the existence of 4,000 miles of coast-line on this side of the Atlantic. To their minds it was simply the coast of Asia, about which they knew nothing except from Marco Polo, and the natural effect of such a voyage as this would be simply to throw discredit upon that traveller. So long a stretch of coast without any great and wealthy cities did not answer at all to his descriptions. It may seem strange that Pinzon and Solis did not come upon pyramidal temples and other evidences of semi-civilization on the coast of Yucatan, as Hernandez de Cordova did in 1517; but any one who has sailed along coasts in various weathers knows well how easy it is for things to escape notice at one time which at another time fairly jump at your eyes. As will be shown in the next chapter, it was such sights in 1517, after Cuba had been colonized by Spaniards, that turned the drift of exploration into the gulf of Mexico. Not happening to catch sight of such things in 1497, and nowhere finding an abundance of gold or jewels or spices, the voyagers did not regard their expedition as much of a success, and there is no reason why people in Spain should have so regarded it. If King Ferdinand

It was not a commercial success.

made an especial venture on this occasion, he probably took no pleasure in recollecting the fact or having it recalled to him. Indeed, the tone of Vesputius, in this part of his letter to Soderini, is not at all that of a man exulting in the consciousness of having taken part in a great discovery. He says that they did not find anything of profit in that country, except some slight indications of gold; but he suggests that perhaps they might have done better if they had understood the languages of the natives. The general impression left by the letter is that but for the capture of as many slaves as they could crowd into their four caravels, they would have returned home without much to show for their labours.

It is plain, then, that the 1497 voyage of Pinzon and Solis was not followed up for precisely the same reason that prevented the voyages of the Cabots from being followed up.

All eyes were turned toward the Indian ocean.

There was no prospect of immediate profit, and, moreover, public attention was absorbed in another direction. All eyes were turned to the south, and for a good reason, as I had occasion to observe in the preceding chapter, in connection with the declining reputation of Columbus. In July, 1499, Vasco da Gama returned to Lisbon from Hindustan, with ships laden with the riches of the East. The fame of this achievement for the time threw Columbus quite into the shade. The glories of Cipango and Cathay seemed unsubstantial, like promissory notes thrice renewed, when Portugal stepped blithely into the foreground jingling the hard cash. Interest in the

eastern coast of Asia for the moment died away. The great object was to get into the Indian ocean, and come as nearly as possible to the rich countries visited by Gama. Spain could not go east of the papal meridian; she must go to the west and seek the vaguely rumoured strait of Malacca, which was supposed to be somewhere to the south of Honduras. Nothing more was done in the gulf of Mexico for twenty years, and the first voyage made by Spaniards in those waters was probably seldom talked of.

We have already seen that the fourth voyage of Columbus was a direct response to the voyage of Gama. It was an attempt to get from the Atlantic into the Indian ocean. If the view here taken of the first voyage of Vespucci be correct, Columbus must have known its results in 1502, for he took with him Pedro Ledesma, who had been one of the pilots in that voyage. Perhaps the Admiral may have selected him for that very reason. Ledesma would naturally tell Columbus that he had sailed through the passage between Cuba and Yucatan, and found a continental coast which led him ultimately far to the north of the tropic of Cancer. Columbus would thus see that Cuba, though not a part of the continent as he had supposed, was nevertheless close by it; that a voyage upon the coast of that continent would, as he had supposed, only lead him northward; and that he was not likely in the latitude of Cuba to find a channel westward through Asia into the Indian ocean. With his general view of the situation

Probable influence of the first voyage of Vespucci upon the fourth of Columbus.

thus confirmed in spite of the insularity of Cuba, Columbus had no motive for steering west; and the prompt decisiveness with which from the Queen's Gardens he steered across open sea straight for Cape Honduras and there turned eastward is to my mind a strong indication that he was well informed as to what his friend Americus had seen to the west of that cape. But for such definite information would he not have hugged the coast of Cuba? and when he had thus passed his "Cape of Good Hope" and reached the end of the island, with no land in sight before him in any direction, would not a natural impulse have carried him westward into the gulf of Mexico?

The fourth voyage of Columbus was not the first response made by Spain to the voyage of Gama. The first response was entrusted to Vicente Yañez Pinzon, the way having Second voyage of Vespuccius. been indicated by the second voyage of Vespuccius, in company with Ojeda and La Cosa, in the summer of 1499. The voyage of Ojeda was instigated by Bishop Fonseca, with some intention of taking out of the hands of Columbus the further exploration of the coast upon which valuable pearls had been found. The expedition sailed May 16, 1499, from Cadiz, ran down to the Cape Verde islands, crossed the equator, and sighted land on the coast of Brazil in latitude 4° or 5° S., somewhere near Aracati. Vespuccius gives a good account of this half-drowned coast.¹ Thence the ships ran a few

¹ The landfall on this voyage has been commonly placed on the coast of Surinam, about 600 miles eastward from Trinidad. This

leagues to the southeast, probably to see whether the shore seemed to be that of an island or a continent. Finding progress difficult against the equatorial current, they turned about and ran northwest as far as Cayenne, thence to Paria, and so on to Maracaibo and to Cape de la Vela. From

is because Ojeda, in his testimony in the *Probanzas*, did not allude to any place farther east than Surinam. But this negative evidence is here of small value. In a second voyage, in 1502, Ojeda had trespassed upon Portuguese territory, and had been censured and heavily fined for so doing (Navarrete, tom. ii. p. 430). Evidently in giving his testimony, in 1513, Ojeda thought it prudent to give the Portuguese a wide berth, and as there was no occasion for his saying that he had been on the coast of Brazil, he said nothing about it. The account of Vespucius is clear and straightforward. It is true that Mr. Hubert Bancroft says, "his account in the different forms in which it exists is so full of blunders that it could throw but little light upon the subject" (*Central America*, vol. i. p. 113). When Mr. Bancroft says this, he of course has in mind the spurious letter published in 1745 by Bandini, in which Vespucius is supposed to give to his friend Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de' Medici an account of his second voyage. The MS. of this letter which professes to be an original, and by which Bandini was deceived, is at Florence, in the Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS. No. 2112. Neither the paper nor the ink is older than the seventeenth century, the handwriting is not that of Vespucius, the language is a very different Italian from that which he used, and the pages swarm with absurdities. (See Varnhagen's paper in *Bulletin de la société de géographie*, avril, 1858.) Nothing except the blundering change of *Lariab* to *Parias* has done so much to bemuddle the story of Vespucius as this letter which some clever scamp was kind enough to write for him after he had been more than a hundred years under the sod. It is curious to see the elaborate arguments to which Humboldt was driven, in his *Examen critique*, tom. v., because he did not begin at the beginning, with textual criticism of sources, and so accepted this epistle as genuine. The account of Ojeda's voyage in the third volume of Irving's *Columbus*, from its mixing the first and second voyages of Vespucius, is so full of blunders as to be worse than worthless to the general reader.

this point Ojeda, with part of the little squadron, went over to Hispaniola, and arrived there on the 5th of September. Ojeda's visit to that island was made in no friendly spirit toward Columbus, but there is good reason for believing that the Admiral or some of his people learned the particulars of Ojeda's route across the ocean and his landfall. Early in October two caravels were sent from San Domingo to Spain, and probably carried such information as to determine the route to be taken by Pinzon. That gallant captain started in December, and followed in the track of Vespucius and Ojeda, but went a little farther to the south, losing sight of the pole-star and finally striking the coast of Brazil near the site of Pernambuco, in latitude 8° S. Our accounts of this voyage¹ are meagre, and it does not appear just why Pinzon turned northward from that point. While crossing the equator from south to north, with no land in sight, he found the sea-water fresh enough to drink. Full of wonder at so strange a thing he turned in toward the coast and entered the mouth of the greatest river upon the earth, the Amazon, nearly a hundred miles wide and sending huge volumes of fresh water more than a hundred miles out into the sea. After proceeding as far as

¹ Manuel de Valdovinos, one of the witnesses in the *Probanzas*, says that he went on this voyage with Pinzon *the SECOND time that he (Pinzon) went to make discoveries* ("la segunda vez que fué á descubrir," Navarrete, tom. iii. p. 552). This might mean that his first voyage was the one with Columbus in 1492, but in accordance with the general usage of these speakers, the phrase refers to him as for the second time in command, so that his first voyage must have been that of 1497-98.

the Pearl Coast and Hispaniola, and losing two of his ships in a hurricane, Pinzon returned to Spain in September, 1500. When he arrived he found that his fellow-townsmen Diego de Lepe had set sail just after him, in January, with two caravels, and had returned in June, after having doubled Cape San Roque and followed the Brazilian coast to latitude 10° S., or thereabouts, far enough to begin to recognize its southwesterly trend.¹

Affairs now became curiously complicated. King Emanuel of Portugal intrusted to Pedro Alvarez de Cabral the command of a fleet for Hindustan, to follow up the work of Gama and establish a Portuguese centre of trade on the Malabar coast. This fleet of thirteen vessels, carrying about 1,200 men, sailed from Lisbon March 9, 1500. After passing the Cape Verde islands, March 22, for some reason not clearly known, whether driven by stormy weather or seeking to avoid the calms that were apt to be troublesome on the Guinea coast, Cabral took a somewhat more westerly course than he realized, and on April 22, after a weary progress averaging less than 60 miles per day, he found himself on the coast of Brazil not far beyond the limit reached by Lepe. It was easy enough thus to

Cabral crosses
the Atlantic
accidentally.

¹ From June, 1499, to April, 1500, Pero Alonso Niño and Cristoval Guerra made a voyage to the Pearl Coast and acquired much wealth, but as it contributed nothing to the progress of discovery I have not included it in my list.

The voyage of Rodrigo de Bastidas, with La Cosa for pilot, from October, 1500, to September, 1502, was also in its main intent a voyage for pearls and gold, but it completed the discovery of the northern coast of what we now know to be South America, from Cape de la Vela to Puerto Bello on the isthmus of Darien.

cross the ocean unintentionally, for in that latitude the Brazilian coast lies only ten degrees west of the meridian of the Cape Verde islands, and the southern equatorial current, unknown to Cabral, sets strongly toward the very spot whither he was driven. Approaching it in such a way Cabral felt sure that this coast must fall to the east of the papal meridian. Accordingly on May day, at Porto Seguro in latitude $16^{\circ} 30' S.$, he took formal possession of the country for Portugal, and sent Gaspar de Lemos in one of his ships back to Lisbon with the news.¹ On May 22 Cabral weighed anchor and stood for the Cape of Good Hope. As the fleet passed that famous headland the angry Genius of the Cape at last wreaked his vengeance upon the audacious captain who had dared to reveal his secret. In a frightful typhoon four ships were sunk, and in one of them the gallant Bartholomew Dias found a watery grave.

Cabral called the land he had found Vera Cruz, a name which presently became Santa Cruz; but when Lemos arrived in Lisbon with the news he had with him some gorgeous paroquets, and among the earliest names on old maps of the Brazilian coast we find "Land of Paroquets" and "Land of the Holy Cross." The land lay obviously so far to the east that Spain could not deny that at last there was something for Portugal out

¹ See Gandavo, *Historia da provincia Santa Cruz a vulgarmente chamamos Brazil*, Lisbon, 1576, cap. i.; Riccioli, *Geographia et Hydrographia*, Venice, 1671, lib. iii. cap. 22; Barros, *Asia*, dec. i. lib. v. cap. 2; Macedo, *Noções de Corographia do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 1873; Machado, *Memoria sobre o descobrimento do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 1855.

in the "ocean sea." Much interest was felt at Lisbon. King Emanuel began to prepare an expedition for exploring this new coast, and wished to secure the services of some eminent pilot and cosmographer familiar with the western waters. Overtures were made to Americus, a fact which proves that he had already won a high reputation. The overtures were accepted, for what reason we do not know, and soon after his return from the voyage with Ojeda, probably in the autumn of 1500, Americus passed from the service of Spain into that of Portugal.

Vespucius passes into the service of Portugal.

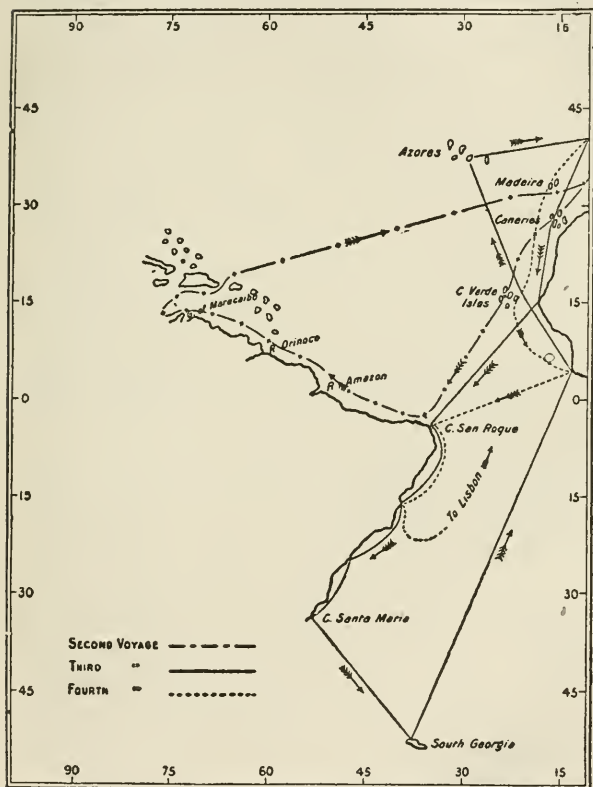
The remark was made long ago by Dr. Robertson, that if Columbus had never lived, and the chain of causes and effects at work independently of him had remained unchanged, the discovery of America would not long have been postponed.¹ It would have been discovered by accident on April 22, 1500, the day when Cabral first saw the coast of Brazil. All other navigators to the western shores of the Atlantic since 1492 were successors of Columbus; not so Cabral. In the line of causal sequence he was the successor of Gama and Dias, of Lançarote and Gil Eannes, and the freak of wind and wave that carried him to Porto Seguro had no connection with the scientific triumph of the great Genoese.

America would have been discovered without Columbus.

This adventure of Cabral's had interesting consequences. It set in motion the train of events

¹ Robertson, *History of America*, book ii. HARRISSE makes a similar remark in the preface to his *Christophe Colomb*.

which ended after some years in placing the name "America" upon the map. On May 14, 1501, Vespucci, who was evidently principal pilot and guiding spirit in this voyage under unknown



Second, Third, and Fourth Voyages of Vespucci.

skies, set sail from Lisbon with three caravels. It is not quite clear who was chief captain, but M. Varnhagen has found reasons for believing that

it was a certain Don Nuno Manuel.¹ The first halt was made on the African coast at Cape Verde, the first week in June; and there the explorers met Cabral on his way back from Hindustan.

According to the letter attributed to Vespuccius and published in 1827 by Baldelli,² the wealth stowed away in Cabral's ships was quite startling. "He says there was an immense quantity of cinnamon, green and dry ginger, pepper, cloves, nutmegs, mace, musk, civet, storax, benzoin, porcelain, cassia, mastic, incense, myrrh, red and white sandalwood, aloes, camphor, amber," Indian hemp and cypress, as well as opium and other drugs too numerous to mention. "Of jewels he saw many diamonds, rubies, and pearls, and one ruby of a most beautiful colour weighed seven carats and a half, but he did not see all."³ Verily, he says, God has prospered King Emanuel.

After leaving Cape Verde the little fleet had to struggle through the belt of calms, amid a perpetual sultry drizzle with fierce thunder and lightning.

After sixty-seven days of "the vilest weather ever seen by man" they reached the coast of Brazil in latitude about 5° S., on the evening of the 16th of August, the festival-day of San Roque, whose name was accordingly given to the cape before which they

On his third voyage Vespuccius explores the coast of Brazil,

¹ Varnhagen, *Nouvelles recherches sur les derniers voyages du Navigateur Florentin*, Vienna, 1869, p. 9.

² If not itself genuine, it is very likely based on genuine memoranda.

³ Major, *Prince Henry the Navigator*, p. 412; see the document in Varnhagen, *Amerigo Vespucci*, p. 81.

dropped anchor. From this point they slowly followed the coast to the southward, stopping now and then to examine the country. In some places the inhabitants were ferocious Indians, who received them with showers of arrows, but fled in terror from firearms.¹ In other places they found the natives disposed to be friendly, but “wicked and licentious in their manner of living, more like the style of the Epicureans and meets with cannibals. than that of the Stoics. All their women are in common, and they have neither kings nor

¹ “There were two in the shippe which toke vpon them to vewe the lande, and learne what spyces and other commodities might be had therein. They were appoynted to returne within the space of fine daies at the vttermost. But when eyght dayes were now paste, they whiche remayned in the shippes heard yet nothing of theyr returne: wher as in the meane time great multitudes of other people of the same lande resorted to the Sea syde, but could by no meanes be allured to communicacion. Yet at the length they broughte certaine women, which shewed themselues familier towarde the Spaniardes [i. e. Portuguese]. Wherupon they sent forth a young man, beyng very strong and quicke, at whom as the women wondered, and stode gazing on him and feling his apparell, there came sodenly a woman downe from a mountayne, bringing with her secretly a great stake, with which she gane him such a stroke behynde that he fell dead on the earth. The other womanne foorthwith toke hym by the legges, and drewe him to the mountayne, whyle in the mean tyme the men of the countreye came foorth with bowes and arrowes, and shot at oure men. But the [Portuguese] discharging foure pieces of ordenaunce agaynst them, droue them to flighte. The women also which had slayne the yong man, cut hym in pieces euen in the sight of the [Portuguese], shewing them the pieces, and roasting them at a greate fyre. The men also made certayn tokens, wherby they declared that not past viii. daies before they had in lyke maner serued other christian men. Wherfore ye [Portuguese] hauinge thus sustayned so greuous iniuries vnreunged, departed with euil wyl.” *Eden’s Treatise of the Newe India*, London, 1553.

temples nor idols. Neither have they commerce or money; but they have strife among them and fight most cruelly and without any order. They also feed on human flesh. I saw one very wicked wretch who boasted, as if it were no small honour to himself, that he had eaten three hundred men. I saw also a certain town, in which I staid about twenty-seven days, where salted human flesh was suspended from the roofs of the houses, even as we suspend the flesh of the wild boar from the beams of the kitchen, after drying and smoking it, or as we hang up strings of sausages. They were astonished to hear that we did not eat our enemies, whose flesh they say is very appetizing, with dainty flavour and wondrous relish.”¹ The climate and landscape pleased Americus much better than the people. He marvelled at the temperate and balmy atmosphere, the brilliant plumage of the birds, the enormous trees, and the aromatic herbs, endowed by fancy with such hygienic virtues that the people, as he understood them to say, lived to be a hundred and fifty years old. His thoughts were of Eden, like those of Columbus on the Pearl Coast. If the terrestrial paradise is anywhere to be found on the earth, said Vespuccius, it cannot be far from this region.

So much time was given to inspecting the country and its inhabitants that the progress of the ships was slow. It was not until All Saints day, the first of November, that they reached the bay in latitude 13° S., which is

The Bay of All
Saints.

¹ See the letter to Medici, in Varnhagen, *Amerigo Vespucci*, p. 19.

still known by the name which they gave it, Bahia de Todos Santos.¹ On New Year's day, 1502, they arrived at the noble bay where fifty-four years later the chief city of Brazil was founded. They would seem to have mistaken it for the mouth of another huge river, like some that had already been seen in this strange world; for they called it Rio de Janeiro (river of January).² Thence by February 15 they had passed Cape Santa Maria, when they left the coast and took a southeasterly course out into the ocean. Americus gives no satisfactory reason for this change of direction; such points were probably reserved for his book. Perhaps he may have looked into the mouth of the river La Plata, which is a bay more than a hundred miles wide; and the sudden westward trend of the shore may have led him to suppose that he had reached the end of the continent. At any rate, he was now in longitude more than twenty degrees west of the meridian

Change of direction near the mouth of La Plata.

¹ The misreading of this name, in which the *h* was changed into *d*, gave rise to one of the funniest absurdities known to geography. A *Bahia de Todos Santos* became *La Badia de Todos Santos* (Latin, *Abbatia Omnium Sanctorum*); so the *Bay* became an *Abbey*, supposed to exist on that barbarous coast!! The reader may see this name, given very distinctly, upon the Ruysch map, and also (if his eyes are sharp) on the *Tabula Terre Nove*.

Mr. Winsor (*Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, viii. 373) attributes the discovery of the Bahia de Todos Santos to Christovão Jaques in 1503. But that is impossible, for the name occurs in that place on the Cantino map. Vespuceius arrived in Lisbon September 7, 1502; so that I believe we can fix the date of that map at between September 7 and November 19, 1502.

² Varnhagen, p. 110; the name is sometimes attributed to Martino de Sousa, 1531, but that is improbable. See Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, viii. 390.

of Cape San Roque, and therefore unquestionably out of Portuguese waters. Clearly there was no use in going on and discovering lands which could belong only to Spain. This may account, I think, for the change of direction. New lands revealed toward the southeast might perhaps come on the Portuguese side of the line. Americus was already somewhat farther south than the Cape of Good Hope, and nearer the antarctic pole than any civilized man had ever been before, except Bartholomew Dias. Possibly he may also have had some private notion of putting Ptolemy's theory of antarctic land to the test. On the part of officers and crews there seems to have been ready acquiescence in the change of course. It was voted that for the rest of the voyage Americus should assume the full responsibility and exercise the chief command; and so, after laying in food and fresh water enough to last six months, they started for realms unknown.

The nights grew longer and longer until by April 3 they covered fifteen hours. On that day the astrolabe showed a southern latitude of 52° . Before night a frightful storm overtook our navigators, and after four days of scudding under bare poles, land hove in sight, but no words of welcome greeted it. In that rough sea the danger on such a coast was appalling, all the more so because of the fog and sleet. It was the island of South Georgia, in latitude 54° S., and about 1,200 miles east from Tierra del Fuego. Captain Cook, who rediscovered it in January (midsummer), 1775, called it the most

Discovery of
South Georgia,
April 7, 1502.

wretched place he had ever seen on the globe. In comparison with this scarped and craggy island, covered down to the water's edge with glaciers, Cook called the savage wastes of Tierra del Fuego balmy and hospitable. Struggling gusts lash the waves into perpetual fury, and at intervals in the blinding snow-flurries, alternated with freezing rains, one catches ominous glimpses of tumbling ice-floes and deadly ledges of rock. For a day and a night while the Portuguese ships were driven along within sight of this dreadful coast, the sailors, with blood half frozen in their veins, prayed to their patron saints and made vows of pilgrimage. As soon as the three ships succeeded in exchanging signals, it was decided to make for home.

Vespucius then headed straight N. N. E., through the huge ocean, for Sierra Leone, and the distance of more than 4,000 miles was made — with wonderful accuracy, though Vespucius says nothing about that — in thirty-three days. At Sierra Leone one of the caravels, no longer seaworthy, was abandoned and burned; after a fortnight's rest ashore, the party went on in the other two ships to the Azores, and thence after some further delay to Lisbon, where they arrived on the 7th of September, 1502.

When we remember how only sixty-seven years before this date the dauntless Gil Eannes sailed into the harbour of Lisbon amid deafening plaudits over the proud news that in a coasting voyage he had passed beyond Cape Bojador, there is something positively startling in the progress that had been achieved.

Return to
Lisbon, Sept.
7, 1502.

Historical im-
portance of
this voyage.

Among all the voyages made during that eventful period there was none that as a feat of navigation surpassed this third of Vespucci, and there was none, except the first of Columbus, that outranked it in historical importance. For it was not only a voyage into the remotest stretches of the Sea of Darkness, but it was preëminently an incursion into the antipodal world of the southern hemisphere. Antarctic cold was now a matter of positive experience, no less than arctic cold.¹ Still more remarkable was the change in the aspect of the starry heavens. Voyages upon the African coast had indeed already familiarized Portuguese sailors with the disappearance of the pole-star below the northern horizon, and some time before reaching the equator one could see the majestic Southern Cross.² But in this course from Lisbon to South Georgia Vespucci sailed over an arc of 93°, or more than one fourth the circumference of the globe. Not only the pole-star, but the Great

¹ Vespucci might well have said, in the words of the great Spanish epic: —

Climas passé, mudé constelaciones,
Golfos inavagables navegando,
Estendiendo, Señor, vuestra corona
Hasta la austral frigida zona.

Ercilla, *Araucana*, xxxvii.

² In Ptolemy's time the Southern Cross passed the meridian of Alexandria at an altitude of 6° 54' above the horizon; to-day, owing to the precession of the equinoxes, it is 3° below the horizon in that place. See Humboldt, *Examen critique*, tom. iv. p. 321. The sight of it was familiar to Christian anchorites in Egypt in the days of St. Athanasius, and to Arab sailors in the Red Sea in the Middle Ages, whence Dante may have got his knowledge of it. It finally passed out of sight at Alexandria about A. D. 1340. Cadamosto observed it in 1454 from the river Gambia.

Bear, the Swan, and the larger part of the constellations visible from Lisbon sank out of sight; Castor and Pollux, Arcturus and the Pleiades, were still visible, but in An Antarctic World. strange places, while over all the sky ahead twinkled unknown stars, the Milky Way changed its shape, and the mysterious Coalsacks seemed to beckon the voyager onward into realms of eternal sleet and frost. Our Florentine navigator was powerfully affected by these sights. The strange coast, too, which he had proved to extend at least as far south as the Cape of Good Hope, arrested his attention in a very different way from the coasts of Honduras and Florida. In these there was nothing to startle one out of the natural belief that they must be parts of Asia, but with the Brazilian shore it was otherwise. A coast of continental extent, beginning so near the meridian of the Cape Verde islands and running southwesterly to latitude 35° S. and perhaps beyond, did not fit into anybody's scheme of things. None of the ancient geographers had alluded to such a coast, unless it might be supposed to be connected with the Taprobane end of Mela's Antichthonnes, or with Ptolemy's Terra Incognita far to the east and southeast of Cattigara. In any case it was land unknown to the ancients, and Vespucius was right in saying that he had beheld there things by the thousand which Pliny had never mentioned.¹ It was not strange that he

Why Vespu-
cius thought
it was a "new
world."

¹ "Et certe credo quod Plinius noster millesimam partem non attigerit generis psitacorum reliquarumque avium, necnon & animalium que in iisdem regionibus sunt, cum tanta facierum atque colorum diuersitate quod consumate picture artifex Poli-

should call it a **NEW WORLD**, and in meeting with this phrase, on this first occasion in which it appears in any document with reference to any part of what we now call America, the reader must be careful not to clothe it with the meaning which it wears in our modern eyes. In using the expression "New World" Vespuccius was not thinking of the Florida coast which he had visited on a former voyage, nor of the "islands of India" discovered by Columbus, nor even of the Pearl Coast which he had followed after the Admiral in exploring. The expression occurs in his letter to Lorenzo de' Medici, written from Lisbon in March or April, 1503, relating solely to this third voyage. The letter begins as follows:—

"I have formerly written to you at sufficient length¹ about my return from those new countries which in the ships and at the expense and command of the most gracious King

His letter to
Lorenzo.

cletus in pingendis illis deficeret. Omnes arbores ibi sunt odorate: et singule ex se ginum vel oleum vel liquorem aliquem emittunt. Quorum proprietates si nobis note essent non dubito quin humanis corporis saluti forent, & certe si paradus terrestris in aliqua sit terre parte, non longe ab illis regionibus distare existimo." Varnhagen, p. 21. In this charming passage the great sailor, by a slip of the memory, got one of his names wrong. It was not the sculptor Polyeletus, but the painter Polygnotus that he really had in mind.

¹ Several allusions in the letter indicate that Vespuccius had written to Lorenzo soon after his return, announcing that fact and promising to send him his journal of the voyage. He was unable to fulfil this promise because the King of Portugal kept the journal and Vespuccius felt delicate about asking him for it. At last, in the spring of 1503, before starting on another long voyage, our navigator wrote this brief letter to his old friend, giving him "just the main points," though he had not yet recovered his journal.

of Portugal we have sought and found. It is proper to call them a new world.”

Observe that it is only the new countries visited on this third voyage, the countries from Cape San Roque southward, that Vespuccius thinks it proper to call a new world, and here is his reason for so calling them:—

“Since among our ancestors there was no knowledge of them, and to all who hear of the affair it is most novel. For it transcends the ideas of the ancients; since most of them say that beyond the equator to the south there is no continent, but only the sea which they called Atlantic, and if any of them asserted the existence of a continent there, they found many reasons for refusing to consider it a habitable country. But this last voyage of mine has proved that this opinion of theirs was erroneous and in every way contrary to the facts, since in those southern regions I have found a continent more thickly inhabited by peoples and animals than our Europe, or Asia, or Africa, and moreover a climate more temperate and agreeable than in any other region known to us; as you will understand below when I write you briefly just the main points, and [describe] the most remarkable things that were seen or heard by me in this new world, — as will appear below.”¹

¹ I give here in parallel columns two of the earliest texts of this very interesting and important paragraph:—

Latin text of 1504.

Italian version in Venetian dialect, Vicenza, 1507.

“Superioribus diebus satis ample tibi scripsi de reditu meo ab novis illis regionibus quas et classe et impensis

“Li passati zorni assai ampleme'te te scrissi de la mia retornata de qlli noui paese: iquali & cu' larmata & cu'

This expression "Novus Mundus," thus occurring in a private letter, had a remarkable career.

et mandato istius serenissimi Portugatio Regis perquisivimus & invenimus. Quasque novum mundum appellare licet. Quando apud maiores nostros nulla de ipsis fuerit habita cognitio & audientibus omnibus sit nouissima res. Et enim hec opinionem nostrorum antiquorum excedit: cum illorum maior pars dicat vltra lineam equinotialem et versus meridiem non esse continentem, sed mare tantum quod Atlanticum vocauere et si qui eorum continentem ibi esse affirmauerunt, eam esse terram habitabilem multis rationibus negaverunt. Sed hanc eorum opinionem esse falsam et veritati omnino contrariam, hec mea ultima navigatio declarauit, cum in partibus illis meridianis continentem inuenerim frequentioribus populis & animalibus habitatam quam nostram Europam, seu Asiam, vel Africam, et insuper aerem magis temperatum et amenum quam in quauis alia regione a nobis cognita: prout inferius intelliges vbi succincte tantum rerum capita scribemus, et res digniores annotatione et memoria que a me vel vise vel audite in hoc nouo mundo fuere: vt infra patebit."

lespese & coma'dame'to de q,sto Serenissimo Re de portogallo hauemo cercato & retrouato: i q,li nouo mondo chiamare ne sta licito p, ch' ap,ssso de imazori n,ri niuna de q,lli estata hauta cognitio'e: & a tuti q,lli che aldira'no sera nouissime cose: imperoche q,sto la oppinione de li n,ri antiq, excede: co'cio sia che d' q,lli la mazor p,te dica vltra lalinea eq,notiale: & uerso el mezo zorno no' esser co'tinente: Ma el mare solame'te: elqual Atala'tico ha'no chiamato: E si qual che uno de q,lle co'tinente li esser ha'no affirmato: q,lla esser terra habitabile per molte razione ha'no negato. Ma questa sie oppinione esser falsa & alauerita ogni modo co'traria: Questa mia ultima nauigatione he dechiarato: co'ciosia che in quelle parte meridionale el co'tinente io habia retrouato: de piu frequenti populi & a'i'ali habitata de la n,ra Europa: o uero Asia: o uero Affrica: & ancora laere piu temperato & ameno: che in que banda altra regione de nui cognosciute: come de sotto intenderai: Doue breuamente solamente de la cose icapi scriueamo: & le cose piu degne de annotatio'e & de memoria: le qual da mi: o uero uiste: o uero audite in questo nouo modo foreno: como de sotto sera'no manifeste."

Early in June, 1503, about the time when Americus was starting on his fourth voyage, Lorenzo died. By the beginning of 1504, a Latin version of the letter was printed and published, with the title

The letter translated into Latin and published by the architect Giocondo.

“Mundus Novus.” It is a small quarto of only four leaves, with no indication of place or date; but on the verso of the last leaf we are informed that “The interpreter Giocondo translated this letter from the Italian into the Latin language, that all who are versed in the Latin may learn how many wonderful things are being discovered every day, and that the temerity of those who want to probe the Heavens and their Majesty, and to know more than is allowed to know, be confounded; as notwithstanding the long time since the world began to exist, the vastness of the earth and what it contains is still unknown.”¹ This rebuke to some of the audacious speculators of the time is quite in the clerical vein, and we are not surprised to learn that “the interpreter Giocondo”² was a Dominican friar. He was Giovanni Giocondo, of Verona, the eminent mathematician, the scholar who first edited Vitruvius, and himself an architect famous enough to be intrusted with the building of the dome of St. Peter’s during part of the interval between Bramante and Michael Angelo.³ From

¹ For an account of this and the other early editions of *Mundus Novus*, see HARRISSE, *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, pp. 55-88, and *Additions*, pp. 16-21, 26.

² “Iocūdus interpres” becomes, in the hands of the Venetian translator of 1507, “el iocondo interprete,” *anglicè* “the jocund interpreter”!!

³ Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy*, vol. ii. p. 429, vol. iii. p. 91.

1499 to 1507 Giocondo was living in Paris, engaged in building the bridge of Notre Dame, which is still standing.¹ Of all the thousands who pass over it from day to day, how many have ever dreamed of associating it with the naming of America? This Giocondo, who is now positively known to have been the one that translated the letter of Vespuccius,² was on terms of intimacy with the Medici family at Florence and also with Soderini. There would be nothing strange, therefore, in a manuscript copy of a brief but intensely interesting letter finding its way into his hands from this quarter. I can find no indication that any *printed* Italian text preceded this Latin version, and am disposed to believe that Giocondo made it directly from a manuscript copy of the original letter. The first edition of Giocondo's version was clearly one of those that were published in Paris late in 1503 or early in 1504. At that time Ves-

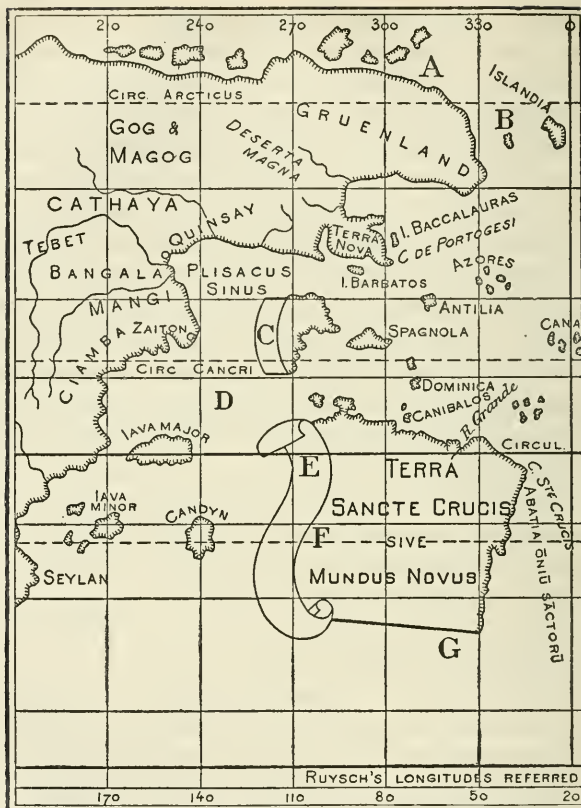
¹ Sauval, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de Paris*, Paris, 1724, tom. i. p. 230; Tiraboschi, *Letteratura italiana*, Florence, 1809, tom. vi. pp. 128, 203, 1144-1150.

² Walter Lud, *Speculum Orbis*, Strasburg, 1507, fol. iii. This little tract, of only four leaves folio, has been of priceless value in clearing up many of the unjust and absurd aspersions against Vespuccius. One of the only two copies known to be now in existence was discovered in 1862 by my old and much esteemed friend Henry Stevens, who was the first to point out its importance. After trying in vain to place it in some American library, Mr. Stevens showed it to Mr. Major, and it found a place in that greatest of all treasure-houses for the materials of American history, the British Museum. It is one of the most precious documents in the world. See Stevens, *Historical and Geographical Notes*, p. 35; Avezac, *Martin Waltzemüller*, pp. 60-67; HARRISSE, *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 49. The other copy is in the Imperial library at Vienna.

pucius, on the coast of Brazil, and Columbus, on the coast of Jamaica, were alike contending against the buffets of adverse fortune. People in Europe, except the few persons directly concerned with their enterprises, took little heed of either of these mariners. The learned Giocondo, if interrogated about their doings, would probably have replied that Columbus had arrived at the eastern coast of Asia by sailing westward, and that Vespuccius had disclosed the existence of an Inhabited World in the south temperate zone and in a new and untried direction. It surely would not have occurred to Giocondo that the latter achievement came into competition with the former or tended in any way to discredit it.

The little four-leaved tract, "Mundus Novus," turned out to be the great literary success of the day. M. HARRISSE has described at least eleven Latin editions probably published in the course of 1504, and by 1506 not less than eight editions of German versions had been issued. Intense curiosity was aroused by this announcement of the existence of a populous land beyond the equator and UNKNOWN (could such a thing be possible?) TO THE ANCIENTS!! One of the early Latin editions calls for especial mention, by reason of its title and its editor. Instead of the ordinary "Mundus Novus" we find, as an equivalent, the significant title "De Ora Antartica," concerning the Antarctic Coast lately discovered by the King of Portugal. This edition, published at Strasburg in 1505, was edited by "Master Ringmann Philesius," a somewhat pale

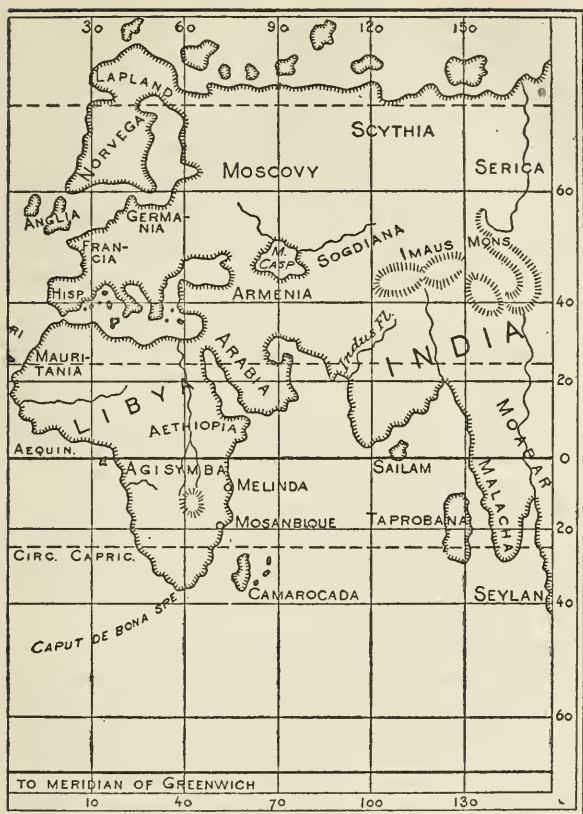
Great interest
felt in "Mun-
dus Novus."



Universalior Cogniti
Johann Ruysch's Map of the World, published August

¹ A reduction of a part of the original map, in Ruysch's conical projection, may be seen in Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, iv. 8. As that projection would be puzzling to most readers, I have reduced it to Mercator's. An English translation of the various legends upon the map is here subjoined:—

- A. "Here the ship's compass loses its property, and no vessel with iron on board is able to get away."



Orbis Tabula.

13, 1508, reduced to Mercator's projection.¹

- B. "This island was entirely burnt in 1456." [See above, vol. i. p. 242.]
- C. "The ships of Ferdinand, king of Spain, have come as far as here." [See above, p. 80.]
- D. "Marco Polo says that 1,400 miles eastward from the port of Zaiton there is a very large island called Cipango, whose inhabitants are idolaters, and have their own king,

and slender youth of two-and-twenty, who is a personage of much importance in our narrative.

Matthias Ringmann. He was a young man of remarkable promise, a native of Schlestadt, a little town on the eastern slope of the Vosges mountains in Alsace. His name was Matthias Ringmann, but in accordance with the prevailing fashion he was more commonly known by a dog-Latin epithet, Philesius Vogesigena, in allusion to his birth-place.

and are tributary to no one. Here is a great abundance of gold and all sorts of gems. But as the islands discovered by the Spaniards occupy this spot, we have not ventured to place this island here, thinking that what the Spaniards call Spagnola [Hispaniola, Hayti] is the same as Cipango, since the things which are described as in Cipango are found in Spagnola, besides the idolatry."

- E. "Spanish sailors have come as far as here, and they call this country a New World because of its magnitude, for in truth they have not seen it all nor up to the present time have they gone beyond this point. Wherefore it is here left incomplete, especially as we do not know in what direction it goes."
- F. "This region, which by many people is believed to be another world (*alter terrarum orbis*), is inhabited at different points by men and women who go about either quite naked or clad in interwoven twigs adorned with feathers of various hues. They live for the most part in common, with no religion, no king; they carry on wars among themselves perpetually and devour the flesh of human captives. They enjoy a wholesome climate, however, and live to be more than 140 years old. They are seldom sick, and then are cured merely by the roots of herbs. There are lions here, and serpents, and other horrid wild beasts. There are mountains and rivers, and there is the greatest abundance of gold and pearls. The Portuguese have brought from here brazil-wood and quassia."
- G. "Portuguese mariners have examined this part of this country, and have gone as far as the 50th degree of south latitude without reaching its southern extremity."

He acquired an early reputation by his graceful Latin verses, which sparkled with wit and could sting if the occasion required it. In 1504 Ringmann was in Paris, studying at the college of Cardinal Lemoine, and there he seems to have become acquainted with Fra Giocondo and with the letter of Vespuccius, a new edition of which he presently brought out at Strasburg. Thus in its zigzag career the Italian letter sent by its writer from Lisbon to Florence was first turned into Latin and printed at Paris, with its phrase "New World" lifted up from the text and turned into a catching title, by the friar Giocondo, and thereupon a friend of this accomplished friar sent it into Alsace, and into a neighbourhood where the affair was soon to enter into a new stage of development.

We shall the better understand that further stage if we pause to illustrate, by means of two or three early maps, just what the phrase "New World" meant to the men who first used it. A glance at my sketch of Martin Behaim's globe¹ will assure the reader that in the old scheme of things there was no place for such a coast as that which Americus had lately explored. Such a coast would start to the east of Behaim's 330th meridian, a little below the equator, and would run at least as far south as the southern extremity of Behaim's island of "Candyn." Nobody had ever dreamed of inhabited land in such a place. What could it be? What could be said of its relations to Asia? Two contrasted opinions are revealed by

What did the phrase "New World" originally mean?

Oceanic and continental theories.

¹ See above, vol. i. p. 422.

the old maps. As in the days of Ptolemy and Mela, we again see a dry theory confronted by a wet theory. Some supposed the "Land of the Holy Cross" to be a southeasterly projection from the vast continental mass of Asia; others conceived it as an island of quasi-continental dimensions lying to the southeast of Asia, somewhat in the position actually occupied by Australia. This theory is most vividly presented on the map of the world by Ruysch's map, 1508. Johann Ruysch, in the edition of Ptolemy published at Rome in 1508. This is the earliest *published* map that shows any parts of America, and it is the first such map that was engraved, except perhaps the *Tabula Terre Nove*. It exhibits a study of many and various sources of information, and is a very interesting sketch of the earth's surface as conceived at that time by a truly learned geographer. In the eastern half of his map Ruysch is on a pretty firm ground of knowledge as far east as the Ganges. The relative position of Sailam (Ceylon) is indicated with a fair approach to correctness. Taprobana (Ptolemy's Ceylon) has now become a different island, apparently Sumatra; and both this island and Malacca are carried more than a thousand miles too far to the south, probably from associations with Ptolemy's Cattigara land. Curiously enough, Ceylon (Seylan) reappears in latitude 40° S. as the very tip end of Asia. Coming now to the western half of the map, we find Sumatra reappearing as "Iava Minor," and Java itself as "Iava Major" wildly out of place. Ciamba (Cochin China), Mangi and Cathay (southern and northern China) are given,

after Marco Polo, with tolerable correctness; but Bangala (Bengal) is mixed up with them on the coast of the Plisacus Sinus (Yellow Sea). Gog and Magog, from the Catalan map of 1375, are separated only by a great desert from Greenland, which is depicted with striking correctness in its relations to Gunnbjörn's Skerries (at B) and Iceland, as well as to Terra Nova (probably Labrador) and I. Baccalauras (Newfoundland). The voyages of the Cortereals are recognized in the name *C. de Portogesi*. In rather startling proximity comes the Barbadoes. The island which terminates with the scroll C probably represents the Florida of the Cantino map, with which this of Ruysch is demonstrably connected by the droll blunder "Abatia òniū sāctorū" on the Brazilian coast. There is no mistaking Spagnola (Hayti), which Ruysch is still inclined (in legend D) to identify with Cipango. The fabulous Antilia is in the same longitude as upon Behaim's globe. If now, contrasting Ruysch with Behaim, we observe the emergence of the "Land of the Holy Cross, or New World" from the Atlantic ocean, in place of the fabulous St. Brandan's isle, we cannot fail to see in a moment what was the most huge and startling feature that had been added to the map of the world during the interval between 1492 and 1507. And this emergence of land from an unknown deep was due chiefly to the third voyage of Vespuccius, for the short extent of Pearl Coast explored by Columbus in 1498 was not enough to impress men's minds with the idea of a great continent detached from Asia.

So far as "Mundus Novus" is concerned, I have called Ruysch's map an exponent of the wet or oceanic theory. In its northern portion, however, where Greenland and Labrador are joined to China, we have the continental or dry style of theorizing, very much

The Lenox
globe, cir.
1510.



Western half of the Lenox globe, cir. 1510.

after the fashion of Claudius Ptolemy. For an extreme illustration of the oceanic style of interpretation we must look to the Lenox globe, which was discovered in Paris about forty years ago, and afterward found its way into the library

of Mr. James Lenox, of New York. This is a copper globe, about five inches in diameter, made in two sections which accurately fit together, making a spherical box; the line of junction forms the equator. The maker's name is unknown, but it is generally agreed that it must have been made in 1510 or early in 1511.¹ It is one of the earliest records of a reaction against the theory that it would be possible to walk westward from Cuba to Spain dry-shod. Here the new discoveries are all placed in the ocean at a good distance from the continent of Asia, and all except South America are islands. The land discovered by the Cabots appears, without a name, just below the Arctic circle, with a small vessel approaching it on the east. Just above the fortieth parallel a big sea monster is sturdily swimming toward Portugal. The sixtieth meridian west from Lisbon cuts through Isabel (Cuba) and Hayti, which are placed too far north, as on most of the early maps. If we compare the position of these islands here with the imaginary Antilia on Ruysch's map, we shall have no difficulty in understanding how they came to be called Antilles. A voyage of about 1,000 miles westward, from Isabel, on this Lenox globe, brings us to Zippangri (Japan), which occupies the position actually belonging to Lower California. Immediately southeast of Japan begins a vast island or quasi-continent, with the name "Terra do Brazil" at its northwestern extremity. The general name of this

¹ There is a description of the Lenox globe by Dr. De Costa, in *Magazine of American History*, September, 1879, vol. iii. pp. 529-540.

whole portion of the earth is "Mundus Novus" or "Terra Sanctæ Crucis." The purely hypothetical character of the western coast-line is confessed by the dots. The maker knew nothing of the existence of the Pacific ocean and nothing of South America except the northern and eastern coasts; he had no means of proving that it did not extend as solid land all the way to Asia; but his general adherence to the wet theory, i. e. his general disposition to imagine water rather than land in the unknown regions, led him to give it a western boundary. He would probably have called it a vast island in the Atlantic ocean. Observe that the eastern coast seems to be known as far as latitude 50° S. and beyond, and a notable eastward twist at the extremity seems intended to include the ice-bound coast where Vespuccius turned back in 1502.

The Ruysch map and the Lenox globe illustrate sufficiently the various views of those who were inclined to imagine the region we call South America as separated from Asia by water. In the globe we have an extreme instance of oceanic theory, in Ruysch a kind of compromise. Now for an instance of the opposite or continental theory we cannot do better than cite a very remarkable globe, made, indeed, a quarter of a century later than Ringmann's edition of the "Mundus Novus," but retaining the earlier views in spite of more recent discoveries. This globe was made in 1531, by Oronce Fine, better known as Orontius Finæus, a native of Dauphiny, professor of mathematics in the Collège Royal de

The globe of Orontius Finæus, 1531.

France. In his mathematics Orontius, though clever, was decidedly unsound;¹ but his knowledge of geography was extensive and minute. One of the chief points of interest in his globe is the conservatism with which it presents a geographical theory derived from Ptolemy and dovetails into it the new discoveries.² This makes it excellent testimony to the views of the continentalists, if I may so call them, in the time of Ruysch's map and the Lenox globe. The reader must bear in mind that before Orontius made his globe, Mexico had been discovered and conquered, the Pacific ocean had been discovered and crossed, the Peruvian coast had been explored as far as latitude 10° S., the North American coast had been followed from Labrador to Florida, and Portuguese sailors had found their way around Malacca to the coast of China. Yet so far was Orontius from assimilating the unwieldy mass of facts so rapidly thrust before the mind, that we find him unable to surrender the preconceived theory — common to him with many other geographers — which made what we call South America a huge peninsula jutting

¹ He believed that he had discovered how to square the circle and trisect angles, "ce qui est un peu scandaleux de la part d'un professeur du Collège Royal de France," says Delambre, *Astronomie du Moyen Age*, p. 400.

² A double-hearted map representing this globe, with northern and southern hemispheres each on a polar projection, was published in Grynæus, *Novus Orbis*, Paris, 1531. It is reproduced by Henry Stevens, in his *Historical and Geographical Notes*, London, 1869. Stevens also gives a reduction of it to Mercator's projection, after which I have made my simplified sketch. For the sake of clearness I have omitted many details which have nothing whatever to do with the purpose for which it is here cited.

out southeasterly from Asia. This, I say, was the dry or Ptolemaic way of conceiving the position of "Mundus Novus," as Ruysch's was the wet or Mela-like way of conceiving it.

Starting now from the prime meridian and from the top of the map, we may observe that Orontius has a fairly good idea of the relations between Greenland and Baccalar (Labrador-Newfoundland). Florida and the northern part of the gulf of Mexico are quite well depicted. Observe the positions of the Rio de Santo Espiritu (the Mississippi), the R. Panuco, and the Rio de Alvarado, as well as of Temisteta (the city of Mexico); they are given with a fair approach to correctness. But observe also that these places are supposed to be in China, and there is Cambaluc (Peking) about 1,000 miles distant from the city of Mexico, slightly to west of north! As for Parias (i. e. Lariab), which the early maps sometimes correctly place by the river Panuco, but which is oftener confounded with Paria and placed near the island of Grenada, the worthy Orontius makes a compromise, and it stands here for what we call Central America. And now we come to the most instructive feature of the map. The Mexican peninsula being represented as part of Asia, the "Mundus Novus," here called AMERICA, is represented as a further offshoot from Asia. But this is not all. In the theory of Orontius America is evidently a part of the Terra Incognita by which Ptolemy imagined Asia to be joined to Africa, enclosing the Indian ocean. This is proved by

The name Cattigara shows that "America" was supposed to be part of Ptolemy's Terra Incognita in the southern hemisphere.

the position of the name CATTIGARA, which occurs in the same latitude at the easternmost verge of Ptolemy's world; and it is further illustrated by the bits of antarctic continent labelled "Regio Patalis" and "Brazielie Regio" (!) peeping up from the lower border. The "Mare Magellanicum," or Pacific ocean, was to the mind of Orontius only a huge gulf in a landlocked Indian ocean! This notion of an antarctic continent coming well up into the southern temperate zone may be seen upon many maps, and it survived into the seventeenth century.¹ It was probably a reminiscence of both Ptolemy and Mela, of Ptolemy's Terra Incognita and Mela's Antichthon or Opposite-Earth. Mela's idea that Taprobane, or some such point eastward in Asia, formed an entrance to this antipodal world² was very nearly in harmony with the suggestion, upon Ptolemy's map, that one might go thither from Cattigara.³ In this southern world, according to Mela's doctrine of the zones, the course of things was quite contrary to that with which we are familiar. Shadows fell to the south,

¹ See for example the maps of Aguese, 1536, and Gastaldi, 1548, below, pp. 496, 497. On the great influence of Ptolemy and Mela in the sixteenth century, there are some good remarks in Thomassy, *Les Papes géographes et la cartographie du Vatican*, Paris, 1852.

² See above, vol. i. p. 308.

³ Orontius was not alone in identifying the New World with Ptolemy's Cattigara land. The name recurs upon old maps, as e. g. the French mappemonde of about 1540, now in the British Museum. It is given in Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, viii. 389. In this map, made after the discovery of Peru had had time to take effect, the name Cattigara is simply pushed southward into Chilian territory.

it was summer in December and winter in June, and the cold increased as you went southward. Mela had even heard that Mela's antipodal world. somewhere out in "India," on the way toward this mysterious region, the Greater and Lesser Bears disappeared from the sky.¹ In the Middle Ages there was more or less discussion as to the possible existence of such an antipodal world as Mela had described; and among the clergy there was a strong disposition to condemn the theory on the ground that it implied the existence of a race of men cut off (by an impassable torrid zone) from the preaching of the gospel. The notion of this fiery zone was irretrievably damaged when the Portuguese circumnavigated Africa; it was finally demolished by the third voyage of Vespucius. Many things seen upon that voyage must have recalled Mela's antipodal world with startling vividness. It is true that the characteristics of the southern temperate zone had been to some extent observed in Africa. But to encounter them in a still greater degree and in the western ocean on the way to Asia, upon the coast of a vast country which no one could call by name, was quite another affair. That it did not fail to suggest Ptolemy's Terra Incognita is proved by the position of Cattigara and the general conception of the Indian ocean upon the globe of Orontius; and for those who preferred Mela's wet theory it was fair to suppose

¹ *De Situ Orbis*, lib. iii. cap. 7; probably a misunderstanding of the very different statement reported by Strabo (ii. 1, § 19), that in the southern part of India the Greater and Lesser Bears are seen to set.

that the "Mundus Novus" as given upon Ruysch's map was the entrance to that geographer's antipodal world. From a passage interpolated in the Latin text of the Nuremberg Chronicle (1493) we learn that this supposed antipodal world in the southern hemisphere was sometimes called "Quarta Pars."¹ Europe, Asia, and Africa were the three parts of the earth, and so this opposite region, hitherto unknown, but mentioned by Mela and indicated by Ptolemy, was the Fourth Part. We can now begin to understand the intense and wildly absorbing interest with which people read the brief story of the third voyage of Vespuccius,² and we can see

It was sometimes called "Quarta Pars."

¹ "Extra tres ptes orb: q̄rta ē ps trāsocceanũ ĩteriore ĩ meridie q̄ sol' arderib^s nob' incognita ē: ĩ cui^s finib^s antipodes fabulose habitare dicuntur." HARRISSE, *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, p. 40.

² When we remember how much theological discussion there had been with regard to an antipodal world beyond the equator, we can appreciate the startling effect of the simple right-angled triangle with which Americus illustrated the statement that he had sailed over an arc of 90° from Lisbon to a point where the zenith corresponded to Lisbon's horizon: — "Igitur ut dixi ab Olysippo, nude digressi sumus, quod ab linea equinoctiali distat gradibus trigintanonem semis nauigavimus vltra lineam equinoctialem per quinquaginta gradus qui simul juncti efficiunt gradus circiter nonaginta, que summa eam quartam partem obteniat summi circuli, secundum veram mensure rationem ab antiquis nobis traditam, manifestum est nos nauigasse quartam mundi partem. Et hac ratione nos Olysippum habitantes citra lineam equinoctialem gradu trigesimo nono semis in latitudine septentrionali sumus ad illos qui gradu quingentesimo habitant vltra eandem lineam in meridionali latitudine angulariter gradus quinque in linea transuersali: et vt clarius intelligas: Perpendicularis linea que dum recti stamus a puncto celi imminente vertici nostro dependet in caput nostrum: illis c̄ependet in datus [read latus] vel in costas. Quo fit vt nos simus in linea recta: ipsi vero in

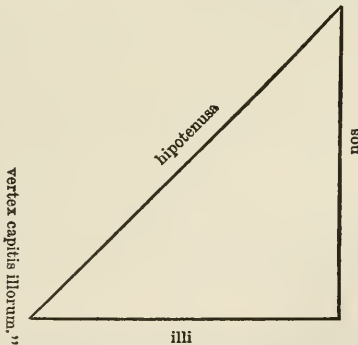
that in the nature of that interest there was nothing calculated to bring it into comparison with the work of Columbus. The two navigators were not regarded as rivals in doing the same thing, but as men who had done two very different things; and to give credit to the one was by no means equivalent to withholding credit from the other.

The last point which we are called upon to observe in the Orontius globe is the occurrence of the name AMERICA in place of the *Mundus Novus* of the Ruysch map and the Lenox globe. Thus in about a quarter of a century the first stage in the development of the naming of America had been completed. That stage consisted of five distinct steps: 1. Americus called the regions visited by him beyond

Successive steps in the naming of America.

linea transuersa, et species fiat trianguli orthogoni, cujus vicem linee tenemus cathete ipsi autem basis et hipotenusa a nostro ad illorum pretenditur verticem: vt in figura patet.

vertex capitis nostri.



Mundus Novus, 1504, apud Varnhagen, p. 24. The Venetian version introduces the above paragraph with the heading,—

“Forma dela quarta parte de la terra retrouata.”

the equator a “ new world ” because they were unknown to the ancients; 2. Giocondo made this striking phrase *Mundus Novus* into a title for his translation of the letter, which he published at Paris while the writer was absent from Europe and probably without his knowledge;¹ 3. the name *Mundus Novus* got placed upon several maps as an equivalent for *Terra Sanctæ Crucis*, or what we call Brazil; 4. the suggestion was made that *Mundus Novus* was the Fourth Part of the earth, and might properly be named America, after its discoverer; 5. the name America thus got placed upon several maps as an equivalent for what we call Brazil, and sometimes came to stand alone as an equivalent for what we call South America, but still signified ONLY A PART OF THE DRY LAND BEYOND THE ATLANTIC TO WHICH COLUMBUS HAD LED THE WAY. We have described the first three of these steps, and it is now time to say something about the fourth and fifth.

René II., de Vaudemont, reigning Duke of Lorraine, and titular King of Sicily and Jerusalem — the “blue-eyed gentle René” who with the aid of stout Swiss halberds overthrew Charles the Bold at Nancy in 1477 — was an enthusiastic patron of literature and the arts, and at his little town of Saint-Dié, nestling in one of those quiet valleys in the Vosges mountains which the beautiful tales of Erckmann-Chatrion have in-

René II. of
Lorraine.

¹ Since Vespuccius was so careful to withhold his book from the press until he could have leisure to revise it, I am inclined to believe that if he had known what Giocondo was doing he would not have been pleased.

vested with imperishable charm, there was a college. The town had grown up about a Benedictine monastery founded in the seventh century by St. Deodatus, bishop of Nevers. Toward the end of the tenth century this monastery was secularized and its government placed in the hands of a collegiate chapter of canons under the presidency of a mitred prelate whose title was Grand Provost. The chapter was feudal lord of the neighbouring demesnes, and thus as the population increased under its mild rule there grew up the small town in whose name *Deodatus* suffered contraction into *Dié*.¹ It is now a place of some 8,000 inhabitants, the seat of a bishopric, and noted for its grain and cattle markets, its fine linen fabrics, and its note-paper. From the lofty peaks that tower above the town you can almost catch sight of Speyer where Protestantism first took its name, while quite within the range of vision come Strasburg, associated with the invention of printing, Freiburg with that of gunpowder, and Vaucouleurs in the native country of the Maid of Orleans. The college of Saint-Dié was curiously associated with the discovery of America, for it was there that toward 1410 the Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly wrote his "Imago Mundi," the book which so powerfully influenced the thoughts of Columbus. At the end of that century there were several eminent men among the canons, as Pierre de Blarru, author of the local heroic poem the "Nancéide," Jean Basin de Sendacour, of whom we shall have more to say presently, and

The town of
Saint-Dié.

Walter Lud.

¹ Avezac, *Martin Waltzemüller*, p. 12.

Duke René's secretary, Walter Lud. Under the auspices of the latter a printing press was set up at Saint-Dié about the year 1500, and so many learned men came to the college that Pico della Mirandola wondered how such a society could ever have been brought together in so obscure a town. One of the lights of this little society was the brilliant and witty young Ringmann, who returned from Paris in 1505 and accepted a professorship of Latin at Saint-Dié. About the same time another young man of three-and-twenty or so, named Martin Waldseemüller,¹ a native of Freiburg in the Breisgau, was appointed professor of geography at Saint-Dié, and an intimate friendship sprang up between him and Ringmann. The latter had acquired while at Paris, and probably through his acquaintance with Fra Giocondo, a warm admiration for Vespuccius, and published, as we have already seen, in 1505 a Latin version of the letter to Medici, under the title "De Ora Antarctica."

Now Vespuccius wrote his second epistle, the one to Soderini giving a brief account of his four voyages, at Lisbon, September 4, 1504, and Soderini had a certified MS. copy of it made February 10, 1505.² From that magistrate's hands it afterward passed into those of the publisher Pacini, for whom it was printed at Florence before July 9, 1506.

French version of the letter of Americus to Soderini.

¹ The family name seems to have been Waltzemüller, but he always preferred to write it Waldseemüller. He was more commonly known by his literary name Hylacomylus.

² *Varnhagen. Amerigo Vespucci*, p. 30.

From this Italian original, of which I have mentioned five copies as still existing, somebody made a French version of which no copy is now to be found. Walter Lud tells us that a copy of this French version was obtained directly from Portugal for the little group of scholars at Saint-Dié. This copy could not have come from Vesputius himself, who before February 10, 1505, had left Portugal forever, and on the 5th of that month was making a friendly visit to Columbus at Seville. There is nothing to indicate the existence of any personal relations or acquaintanceship between Vesputius and any of the people at Saint-Dié.

The French version of the letter to Soderini arrived at Saint-Dié just as Lud and Ringmann and Waldseemüller had matured their plans for a new edition of Ptolemy, revised and amended so as to include the results of recent discovery. The strong interest felt in geographical studies during the latter half of the fifteenth century was shown in the publication of six Latin editions of Ptolemy between 1472 and 1490.¹ Before 1506 the rapid progress of discovery had made all these editions antiquated, and our friends at Saint-Dié proposed to issue one that should quite throw into the shade all that had gone before.² Walter Lud, who was blessed with a long purse, undertook to defray the expenses; Wald-

The proposed
new edition
of Ptolemy.

¹ At Bologna, 1472; Vicenza, 1475; Rome, 1478 and 1490; Ulm, 1482 and 1486; all except that of Vicenza provided with engraved maps. Avezac, *Martin Waltzemüller*, p. 23.

² Just at the same time another little group of scholars at Vienna were similarly at work on a new edition of Pomponius Mela.

seemüller superintended the scientific part of the work and Ringmann the philological part, for the sake of which he made a journey to Italy and obtained from a nephew of the great Pico della Mirandola an important manuscript of the Greek text. Duke René, who was much interested in the scheme, gathered rare data from various quarters and seems to have paid for the engraving of Waldseemüller's map entitled *Tabula Terre Nove*, which was to accompany the new edition. Early in 1507 Waldseemüller had finished a small treatise intended as an introduction to the more elaborate work which he was embodying in the edition of Ptolemy, and it was decided to print this treatise at once on the college press. Just in the nick of time Duke René handed over to the professors the letter of Vespucci in its French version, which he had lately obtained from Portugal. It was forthwith turned into Latin by the worthy canon Jean Basin de Sendacour, who improved the situation by addressing his version to his enlightened sovereign René instead of Soderini, thus bemuddling the minds of posterity for ever so long by making Vespucci appear to address the Duke of Lorraine as his old schoolmate! ¹

This Latin version, containing that innocent but

¹ The error has been furthered by the abbreviation *vostra Mag.* i. e. "your Magnificence," the proper form of address for the chief magistrate of Florence. It has been misread "your Majesty," a proper form of address for René, who was titular King of Sicily and Jerusalem. Now that we know how it happened, it is curious to see Humboldt struggle with the subject in his *Examen critique*, tom. iv. pp. 108, 113, 166.

baneful blunder of *Parias* instead of *Lariab*, the source of so much misunderstanding and so much unjust aspersion, was appended to Waldseemüller's little treatise, along with some verses by Ringmann in praise of the great Florentine navigator. The book, entitled "*Cosmographie Introductio*," was first published at Saint-Dié on the 25th of April, 1507. The only copy of this edition known to exist at present was picked up for a franc on one of the Paris quays by the geographer Jean Baptiste Eyriès; upon his death in 1846, it was bought at auction for 160 francs by Nicolas Yéméniz, of Lyons; upon the death of Yéméniz in 1867, it was bought for 2,000 francs; and it may now be seen in the Lenox Library at New York.¹ Three other editions were published in 1507, concerning which there is no need of entering into particulars.² The copy in the library of Harvard University, which I have now before me, was published August 29, 1507, — a little quarto of fifty-two leaves.³ Mr. Winsor mentions eighteen or twenty copies of it as still in existence, but in 1867 a copy was sold for 2,000 francs, the same price paid that year for the first edition; in 1884 a copy in Munich was held at 3,000 marks, equivalent to 750 dollars.

In this rare book occurs the first suggestion of the name AMERICA. After having treated of the division of the earth's inhabited surface into three

¹ Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, ii. 166.

² They are described in Avezac, *Martin Waltzemüller*, pp. 28-59; HARRISSE, *Bibl. Amer. Vetust.*, pp. 89-96; *Additions*, pp. 29-34; and more briefly mentioned in Winsor, *loc. cit.*

³ It is No. 46 in HARRISSE, *Bibl. Amer. Vetust.*

parts — Europe, Asia, and Africa — Waldseemüller speaks of the discovery of a Fourth Part, and the passage is of so much historic interest that instead of a mere transcription the reader will doubtless prefer to see a photograph of that part of the page in our Harvard copy.¹ It is as follows: —

Nunc vero & hec partes sunt latius lustratæ / & alia quarta pars per Americū Vesputium (vt in sequentibus audietur) inuenta est: quā non video cur quis iure vetet ab Americo inuente sagacis ingenij viro Amerigen quasi Americi terram / siue Americam dicendam: cum & Europa & Asia a mulieribus sua sortita sint nomina. Eius sitū & gentis mores ex bis binis Americi nauigationibus quę sequuntur liquide intelligi datur.

Or, in English: — “But now these parts have been more extensively explored and another fourth part has been discovered by Americus Vesputius (as will appear in what follows): wherefore I do not see what is rightly to hinder us from calling it Amerige or America, i. e. the land of Americus, after its discoverer Americus, a man of sagacious mind, since both Europe and Asia have got their names from women.² Its situation and the man-

The suggestion that *Quarta Pars* should be called *America*.

¹ It is somewhat reduced to fit my narrower crown octavo page. The book contains another passage in which America is mentioned as part of Mela's antipodal world.

² I suppose Waldseemüller was thinking of the passage where Herodotus (iv. 45) speaks of Europe, Asia, and Libya (i. e. the little known to him) as all one land, and cannot imagine why *three names, and women's names especially*, should have been bestowed upon it. In this connection Herodotus calls Asia the

ners and customs of its people will be clearly understood from the twice two voyages of Americus which follow."

wife of Prometheus. Hesiod (*Theog.*, 359) makes her a daughter of Oceanus and Tethys. Geographically the name seems to have had an especial reference to a small district about the Caÿster in Lydia (*Æschylus, Prometheus*, 411; *Pindar, Olymp.*, vii. 33). In its most common Greek usage it meant Asia Minor, but by the time of Herodotus it had already begun to be extended into the dim vastness of continent behind that peninsula.

Much better known than the mythic personality of the female Asia is that of Europa, daughter of Agenor (*Hegesippus, Fragm.*, 6), or of Tityos (*Pindar, Pyth.*, iv.), or of Phoroneus (see *Preller, Griechische Mythologie*, ii. 37). This greater celebrity is due to her escapade with Zeus, about which so many verses have been written. Every reader remembers the exquisite picture in Tenyson's *Palace of Art*. Less generally known are the charming lines of Reynolds:—

" We gathered wood flowers, — some blue as the vein
O'er Hero's eyelid stealing, and some as white,
In the clustering grass, as rich Europa's hand
Nested amid the curls on Jupiter's forehead,
What time he snatched her through the startled waves."

Garden of Florence, London, 1821.

As for this Europa, Herodotus is sure that she never set foot in Europe; and as for Libya he knows nothing except that she was a "native" woman. "However," he wisely concludes, "let us quit these matters. We shall ourselves continue to use the names which custom sanctions" (*Rawlinson's Herodotus*, vol. iii. p. 33). There was really nothing like uniformity of tradition in the mythical interpretations of these geographical names. Nor were they always feminine, for in Eustathius (*Comm. in Dionys. Perieg.*, 170) we read of Europus, Asius, and Libyus. Of course all these explanations got the cart before the horse; the continents were not named after the persons, but the persons were eponymous myths invented to explain the names of the continents. Professor Rawlinson's opinion is highly probable, that both Europe and Asia are Semitic words which passed to the Greeks from the Phœnicians. *Europe* seems to be the Hebrew עֶרֶב, Assyrian *ereb*, Arabic *gharb* (whence *Arab*), meaning "the setting" and "the west" (cf. Latin *occidens*, Italian *ponente*); while *Asia* seems to be a

Such were the winged words but for which, as M. Harrisse reminds us, the western hemisphere might have come to be known as Atlantis, or Hesperides, or Santa Cruz, or New India, or perhaps Columbia. There was not much likelihood, however, of its getting named after Columbus, because long before the distinct and separate existence of the western hemisphere was so much as suspected, the names had taken root in its soil, and before that time it would not have occurred to anybody to name it after Columbus, for the sufficient reason that it had two good names already, viz. "Asia" and "the Indies." Separate islands and stretches of coast received their local names, as Hispaniola or Veragua, but no one thought of proposing a new name for the whole western world.

Why the western hemisphere was not named after Columbus.

participial form of Hebrew נֶשֶׁר , Assyrian *Azu*, meaning "the rising" and "the east" (cf. Latin *oriens*, Italian *levante*). In the days when Phœnicia ruled the wave, the sailors of Tyre and Sidon probably called the opposite coasts of the Ægean sea *Europe* and *Asia* = *west* and *east*, and the Greeks acquired the habit of using these names, just as they acquired so many other words and ideas from the Phœnicians. This seems to me downright common sense. — As for the name *Libya*, it strongly suggests $\lambda\acute{\iota}\psi$ (*lips*) or $\lambda\beta\alpha$ (*liba*), the southwest wind (Aristotle, *Meteorol.*, ii. 6, 7; cf. Theocritus, ix. 11), which the Romans called *Africus* (Seneca, *Quæst. Nat.*, v. 16; Horat., *Epod.*, xvi. 22), and which Italian sailors still call *Affrico*. The Greeks called it $\lambda\acute{\iota}\psi$ (cf. $\lambda\epsilon\iota\beta\omega$) because it brought showers. According to this view *Libya* was simply "the southwest country." The meaning of the name *Africa* is very obscure. A conjecture, as plausible as any, connects it with Hebrew נֶפֶשׁ and supposes it to have been applied by the settlers of Carthage to the *nomadic* or barbarous tribes in the neighbourhood (Mövers, *Die Phönizier*, ii. 402). Originally confined to the region about Carthage, the name *Africa* gradually superseded *Libya* as a name for that continent.

Why, then, it may be asked, did Waldseemüller propose America as a new name for the whole? The reply is, that he did nothing of the sort. We shall never understand what he had in mind until we follow Mr. Freeman's advice and free ourselves from the bondage of the modern map. Let us pursue for a moment the further fortunes of the work in which our friends of Saint-Dié were engaged. Upon the death of Duke René in 1508 the little coterie was broken up. Lud seems in some way to have become dissociated from the enterprise; Ringmann in that year became professor of cosmography at Basel,¹ and his untimely death occurred in 1511. Waldseemüller was thus left comparatively alone. The next edition of the *Cosmographiæ Introductio* was published at Strasburg in 1509, the work upon the Ptolemy was kept up, or resumed, with the aid of two jurists of that city, Jacob Aeszler and Georg Uebelin, and the book was at last published there in 1513. Among the twenty new maps in this folio volume is one to which we have had frequent occasion to refer, the *Tabula Terre Nove*, made for this edition of Ptolemy at the expense of Duke René and under the supervision of Waldseemüller, if not by his own hands, and engraved before 1508.² We must therefore regard this map and the text of the *Cosmographiæ Introductio* as expressions of opinion practically contemporaneous and emanating from the

It was not the western hemisphere that was at first meant by America.

The new Ptolemy published at Strasburg, 1513.

¹ Avezac, *Martin Waltzemüller*, p. 105.

² See above p. 77.

same man (or men, i. e. Waldseemüller and Ringmann). Now what do we find on this map? The Brazilian coast is marked with local names derived from the third voyage of Vespuccius, but instead of the general name America, or even *Mundus Novus*,

The inscription upon Waldseemüller's map.

we have simply *Terra Incognita*; and over to the left, apparently referring to the Pearl Coast and perhaps also to Honduras, we read the inscription:—“This land with the adjacent islands was discovered by Columbus of Genoa by order of the King of Castile.”¹ The appearance of incompatibility between this statement and the assertion that Vespuccius discovered the Fourth Part has puzzled many learned geographers.² But I venture to think that this incompatibility is only apparent, not real. Suppose we could resuscitate those bright young men, Waldseemüller and Ringmann, and interrogate them! I presume they would say:—“Bless you, dear modern scholars, you know many things that we did not, but you have clean forgotten some things that to us were quite obvious. When we let fall that little suggestion about naming the Fourth Part after Americus, perhaps we were not so fiercely in earnest as you seem to think. We were not born of Hyrcanian tigers, but sometimes enlivened our dry disquisitions with a wholesome laugh, and so neat a chance for quizzing Europa and the fair sex was not lost upon us. Seriously, how-

¹ “*Hec terra cum adjacentibus insulis inuenta est per Columbū ianuensem ex mandato Regis Castellæ.*”

² As for instance Humboldt, *Examen critique*, tom. iv. pp. 118-120; Avezac, *Martin Waltzemüller*, p. 154; Major, *Prince Henry the Navigator*, p. 386.

ever, what did we do that was inconsistent or unfair? Did we not give Columbus the credit for discovering exactly what he did discover, the Pearl and Honduras coasts and the adjacent islands? And did we not say of Americus that he had found the Fourth Part, or Mundus Novus, *beyond the equator*, concerning which the ancients had no knowledge, but the existence of which was plainly indicated, in their different ways, by Ptolemy and Mela? But you go on to ask was it not Columbus that first showed the way to the Indies? To be sure it was; we never denied it! Again you ask if the Pearl Coast and the Mundus Novus were not alike parts of South America. Our answer is that when we were living on the earth nobody had framed a conception of the distinct and integral whole which you now call South America. We knew that long stretches of strange coast had been discovered here and there; and some of them interested us for one reason and some for another. It was doubtless a thing more divine than human for the Admiral Columbus to sail by the west to Asia along the circumference of the *Œcumene*, but he never supposed that he had thus found a new part of the earth, nor did we. To sail across the torrid zone and explore a new antipodal world that formed no part of the *Œcumene* was a very different thing, and it was this deed for which we properly gave the credit to Americus; for did not the learned and accurate Master Ruysch testify that voyagers upon this antarctic coast had beheld the southern pole more than 50° above the horizon, and yet had

What Ringmann and Waldseemüller really meant.

seen no end to that country? We therefore acted according to our best lights, emphasizing, as we admit, that which appealed to us most forcibly. If we could have studied your nineteenth century globes we should have learned to express ourselves differently; but, bless you again, dear modern scholars, may not some of your own expressions run risk of being misunderstood after an equal lapse of time?"

If along with our two editors of Ptolemy we could also call back for a moment from the Undiscovered Country that learned geographer, accomplished scholar, and devoted son, Ferdinand Columbus, and let him hear their explanation, I feel sure that he would promptly and heartily recognize its substantial correctness. Upon the point in question we already have Ferdinand's testimony, clothed in a silence more eloquent than any conceivable words. I have already remarked upon Ferdinand's superb library, of which the remnant of four or five thousand volumes is still preserved, — the Biblioteca Colombina at Seville. It will be remembered that he had a habit of marking and annotating his books in a way that is sometimes quite helpful to the historian. Now the number 1773 of Ferdinand's library is a copy of the *Cosmographie Introductio* in the edition published at Strasburg in 1509. His autograph note informs us that he bought it at Venice in July, 1521, for five *sueldos*.¹ As his death occurred in 1539, he had this book in his possession for eighteen years, and during a part

Significant silence of Ferdinand Columbus.

¹ HARRISSE, *Christophe Colomb*, tom. ii. p. 370.

of this time he was engaged in preparing the biography of his father. He was naturally very sensitive about everything that in any way great or small concerned his father's fame, and if any writer happened to make statements in the slightest degree derogatory to his father's importance or originality, Ferdinand would pause in his narrative and demolish the offender if it took a whole chapter to do it.¹ But his book makes no allusion whatever to Waldseemüller or his suggestion of the name America or his allusion to Vespuccius as the discoverer of *Quarta Pars*. Not so much as a word had Ferdinand Columbus to say on this subject! Still more, the book of Waldseemüller did not sleep on the shelf during those eighteen years. Ferdinand read and annotated it with fulness and care, but made no comment upon the passage in question! This silence is absolutely decisive. Here was the son of Columbus and for some years the fellow-townsmen of Americus at Seville, the familiar friend of the younger Vespuccius who had gone with his uncle on most if not all his voyages, — can we for a moment suppose that he did not know all that had been going on among these people since his boyhood? Of course he understood what voyages had been made and where, and interpreted them according to the best

¹ See, for example, his refutation of Giustiniani's "thirteen lies" in *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, cap. ii.; and his attacks upon Martin Pinzon and Oviedo, cap. x., xvi., xli. As M. HARRISSE observes, "Lorsqu'il rencontre sur son chemin un rival de Christophe Colomb, ou un écrivain dont le récit semble devoir diminuer l'importance du navigateur génois devant la postérité, il le vilipende sans pitié." *Fernand Colomb*, p. 141.

light of an age in which he was one of the foremost geographers. His annotations show him to have been eminently clear-headed, accurate, and precise. It would be impossible to find a contemporary witness more intelligent or more certain to utter a sharp and ringing protest against any attempt to glorify Americus at the expense of his father. Yet against Waldseemüller's suggestion Ferdinand Columbus uttered no protest. He saw nothing strange in the statement that it was Americus who discovered the Quarta Pars, or in the suggestion that it should bear his name. Under the circumstances there is but one possible explanation of this. It proves that Ferdinand shared Waldseemüller's opinion, and that to the former as to the latter this Fourth Part meant something very different from what we mean when we speak of America or of the New World.¹

¹ M. HARRISSE (in his *Fernand Colomb*, Paris, 1872, pp. 141-145) uses the silence of the *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, as an argument in support of his conjecture that the book was not written by Ferdinand (see above, vol. i. p. 340). His argument suffers severely from "bondage to the modern map." Referring to Waldseemüller, he says:—"On déclare d'abord que c'est Vespuce, *et non Christophe Colomb* [! the italicizing is mine: Waldseemüller says nothing of the sort], qui a découvert le Nouveau Monde; ensuite on promet de le prouver 'ut in sequentibus audietur,' en publiant la relation de ses quatre voyages; enfin, pour l'en récompenser, l'auteur propose de donner et donne en effet d'une manière indélébile à ces pays nouveaux le nom d'Amérique." It should be added that M. HARRISSE, while calling Waldseemüller's book "ce méchant petit livre," does full justice to the integrity of Vespucius. In the argument just cited the reader will now be able to see that all its force is lost by its failure to seize the historical perspective; it uses the phrase *Nouveau Monde* in its nineteenth century sense. As regards Ferdinand Columbus, its force is destroyed by the fact that his silence extends to his

What that Fourth Part really meant I believe I have now sufficiently explained. It is again defined for us most clearly and explicitly in the revised edition of Waldseemüller's Ptolemy published at Strasburg in 1522, three years after his death. This edition was completed by Lorenz Fries, and is usually known by his name. It uses the three names America, Mundus Novus, and Quarta Pars as synonymous and interchangeable; and in its map corresponding to the *Tabula Terre Nove*, but variously amended, it substitutes America for Terra Incognita about where the name Brazil would come on a modern map; while at the same time in the Venezuelan region it repeats the inscription stating that this coast and the neighbouring islands were discovered by Columbus.

It is not to be supposed that all map-makers at that day took just the same view of this or of any other obscure subject. Some thought the Mundus Novus deserved its name because it was Ptolemy's unknown land beyond Cattigara, as the Orontius globe proves; some because it was of indefinite extent and reminded them of Mela's antipodal world, as we

copy of Waldseemüller's book. But indeed Las Casas, as will presently be shown, expressly declares that Ferdinand's book says nothing about the naming of America (*Historia de las Indias*, tom. ii. p. 396).—Among other books belonging to Ferdinand, in which the name America was adopted, or Vesputius mentioned as discoverer of Mundus Novus, were Walter Lud's *Speculum*, the 1518 edition of Pomponius Mela, the works of Johann Schöner, and the *Cosmographicus Liber* of Apianus (Harris, *op. cit.* p. 144). There is nothing to show that anything in them disturbed him.

The Ptolemy
of 1522.

Different con-
ceptions of
Mundus No-
vus.

may gather from Ruysch's map;¹ some simply because it was an enormous mass of land in an unexpected quarter.² When carefully placed, with strict reference to its origin, the name *Mundus Novus*, or its alternative *America*, is always equivalent to *Brazil*; but sometimes where the southern continent appears as a great island its position is so commanding as to make it practically the name of that island. This is the case with the earliest known map upon which the name *America* appears. This map was discovered about thirty years ago in Queen Victoria's library at Windsor Castle, in a volume of MS. notes and drawings by Leonardo da Vinci. There is much reason for regarding the map as the work of Leonardo, but this has been doubted.³

The map attributed to Leonardo da Vinci, cir. 1514.

¹ "Terra etiam nova . . . a Vesputio nuper inventa, quam ob sui magnitudinem *Mundum novum* appellant, ultra æquatorem plus 35 gradibus, Vesputii observatione protendi cognita est, et *necdum finis inventus*." Alberto Pighi Campense in 1520, apud Humboldt, *Examen critique*, tom. iv. p. 145. Compare the inscriptions E and G on Ruysch's map.

² "Sic si ad austrum spectes, magna pars terræ nostra tempestate explorata est, aut salte circumnavigata, quam Ptolemæus ut incognitam reliquit: ab Hispanis uero quum in orientem nauigio contendunt, obambulatnr & circuitur, ut paulo post disseremus. Quin & in oceano occidentali fere nouus orbis nostris tēporibus ab Alberico Vesputio & Christophoro Columbo, multisque aliis insignibus uiris inuentus est, qui non abs re quarta orbis pars nuncupari potest, etiam terra non sit tripartita, sed quadripartita, quum hæ Indianæ insulæ sua magnitudine Europam excedant, presertim ea quæ ab Americo primo inuentore Americam uocat." Sebastian Münster, *Tabulæ cosmographicæ*, apud Grynæus, *Novus Orbis*, Paris, 1832.

³ The subject is elaborately discussed by Major, "Memoir on a Mappemonde by Leonardo da Vinci, being the earliest Map hitherto known containing the name of America," *Archæologia*,

It represents the oceanic* theory in its extreme form and has some points of likeness to the Lenox globe. The northern continent is represented by the islands of Bacalar and Terra Florida, and the



Part of Leonardo da Vinci's map, cir. 1514 — earliest known map with the name "America."

latter name proves the date of the map to be subsequent to Ponce de Leon's discovery on Easter Sunday, 1513. Cipango, here spelled Zipugna, still hovers in the neighbourhood. The western

London, 1866, vol. xl. pp. 1-40. The sketch here given is reduced from Winsor (ii. 126), who takes it from Wieser's *Magalhães-Strasse*.

coast of the southern continent is drawn at random; and the antarctic land, the inevitable reminiscence of Ptolemy and Mela, protrudes as far as the parallel of 60° S.

In 1515 Johann Schöner, professor of mathematics at Nuremberg, made a globe upon which America is drawn very much as upon Leonardo's map, with an inscription stating that the western coast is unknown; above, corresponding to Mexico, is "Parias" in the true position of Vespucci's Lariab, and this is joined to the Florida (with no name) taken from Cantino and ending with a scroll, as in Ruysch, saying that what is beyond is unknown. Leonardo's antarctic land here comes up so almost to touch America, and it bears the name "Brazilie Regio," reminding us of Orontius.

In 1520 Schöner made a second globe, which is still preserved at Nuremberg. Here the unnamed Florida has taken the name "Terra de Cuba," though both globes also give the island. "Paria" still denotes Mexico, while "Terra Parius" appears for the true Paria on the Pearl Coast. America is expressly identified with the land discovered by Cabral; the legend between latitudes 10° and 20° S. is "America or Brasilia or Land of Paroquets." The antarctic land has here become "Brasilia Inferior."¹

On the important map made by Baptista Agnese at Venice in 1536, the name America does not appear, but *Mundus Novus* and Brazil are placed

¹ Sketches of these two Schöner globes are given in Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, ii. 118, 119.

close together and south of the equator.¹ And on the map made by Sebastian Münster for the 1540 Ptolemy, we read, a little below the equator, "Novus Orbis, the Atlantic island which they call Brazil and America." Below, to the west of the river La Plata, we read "Die Nüw Welt."² These are some of the examples which show that it was an essential part of the conception of the "New World," in the minds of the men who first used the expression, that it was *a world lying south of the equator*. The opposition between Old World and New World was not, as now, between the eastern and western hemispheres; the opposition was between the northern hemisphere and the southern; and as Columbus had not crossed the equator in the course of his four voyages, he had never entered or seen what Waldseemüller and geographers generally during the first half of the sixteenth century called the New World.

Various maps.

The "New World" was not the western, but the southern world.

But the course of time and the progress of discovery wrought queer changes in men's conception of Mundus Novus and in the application of the name America. It was not very difficult for such a euphonious name to supplant its unwieldy synonyms, Land of Paroquets and Land of the Holy Cross. Nor did it require much extension for it to cover the whole southern continent soon after

Extension of the name "America" from Brazil to South America.

¹ This map is given below, p. 496.

² This map, upon which we see also Cattigara, is given below, pp. 498, 499.

the idea of that continent as an integral whole distinct from other wholes had once been conceived. The names of Paria and the Pearl Coast, Venezuela and Darien have remained upon the map to this day; but Terra Firma, the cumbrous name which covered the four, was easily swallowed up by America. Thus the name of the Florentine navigator came to be synonymous with what we call South America; and this wider meaning became all the more firmly established as its narrower meaning was usurped by the name Brazil. Three centuries before the time of Columbus the red dye-wood called brazil-wood was an article of commerce, under that same name, in Italy and Spain.¹ It was one of the valuable things that were brought from the East, and when the Portuguese found the same dye-wood abundant in those tropical forests that had seemed so beautiful to Vespuccius, the name Brazil soon became fastened upon the country² and helped to set free the name America from its local associations.

¹ Muratori, *Antichità italiane*, tom. ii. pp. 894-899; Capmany, *Memorias sobre la antigua marina de Barcelona*, tom. ii. pp. 4, 17, 20; Humboldt, *Examen critique*, tom. 216-225. The name of the fabulous island *Brazil* or *Bresylle* in the ocean west of Ireland seems to be a case of accidental resemblance. It is probably the Gaelic name of an island in Irish folk-lore. See Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, i. 50.

² The Portuguese historian Barros declares that the substitution of such a name as Brazil for such a name as Holy Cross must have been the work of some demon, for of what account is this miserable wood that dyes cloth red as compared with the blood shed for our eternal salvation! — “Porém como o demonio per o final da Cruz perdeu o dominio que tinha sobre nós, mediante a Páixao de Christo Jesus consummada nella; tanto que daquella terra começou de vir o páo vermelho chamado Brazil, trabalhou

By 1540 South America had been completely circumnavigated, and it was possible to draw an outline map of its coast with a fair approach to accuracy. It was thus beginning to be known as a distinct whole, and the name America had gone far toward taking exclusive possession of it. That continent was by far the most imposing result of discovery in the western waters, and the next step was for its name to spread beyond its natural limits so as to cover adjacent and less known regions.¹ Now by 1540 men were just beginning to grasp the fact that the regions called New Spain, Terra Florida, and Baccalaos were different parts of one continent that was distinct from Asia. There was as yet no steadiness of thought on the subject. The wet theory, as shown in Leonardo da Vinci's map, had long since separated North America from Asia, but only by reducing it to a few islands. The dry theory, as shown in the Orontius globe, made it continental, but only by attaching it to

que este nome ficasse na boca do povo, e que se perdesse o de Sancta Cruz, como que importava mais o nome de hum páo que tinge pannos, que daquelle páo que deo tintura a todos os Sacramentos per que somos salvos, por o sangue de Christo Jesus, que nelle foi derramado," etc. Barros, *Decadas da Asia*, Lisbon, 1778, tom. i. p. 391.

¹ Peter Bienewitz (called Apianus), in his celebrated book published in 1524, clearly distinguishes Cuba, Hispaniola, etc., from America. They are islands lying near America, and their inhabitants have customs and ceremonies like those of the people of America: — "Habet autem America insulas udiacentes [adjacentes] q̄ plurimas vt Parianã Insulam, Isabellam quo Cuba dicitur [sic] Spagnollam . . . Accolæ vero Spagnollæ insulæ loco panis vescuntur serpentibus maximis et radicibus. Ritus et cultus istarum circumiacentium Insularum par est Americæ accolarum cultui." *Cosmographicus Liber*, Landshut, 1524, fol. 69.

Asia. A combination of wet and dry theorizing was needed to bring out the truth. This combination was for a moment realized in 1541 by a man who in such matters was in advance of his age. Gerard Kaufmann, better known by his latinized name Mercator, was a native of East Flanders, born in 1512, the year in which Vespuccius died.

The name
"America"
first applied
to the western
hemisphere by
Gerard Mer-
cator, 1541.

Mercator was an able geographer and mathematician. He is now remembered chiefly for the important method of map projection called by his name, and for certain rules of navigation associated therewith and known as "Mercator's sailing." But he should also be remembered as the first person who indicated upon a map the existence of a distinct and integral western hemisphere and called the whole by the name America. Upon the gores for a globe which he made in 1541, Mercator represented the northern continent as distinct from Asia, and arranged the name America in large letters so as to cover both northern and southern continents, putting AME about on what we should call the site of the Great Lakes and RICA just west of the river La Plata.¹ This was a stride, nay a leap beyond what had gone before. We have only to contrast Mercator, 1541, with Agnese, 1536, and with Gastaldi, 1548, to realize what a startling innovation it was.² It was some time yet before Mercator's ideas prevailed, but his map enables us to see how the recognition of a

¹ The sketch is reduced from Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, ii. 177.

² These two maps are given below, pp. 496, 497.



Sketch of Gerard Mercator's map, 1541.

western hemisphere emerged and during the latter half of the sixteenth century became more and more distinct.¹ As this process went on and the ideas of the ancient geographers lapsed into oblivion, the old contrast between north and south be-

came superseded by the new contrast between east and west. Thus the names America and New World came to awaken associations of ideas utterly different from those amid which they originated. If Waldseemüller had been told that a time would arrive when such places as Baccalaos and his Cape-of-the-end-of-April would be said to be in the New World, he would have asked, in great amazement, how could places in Asia and wholly within the bounds of the ancient *Oecumene* have anything whatever to do with the *Quarta Pars*! That time, however, did arrive, and when it came the name of America began to look like a standing denial of the just rights of Columbus. It looked as if at some time a question had arisen as to whose name should be given to the western hemisphere, and as if for some reason Americus was preferred to Columbus. When such a notion had got into men's heads Americus was sure to be attacked. No charge is easier to make than that of falsehood. The sin of lying is common enough, and geography is not the simplest of subjects. Hence most great travellers, from Herodotus down, have for one reason or another been ignorantly accused of lying.

¹ See John Dee's map, 1580, below, p. 527; but Michael Lok's map, 1582, shows in this respect a less advanced stage of development than Mercator's. See below, pp. 524, 525.

Never was such an accusation more completely the offspring of ignorance than in the case of Vespu-
cius.

It was that precious blunder of "Parias" for "Lariab" that started the business, and it was aided by a slipshod expression of the Nuremberg professor, Johann Schöner. In a little tract published in 1515, probably as an accompaniment to his globe made in that year, Schöner alludes to "America, a new world and fourth part of the globe, named after its discoverer, Americus Vespu-
cius, a man of sagacious mind, who found it in the year 1497."¹ This confusing the first voyage with the third was not ignorance, but downright carelessness, for inasmuch as on his globes Schöner placed "Parias" in Mexico and identi-
fied America with Brazil, he knew well Schöner's
loose remarks. enough that it was not in 1497, but in 1501 that Vespu-
cius visited the Fourth Part. Eighteen years afterward Schöner made another bad slip when he said, though here again he knew better, that "Americus appointed a part of Upper India, which he supposed to be an island, to be called by his name."² There is nothing in the remark

¹ "America siue Amerigen nouus mundus: & quarta orbis pars: dicta ab eius inuētore Americo Vesputio viro sagacis ingenii: qui eam reperit Anno domini. 1497. In ea sunt homines brutales," etc. Schöner, *Luculentissima quædā terræ totius descriptio*, Nuremberg, 1515. For an account of this very rare book see HARRISSE, *Bibl. Amer. Vetust.*, No. 80.

² "Americus Vesputius maritima loca Indiæ superioris ex Hispaniis navigio ad occidentem perlustrans, eam partem quæ superioris Indiæ est, credidit esse Insulam quam a suo nomine vocari instituit." Schöner, *Opusculum geographicum*, Nuremberg, 1533. Inasmuch as Schöner knew the *Cosmographiæ Introductio hæ*

which implies censure,¹ but it was probably this that led Las Casas, after 1552, to say that Americus had been accused of putting his name on the map, "thus sinfully failing toward the Admiral."

Las Casas had finally come back from America in 1547, and by 1552 had settled down quietly at Valladolid to work upon his great history. He was vexed at seeing the name America so commonly used,²

knew that it was Waldseemüller and not Vespuccius who "instituit," etc. But he was evidently a man of slovenly speech.

¹ It is commonly spoken of as a "charge" against Vespuccius. HARRISSE calls it "the first attempt to tarnish the reputation of the Florentine cosmographer" (*Bibl. Amer. Vetust.*, p. 65). Here again comes the fallacy of reading our modern ideas into the old texts. There is nothing whatever in Schöner's context to suggest that he attached any blame to Vespuccius or saw any impropriety in the name. Indeed he had himself put it on his globes in 1515 and 1520, and done as much as anybody to give it currency.

² The suggestion of Waldseemüller as to the name America seems to have been first adopted in the anonymous *Globus Mundi*, Strasburg, 1509. The name was used by Joachim Watt (called Vadianus) in his letter to Rudolphus Agricola, Vienna, 1515, reprinted in his edition of Mela, Vienna, 1518. I have already alluded to its adoption by Leonardo da Vinci and Schöner and Fries. Peter Bienewitz (called Apianus) put the name America on his map published in 1520 (given in Winsor, ii. 183) and adopted it in his *Cosmographicus Liber*, Landshut, 1524; an abridgment of this book was published by Gemma Frisius at Ingoldstadt, 1529. Heinrich Loritz (called Glareanus) used the name in his *De geographia liber unus*, Basel, 1527; Sebastian Münster gave it further currency in his essay in Grynæus, *Novus Orbis*, Paris, 1532; and so again did HONTER in his *Rudimenta Cosmographica*, Zurich, 1542. All these were very popular books and were many times reprinted; being in Latin they reached educated people everywhere, and some of them were translated into Spanish, Italian, German, Bohemian, English, French, etc. Sir Thomas More in his *Utopia* speaks of the voyages of Vespuccius as "nowe in printe and abrode in euery mannes handes."

The situation, as misunderstood by Las Casas after 1550.

since by that time it had come to cover much ground that belonged especially to Columbus. Indeed there can be no doubt that by 1550 the greater exploit of having sailed west in order to get to the east was somewhat overshadowed by the lesser exploit of having revealed the continental dimensions of a mass of antipodal land unknown to the ancients. Vespucius was more talked about than Columbus. This aroused the generous indignation of Las Casas. A wrong seemed to have been done, and somebody must have been to blame.

Las Casas read the Latin version of the letter to Soderini, appended to Waldseemüller's book, and could not imagine why Americus should write such a letter to Duke René or why he should address him as an old friend and schoolmate. But when he came to the place where Vespucius seemed to be speaking of Paria his wrath was kindled. Las Casas quotes the guilty sentence, and exclaims, "Americus tells us that he went to Paria on his first voyage, saying: *And that province is called by the people themselves Parias*; and then he made his second voyage with Ojeda," also to Paria.¹ The clause which I have italicized is the very clause in which the Latin version ignorantly substitutes

Effect upon Las Casas of the blundering substitution of "Parias" for "Lariab."

See HARRISSE, *Bibl. Amer. Vetust.*, under the different years; Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, ii. 180-186; Varnhagen, *Nouvelles recherches*, pp. 19-24.

¹ "De haber llegado á Paria el Américo en este su primer viaje, él mismo lo confiesa en su primera navegacion, diciendo: *Et provincia ipsa Parias ab ipsis nuncupata est*. Despues hizo tambien con el mismo Hojeda la segunda navegacion," etc. Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, tom. ii. p. 273.

Parias for the *Lariab* of the original text; and the passage in which Las Casas quotes it is the documentary evidence upon which I am content to rest the statement with which I opened this long discussion, that it was this miserable alteration that made all the trouble. It at once riveted the attention of Las Casas upon the Pearl Coast, in spite of the explicit statement, on the same page and only nine lines above the name "Parias," that it was "under the tropic of Cancer, in latitude 23° N." Las Casas understood Vespuceius to say that he had been at Paria in 1497, and found no difficulty in proving that this could not be true. Could it be that Americus intended to usurp honours which he knew to belong to the Admiral? If so, it was a great piece of wickedness, says Las Casas; still he admits that the fault may lie with the persons who printed the account of the four voyages.¹ For a while his strong love of fairness restrains the pen of Las Casas, but when at length he loses all patience with "these foreigners" who make maps and put the name America where they ought to put "Columba" [*sic*], he hastily includes Vespuceius in his condemnation, and adds that he cannot conceive why Ferdinand Columbus, whom he *knows* to have had the book of the Vespuceius voyages in his possession, did not take notice of this "theft and usurpation" by Americus of what be-

¹ "Y es bien aquí de considerar la injusticia y agravio que aquel Américo Vespuccio parece haber hecho al Almirante, ó los que imprimieron sus cuatro navegaciones, atribuyendo á sí ó no nombrando sino á sí solo, el descubrimiento desta tierra firme," etc. *Op. cit.* tom. ii. p. 268.

longed to his illustrious father.¹ If Las Casas had closely watched the gradual development of the affair he would have understood Ferdinand's silence, but as for half a century he had been mostly in America, absorbed in very different matters, the exaltation of Vespucius took him by surprise and he was unable to comprehend it.

As the history of Las Casas remained in manuscript, it produced no immediate effect upon the public mind. There were people still living between 1552 and 1561, as for example Ramusio and Benzoni,² who were probably competent to set Las Casas right. But in 1601 all such people had passed away, and then the charge against Vespucius was for the first time published by Herrera, the historiographer of

Herrera's
charge against
Vespucius,
1601.

¹ "Y maravllome yo de D. Hernando Colon, hijo del misma Almirante, que siendo persona de muy buen ingenio y prudencia, y teniendo en su poder las mismas naegaciones de Américo, como lo sé yo, no advirtió en este hurto y usurpacion que Américo Vespucio hizo á su muy ilustre padre." *Op. cit.* tom. ii. p. 396. This reference to Ferdinand's book seems to prove that the remarks of Las Casas about Americus were written as late as 1552, or later. Las Casas seems to have begun work on his history at the Dominican monastery in San Domingo, somewhere between the dates 1522 and 1530. He took it up again at Valladolid in 1552 and worked on it until 1561. His allusion to Ferdinand Columbus was clearly made after the death of the latter in 1539, so that this part of the book was doubtless written somewhere between 1552 and 1561.

² At the end of the fifth chapter of his *Historia del Mondo Nuovo*, Venice, 1565, Benzoni enumerates various men for whom claims had been made that conflicted with the priority of Columbus in his discovery; he does not include Vespucius in the number. See the excellent remarks of Humboldt on Benzoni and Ramusio, in his *Examen critique*, tom. iv. pp. 146-152.

Spain, who had used the manuscript of Las Casas.¹ Herrera flatly accused Vespuceius of purposely antedating his voyage of 1499 with Ojeda to Paria, in order to make it appear that he had found Terra Firma before Columbus. Then Herrera assumed that Vespuceius again accompanied Ojeda to Paria on the second voyage of that cavalier, which began in January, 1502. This assumption displaced the third voyage of Vespuceius, who, it will be remembered, was in the harbour of Rio de Janeiro on that New Year's day. A doubt was thus raised as to whether the third voyage was not a lie, and so the tangle went on until one might well wonder whether any of these voyages ever were made at all! Surely no poor fellow was ever so victimized by editors and commentators as this honest Florentine sailor! From the dire confusion into which Herrera contrived to throw the subject it was no easy task for scholars to emerge. Where was the Ariadne who could furnish a clue to such a labyrinth? For two centuries and a half the assertion that Vespuceius had somehow contrived to cheat people into the belief that he was the discoverer of the western hemisphere was repeated by historians, proclaimed in cyclopædias, preached about by moralists, and taught to children in their school-books. In the queer lumber-garret of half-formed notions which for the majority of mankind does duty as history this particular misty notion was, and is still, pretty sure to

The charge of Herrera gave rise to the popular notion that Americus contrived to supplant Columbus.

¹ Herrera, *Historia de las Indias Occidentales*, Madrid, 1601, tom. i. pp. 125-128, 131, 148, 224, 230.

be found. Until the nineteenth century scarcely anybody had a good word for the great navigator except Bandini, Canovai, and other Florentine writers. But inasmuch as most of these defenders simply stood by their fellow-countryman from the same kind of so-called "patriotic" motives that impel Scandinavian writers to attack Columbus, their arguments produced little impression; and being quite as much in the dark as their adversaries, they were apt to overdo the business and hurt their case by trying to prove too much. Until the middle of the present century the renewal of assaults upon Vespuccius used to come in periodic spasms, like the cholera or the fashion of poke bonnets.¹ Early in this century the publication

¹ The latest and fiercest of these assaults was the little book of the Viscount de Santarem, *Recherches historiques, critiques, et bibliographiques sur Améric Vespuce et ses voyages*, Paris, 1842. For perverse ingenuity in creating difficulties where none exist, this book is a curiosity in the literature of morbid psychology. From long staring into mare's nests the author had acquired a chronic twist in his vision. What else can be said of a man who wastes four pages (pp. 53-56) in proving that Vespuccius could not have been a schoolmate of the *first* René of Lorraine, who was born in 1410? and who is, or affects to be, so grossly ignorant of Florentine history as to find it strange (p. 63) that Vespuccius should have been on friendly terms at once with Soderini and with a Medici of the younger branch? M. de Santarem's methods would have been highly valued by such sharp practitioners as Messrs. Dodson and Fogg: — "Chops! Gracious heavens! and tomato sauce!! Gentlemen, is the happiness of a sensitive and confiding female to be trifled away by such shallow artifices as these?" With arguments of this character M. de Santarem contrived to abolish all the voyages of Vespuccius except the one with Ojeda. The only interest that can be felt to-day in this worthless book lies in the fact that an English translation of it was published in Boston in 1850, and is to be held responsible for the following outburst, at which no one would have been so

of many original documents seemed at first only to enhance the confusion, for it took time and patient

shocked as the illustrious author, if he had been properly informed: — “Strange that broad America must wear the name of a thief. Amerigo Vespucci, the pickle-dealer at Seville, who went out in 1499, a subaltern with Hojeda, and whose highest naval rank was boatswain’s mate in an expedition that never sailed, managed in this lying world to supplant Columbus and baptize half the earth with his own dishonest name.” Emerson, *English Traits*, Boston, 1856 (p. 148 of the Riverside edition, 1883).

Closely connected with these recurrent assaults have been more or less serious proposals from time to time to change the name of America, or of North America, or of the United States. In point of euphony the names suggested would hardly be an improvement, and they have often been of dubious historical propriety; e. g. *Cabotia*; or even *Sebastiana*, which would be honouring the son at the expense of the father; or *Alleghania*, but why should the Tallegwi monopolize it? I suppose Mr. Lewis Morgan might have approved of *Ganowania*, or perhaps *Hodensaunia*, “country of the Long House.” Early in the seventeenth century Pizarro y Orellana (*Varones ilustres del Nuevo Mundo*, Madrid, 1639, p. 51) expressed his disgust at the name of America, not because it was an injustice to Columbus, but because it was not aristocratic enough; the New World ought not to be named after anybody lower than royalty, and so he proposed to call it *Fer-Isabelica*! That would have been a nice name! Gentle reader, how would you like to be a Fer-Isabelican? Another sage Spaniard would have enshrined the memory of Charles V. in such an epithet as *Orbis Carolinus*. See Solórzano Pereyra, *De Indiarum Jure*, Leyden, 1672, lib. i. cap. 2. Late in the sixteenth century a learned Portuguese writer characterized the New World as Golden India, while he distinguished the eastern possessions of his nation as Aromatic India. See Gaspar Frutuoso, *Saudades da Terra*, Lisbon, 1590.

Speaking of *Alleghania* reminds me of the droll conceit of Professor Jules Marcou that the name America after all was not taken from Vespucci, but from a mountain range in Nicaragua, the Indian name of which was *Amerrique* or *Americ*, and which he imagines (without a morsel of documentary evidence) that Columbus must have heard on his fourth voyage! (See *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1875, vol. xxxv. pp. 291-296.) According to

thinking to get so many new facts into the right connections.

At length the gigantic learning of Alexander von Humboldt was brought to bear on the subject, and enough was accomplished to vindicate forever the character of Americus. But owing to inadequate textual criticism, much still remained to be cleared up. Proceeding from the Latin text of 1507, and accepting the Bandini letter as genuine, Humboldt naturally failed to unravel the snarl of the first two voyages. Then came Varnhagen, who for the first time began at the very beginning by establishing the primitive and genuine texts from which to work. This at once carried the first voyage far away from Paria, and then everything began to become intelligible. Though scholars are not as yet agreed as to all of Varnhagen's conclusions, yet no shade of doubt is left upon the integrity of Vespuccius.¹ So truth is strong and prevails at last.

The charge partly refuted by Humboldt; fully by Varnhagen.

this fancy, the name America should have been first applied to Nicaragua, whereas it was really first applied to Brazil and had been used for many a year before it extended across the isthmus of Darien. Speculation *à priori* is of little use in history, and a great many things that must have happened never did happen. If I were not afraid of starting off some venturesome spirit on a fresh wildgoose-chase, I would — well, I will take the risk and mention the elfish coincidence that, whereas Brazil, the original America, received its name from its dye-wood like that of the East Indies, there was a kind of this brazil-wood in Sumatra which the fourteenth century traveller Pegolotti calls AMERI, and along with it another and somewhat better kind which he calls COLOMBINO !!! See Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. ii. p. 315.

¹ No competent scholar anywhere will now be found to dissent from the emphatic statement of M. HARRISSE: — "After a dili-

One thing more was needed, and that was to make a comprehensive statement of the case entirely freed from "bondage to the modern map," — a statement interpreting the facts as they appeared in the first half of the sixteenth century to students of Ptolemy and Mela, and rigorously avoiding the error of projecting our modern knowledge into the past. I sincerely hope that in the present chapter I have kept clear of that error.

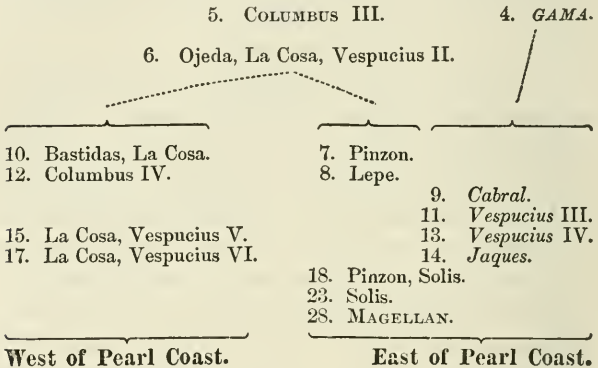
It has not been merely through a desire to do justice to the memory of a great navigator and worthy man that I have devoted so much space to this subject and made such large demands upon the reader's patience. It will at once be recognized, I think, that through such a discussion, more than through any mere narrative, are we made to realize what a gradual process of evolution the Discovery of America really was. We have now to follow that process into its next stage of advancement, and see how men came to the knowledge of a vast ocean to the west of *Mundus Novus*. We have here fortunately arrived at a region where the air is comparatively clear of controversial mists, and although we have to describe the crowning achievement in the records of maritime discovery, the story need not long detain us.

We may properly start by indicating the purgent study of all the original documents, we feel constrained to say that there is not a particle of evidence, direct or indirect, implicating Americus Vesputius in an attempt to foist his name on this continent." *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, New York, 1866, p. 65.

pose of the fourth voyage of Americus; and here we shall be helped by a tabular view showing its position in the group of voyages to which it belonged. The third voyage of Columbus, in which he skirted the Pearl Coast for a short distance, had revealed land which he had correctly interpreted as continental, and it was land in an unexpected position. His letter describing this voyage did not obtain a wide circulation, and there is no reason for supposing that it would have aroused public attention to any great extent if it had. People's ideas as to "continents" and "islands" in these remote parts were, as we have seen, very hazy; and there was nothing in this new land *north* of the equator to suggest the idea of *Quarta Pars* or *Mundus Novus*. But this voyage was followed up next year by that of Ojeda with *La Cosa* and *Vespucius*, and it was proved that the Pearl Coast opposed quite a long barrier to voyages in this direction into the Indian ocean. The triumphant return of *Gama* from *Hindustan* in midsummer of 1499 turned all eyes toward that country. *Cathay* and *Cipango* suffered temporary eclipse. The problem for Spain was to find a route into the Indian ocean, either to the west or to the east of the Pearl Coast. Thus she might hope to find riches in the same quarter of the globe where Portugal had found them. As the Spanish search went on, it became in a new and unexpected way complicated with Portuguese interests through the discovery of a stretch of Brazilian coast lying east of the papal meridian. Bearing these points in

Causal sequence of voyages from the third of Columbus to that of Magellan.

mind, the reader will be helped by the following diagram in which some of the voyages already discussed are grouped with those which we are now about to consider. The numbers refer back to the numbers in my fuller table of voyages on pages 62, 63 above, and here as there the Portuguese voyages are distinguished by italics.



While the voyages of Bastidas and Columbus between the Pearl Coast and Cape Honduras revealed no passage into the Indian ocean, the voyages of Pinzon, Lepe, and Vespuccius proved that from Paria to Cape San Roque, and thence southerly and southwesterly there extended a continuous coast as far as the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope. If this was Cattigara land, or part of Ptolemy's southern Terra Incognita, might it be possible to sail around it and enter the Indian ocean? Or might some passage be found connecting the waters on its opposite sides? If such a passage should be found, of

Voyages of
Coelho and
Jaques.

course much interest would attach to its position, whether east or west of the papal meridian. It was to determine such points as these that two expeditions sailed from Portugal in 1503, the one commanded by Gonçalo Coelho, the other by Christovão Jaques.¹ Coelho's fleet consisted of six ships, one of which was commanded by Vespucius. From Hindustan had come reports of the great wealth and commanding situation of the city of Malacca, a most important gateway and warehouse for the Gangetic sea, and much farther east and south than Calcutta. The purpose of Coelho and Jaques was to investigate the relations of the Brazilian coast to this rich gateway of the East. Of Jaques's voyage we know little except that he seems to have skirted the coast of Patagonia as far as 52° S., and may have caught a glimpse of the opening which Magellan afterward (by sailing through it) proved to be a strait. Why he should have turned and gone home, without verifying this point, is a question which will naturally occur to the reader who allows himself for a moment to forget the terrible hardships that were apt to beset these mariners and frustrate their plans. We shall have no difficulty in understanding it when we come to see how the crews of Magellan felt about entering this strait.

¹ The date 1503 for the Jaques voyage has been doubted (Varnhagen, *Primeiras negociações diplomáticas respectivas ao Brazil*, Rio Janeiro, 1843). I here follow the more generally received opinion. For the French voyage of Gouneville in 1504 on the Brazilian coast as far as 26° S., see Avezac, "Campagne du navire l'Espoir de Honfleur," in *Annales des voyages*, juin et juillet, 1869; Gaffarel, *Histoire du Brésil Français au seizième siècle*, Paris, 1873.

As for Coelho's expedition, starting from Lisbon June 10, 1503, its first stop was at the Cape Verde islands, for a fresh supply of water and other provisions. From this point Vespuceius wished to take a direct course for Brazil, but Coelho insisted upon keeping on southerly to Sierra Leone, for no earthly reason, says Americus rather tartly, "un-

Fourth voyage
of Vespuceius,
— with Coelho,
1503.



Ships of the time of Vespuceius.¹

less to exhibit himself as the captain of six ships; ”² but I suspect that while the scientific Italian would have steered boldly across the trackless waste

¹ From the original edition of the letter to Soderini, Florence, 1505-06, photographed from Varnhagen's facsimile reproduction.

² “ Et come el nostro capitano maggiore fusse huomo p, sumptuoso & molto cauezuto [i. e. Portuguese *cabeçudo*, “ headstrong ”], nolle andare a riconoscere la Serra liona, . . . senza tenere necessitá alcuna, se no' p, farsi uedere, ch' era capitano di sei nauí,” etc. *Lettera*, etc., fol. c. iii. verso.

straight at his goal, the Portuguese commander preferred the old-fashioned and more timid course of following two sides of a triangle and was not going to take advice from any of your confounded foreigners. But as several of the captains and pilots sustained Americus, the course actually followed, without much rhyme or reason, looks like the resultant of a conflict of opinions. Early in August, after much rough weather, they discovered a small uninhabited island near the Brazilian coast in latitude 3° S., since known as the island of Fernando Noronha; and there one of the ships, a carrack of 300 tons burthen, in which were most of the stores, staved in her bows against a rock and "nothing was saved but the crew." By the chief captain's orders Americus with his own ship sought a harbour on this island and found an excellent one about four leagues distant. His boat had been retained for general service by Coelho, who promised to send it after him with further instructions. We are not informed as to the weather, but it was probably bad, for after waiting a week in the harbour, Americus descried one of the ships on her way to him. She brought news that Coelho's ship had gone with him to the bottom and the other two had disappeared. So now the two ships of Vespuccius and his consort, with one boat between them, were left alone at this little island. "It had plenty of fresh water," says Americus, "and a dense growth of trees filled with innumerable birds, which were so simple that they allowed us to catch them with our hands. We took so many that we loaded the boat with

them.”¹ After thus providing against famine, they sailed to the Bay of All Saints, which had been designated as a rendezvous in case of accidents, and there they faithfully waited two months in the vain hope of being overtaken by their comrades. Then giving up this hope, they weighed anchor again and followed the coast southward to Cape Frio, just under the tropic of Capricorn. Finding there a great quantity of brazilwood, they decided to establish a colony there, and what follows we may let Vespuccius tell in his own words: — “In this port we staid five months, building a block-house and loading our ships with dye-wood. We could go no farther, for want of men and equipments. So after finishing this work we decided to return to Portugal, leaving twenty-four men in the fortress, with twelve pieces of cannon, a good outfit of small arms, and provisions for six months.”² We made peace with all the natives in the neighbourhood, whom I have not mentioned in this voyage, but not because we did not see and have dealings with great numbers of them. As many as thirty of us went forty leagues inland, where we saw so

Conclusion of
the letter to
Soderini.

¹ This is another of the little observations which keep impressing us with the accuracy and fidelity of Vespuccius in his descriptions. Modern naturalists are familiar with the fact that on desolate islands, where they have lived for many generations unmolested, birds become so tame that they can be caught by hand, and even the catching of a multitude of them will not frighten the others. For many instances of this, and the explanation, see Darwin's *Voyage of the Beagle*, new ed., London, 1870, p. 398; Spencer's *Essays*, 2d series, London, 1864, p. 134.

² This little colony or factory at Cape Frio was still kept up in 1511 and after. See Varnhagen, *Histoire g'n'rale du Brésil*, tom. i. p. 427.

many things that I omit to relate them, reserving them for my book, the *Four Journeys*. . . . The bearer of this letter, Benvenuto di Domenico Benvenuti, will tell your Magnificence of . . . such things as have been omitted to avoid prolixity. . . . *I have made the letter as short as possible, and refrained from mentioning many things very natural to be told, through fear of seeming tedious.*"

This passage, and especially the last sentence which I have italicized, affords abundant explanation of that reticence of Vespuccius about many things which we should like to know; a reticence which the bats and moles of historical criticism, with these plain words staring them in the face, profess to regard as unaccountable!

When Americus arrived at Lisbon, June 18, 1504, the missing ships had not yet arrived, and were given up for lost, but after some time they returned, having extended their explorations perhaps as far as the mouth of the river La Plata.¹

¹ This is the opinion of Varnhagen, who believes that Juan de Solis was then in the Portuguese service and in this fleet, and on this occasion made his first acquaintance with the river La Plata, which would almost surely be mistaken for a strait. If this opinion as to Solis be sustained, one can see a common feature in the shifting of two such captains as Vespuccius and Solis from Spain to Portugal and back, coupled with the subsequent transfer of Magellan from the Portuguese service. The discovery of Brazil seemed to open an avenue for Portuguese enterprise in western waters, and so began to draw over navigators from Spain; but by 1504 it began to appear that the limit of achievement under the Portuguese flag in that direction had been reached, and so the tide of interest set back toward Spain. If Solis saw La Plata in 1504 and believed it to be a strait, he must have known that it was on the Spanish side of the line of demarcation. Its meridian is more than 20° west of Cape San Roque.

For some reason unknown Vespuccius left the service of Portugal by the end of that year 1504, or somewhat earlier. This step may have been connected with his marriage, which Americus returns to Spain, seems to have occurred early in 1505; it may have been because he had become sufficiently impressed with the southwesterly trend of the Brazilian coast-line to realize that further discoveries in that direction would best be conducted under the Spanish flag; or it may have been simply because King Ferdinand outbid King Emanuel, whose policy was too often pennywise. At any rate, Americus made his way back to Spain. In February, 1505, just before starting from Seville on his journey to court, he called on his sick and harassed friend Columbus, to see what kind service he could render him. The letter which Vespuccius carried from Columbus to his son Diego is very and visits Columbus. interesting.¹ The Admiral speaks of

Vespuccius in terms of high respect, as a thoroughly good and honourable man, to whom Fortune had not rendered such rewards as his labours deserved; a staunch friend who had always done his best to serve him and was now going to court with the determination to set his affairs right if possible. There is something very pleasant in the relations thus disclosed between the persecuted Discoverer, then almost on his death-bed, and the younger navigator, to whom yet grosser injustice was to be done by a stupid and heedless world.²

¹ The original is preserved in the family archives of the Duke of Veraguas, and a copy is printed in Navarrete, tom. i. p. 351.

² "If not among the greatest of the world's great men, he is

The transactions of Vespucci at court, and the nature of the maritime enterprises that were set on foot or carried to completion during the next few years, are to be gathered chiefly from old account-books, contracts, and other business documents unearthed by the indefatigable Navarrete, and printed in his great collection. The four chief personages in the Spanish marine at that time, the experts to whom all difficult questions were referred and all arduous enterprises entrusted, were Vespucci and La Cosa, Pinzon and Solis. Unfortunately account-books and legal documents, having been written for other purposes than the gratification of the historian, are — like the “geological record” — imperfect. Too many links are missing to enable us to determine with certainty just how the work was shared among these mariners, or just how many voyages were undertaken. But it is clear that the first enterprise contemplated was a voyage by Pinzon, in company with either Solis or Vespucci or both, in the direction of the river La Plata, for the purpose of finding an end to the continent or a passage into the Indian ocean. What Vespucci had failed to do in his last voyage for Portugal, he now proposed to do in a voyage for Spain. It was this expedition, planned for 1506, but never carried out, that Herrera a century later mistook for that voyage of Pinzon and Solis to Honduras and

The Pinzon expedition to La Plata; planned for 1506, but not carried out.

among the happiest of those on whom good fortune has bestowed renown.” S. H. Gay, *apud Winsor, Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, ii. 152. Is it, then, such a happy fortune to be unjustly stigmatized as a liar by ten generations of men?

the gulf of Mexico which the contemporary Oviedo (supported by Martyr and confirmed by Gomara) positively declares to have been made before 1499. As I have already shown, Pinzon did not leave Spain for any long voyage in 1506.¹ The remonstrances of Portugal put a stop to the enterprise, and the ships were used for other purposes.

Meanwhile the search for a passage west of the Pearl Coast was conducted by La Cosa and Vespuccius. In this voyage, from May to December, 1505, they visited the gulf of Darien and ascended the Atrato river for some 200 miles. Of late years it has been proposed to make an interoceanic canal by connecting this river with the San Juan, which flows into the Pacific. To Vespuccius and La Cosa it turned out not to be the strait of which at first its general aspect had given promise, but in its shallow upper stretches they found its sandy bottom gleaming and glistening with particles of gold. For three months they explored the neighbouring country, and found plenty of gold in the wild mountain streams. On the way home they seemed to have stopped on the Pearl Coast and gathered a goodly store of pearls. The immediate profit of the voyage was so great that it was repeated two years later. During the year 1506 Vespuccius was busy in Spain preparing the armament for Pinzon, and when, in March, 1507, that expedition was abandoned, Vespuccius and La Cosa started at once for the gulf of Darien, and returned in November, heavily freighted with gold. This, of course, was

Fifth and
sixth voyages
of Vespuccius,
— with La
Cosa.

¹ See above, p. 68.

purely a commercial voyage. But during the summer the way for further discovery had been prepared, and in some way or other the Portuguese difficulty had been surmounted, for soon after New Year's, 1508, Americus told the Venetian ambassador at the court of Spain that a way to the lands of spice was to be sought, and that the ships would start in March without fail.¹

They did not start, however, until June 29. In the interval La Cosa was appointed *alguazil mayor*, or high constable of the province about to be organized at the gulf of Darien, and afterwards called Golden Castile (*Castilla del Oro*), so that, as we shall by and by see, these two voyages which he made with Vespuccius were the first links in the

¹ My brief mention of the doings of Vespuccius, Pinzon, Solis, and La Cosa, between 1504 and 1509, is based upon the original documents relating to these four navigators scattered through the third volume of Navarrete's *Coleccion*, as illuminated by two precious bits of information sent to the Venetian senate by its diplomatic agents in Spain. The letter of Girolamo Vianello from Burgos, December 23, 1505 (dated 1506, according to an old Spanish usage which began the New Year at Christmas and sometimes even as early as the first of December), establishes the fact of the fifth voyage of Vespuccius in 1505. This letter was found in Venice by the great historian Ranke, and a few lines of it copied by him for Humboldt, who published the scrap in his *Examen critique*, tom. v. p. 157, but was puzzled by the date, because Americus was indisputably in Spain through 1506 (and Humboldt supposed through 1505 also, but a more attentive scrutiny of the documents shows him to have been mistaken). Varnhagen, delving in the Biblioteca di San Marco at Venice, again found the letter, and a copy of the whole is printed, with valuable notes, in his *Nouvelles recherches*, pp. 12-17. In 1867 Mr. Rawdon Brown discovered in Venice the two brief letters of the ambassador Francesco Cornaro, which have established the sixth voyage of Vespuccius, in 1507. They are printed in Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vetust.*, *Additions*, Paris, 1872, p. xxvii.

chain of events that ended in the conquest of Peru. In March Vespuccius received his appointment as pilot major, which kept him in Spain, and his place in the voyage with Pinzon was taken by Solis, who had probably visited the mouth of La Plata with Coelho in 1504.

Voyage of Pinzon and Solis, 1508-09.

Pinzon and Solis sailed June 29, followed the Brazilian coast, passed the wide mouth of that river without finding it, and kept on, according to Herrera, as far as the river Colorado, in latitude 40° S. There was disagreement between the two captains, and they returned home, probably somewhat peevish with disappointment, in October, 1509. Nothing more was done in this direction for six years. After the death of Vespuccius in 1513, he was succeeded by Solis as pilot major of Spain. Pinzon here disappears from our narrative, except as a witness in the *Probanzas*. He

Last voyage and death of Solis, 1515-16.

seems to have gone on no more voyages. He was ennobled in 1519.¹ Solis started on another search for the river La Plata in October, 1515. He entered that "fresh-water sea" (*mar dulce*) the following January, and while he was exploring its coast in a boat with eight companions the Indians suddenly swarmed upon the scene. Solis and his men were instantly captured, and their horrified comrades on shipboard, unable to save them, could only look on while they were deliberately roasted and devoured by the screaming and dancing demons.²

¹ See the document in Navarrete, tom. iii. p. 145.

² The words of Peter Martyr in a different connection might well be applied here: — "they came runninge owte of the woodde"

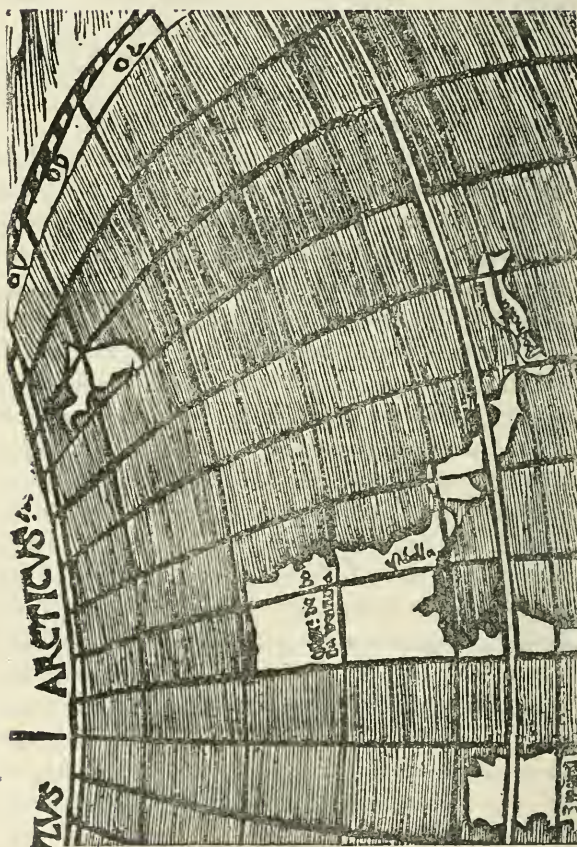
During these years events were gradually preparing the way for the emergence of the idea of a *separate* New World, a *western hemisphere* forming no part of the ancient Œcumene.

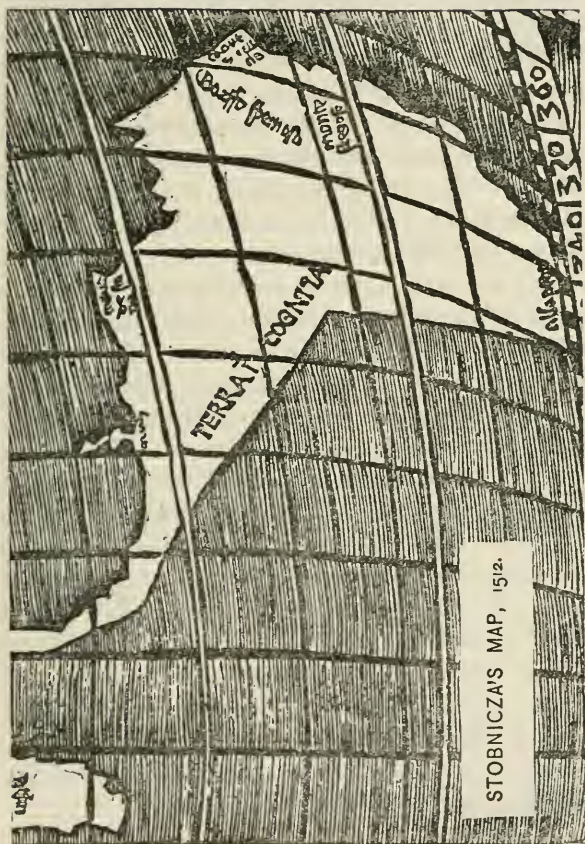
There is nothing to indicate that any such idea was ever conceived by Vesputius. Its emergence was so gradual

Emergence of the idea of a western hemisphere; Stobnicza's map, 1512.

and so indefinite that it is not easy to trace it in literary documents or in maps. A hypothetical indication of an ocean corresponding in position to what we know as the Pacific may be seen upon the rude map of the Polish geographer Jan Stobnicza, published at Cracow in 1512, in an Introduction to Ptolemy. Like the *Tabula Terre Nove*, it is derived from a common original with the Cantino map. At the north is shown the land discovered by the Cabots. The name Isabella is transferred from Cuba to Florida, and the legend above seems to refer to the "C. de bonaventura" of the *Tabula Terre Nove*. Cape San Roque in Brazil is called "Caput S. Crucis." The rude indication of the gulf of Mexico is repeated from the *Tabula Terre Nove* or its prototype. But the new and striking feature in this Stobnicza map is the combination of the northern and southern continents with an ocean behind them open all the way from north to south. As the existence of the Pacific was still unknown in 1512, this ocean was purely hypothetical, and so was the western coast-line of America, if it is

with a terrible crye and most horrible aspect, much lyke vnto the people cauled *Picti Agathyrsi* of whom the poete virgile speaketh. . . . A man wold thinke them to bee deuylls incarnate newly broke owte of hell, they are soo lyke vnto helhoundes." Eden's translation, 1553, dec. i. bk. vii.





STOBNICZA'S MAP, 1512.

proper to call coast-line this mere cut-off drawn in straight lines with a ruler. The interest of this crude map lies chiefly in its suggestion that in the maker's mind *the whole transatlantic coast already visited* (except the Cabot portion) *was conceived not as part of Asia, but as a barrier in the way of reaching Asia.* The vague adumbration of the truth appears in the position of the great island Cipango (*Zyppangu insula*) in the ocean behind Mexico and some 600 miles distant. Before Stobnicza such maps as Ruysch's, which took full account of South America as a barrier, detached it from what little was known of North America, which was still reckoned as Asia. The peculiar combinations of land and water in Stobnicza's map make it dimly prefigure the result attained nearly thirty years afterward by Mercator. The sugges-

tion was in advance of the knowledge of the time, and the map does not seem to have exerted any commanding influence; but in the next year after it was published an event occurred which, if correctly understood, would have seemed to justify it. In 1513 the Terra Firma was crossed at its narrowest place, and Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, from the summit of a peak in Darien, gazed upon an expanse of waters, which, as we have since learned, made part of the greatest ocean upon the globe.¹

First sight of
the Pacific by
Balboa, 1513.

¹ Colonel Higginson will pardon me for calling attention to an inadvertence of the kind which I have already so often characterized as projecting our modern knowledge into the past: — "Columbus discovered what he thought was India [i. e. Asia], but Balboa proved that half the width of the globe still separated him from India." *Larger History of the United States*, p. 70. If

It was not so much, however, the brief glimpse of Balboa as the steady eastward progress of the Portuguese that began to reveal to practical navigators the character and extent of the waters west of Mundus Novus. The arrival of Portuguese traders in the Indian ocean was the signal for a tremendous struggle for commercial supremacy. In every seaport they found Arabs, or, as they called them, "Moors," their hereditary enemies. Arabs held nearly all the points of entrance and exit in that ocean, and the Portuguese at once perceived the necessity of seizing these points. Blows were exchanged from the start, and the ensuing warfare forms one of the most romantic chapters in history. It would not

Eastward progress of the Portuguese to China and the Moluccas, 1504-17.

Balboa could prove this by standing on a mountain in Darien and looking at the water before him, he must have had a truly marvellous pair of eyes! Surely he had no positive means of knowing that this water stretched away for more than a hundred miles. Mere vision scarcely carried his discovery out into the open ocean beyond the gulf of Panama, though, in accordance with information received from the Indians, he rightly interpreted it as a "South Sea" upon which one might hug the coast to the "Golden Kingdom," soon to be known as Peru. The first discoverer who proved the width of the Pacific was Magellan, who sailed across it. — Such little slips as the one here criticised are easy to make, and one cannot feel sure that one does not unwittingly do it oneself. The old poets were flagrant sinners in this respect. Lope de Vega, in a famous drama, makes Columbus know of "the New World" even before 1492. Why is it, asks Christopher in a talk with his brother Bartholomew, why is it that I, a poor pilot, a man with broken fortunes, yearn to add to this world another, and such a remote one? —

Un hombre pobre, y aun roto,
Que así lo puedo decir,
Y que vive de piloto,
Quiere á este mundo añadir
Otro mundo tan remoto!

El Nuevo Mundo Descubierto, Jorn. i. 1

be easy to point out two commanders more swift in intelligence, more fertile in resource, more unconquerable in action, than Francisco de Almeida and Alfonso de Albuquerque. The result of their work was the downfall of Arab power in the Indies, and the founding of that great commercial empire which remained in the hands of the Portuguese until it was taken from them by the Dutch.¹ On the African coast, from Sofala to the strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, the Portuguese held all the important trading stations. They seized the island of Socotra, established themselves in force along the coasts of Oman and Makran, and capturing the wealthy Hormuz they gained secure control of the outlet to the valley of the Euphrates. They held the whole western coast of Hindustan from above Bombay down to Cape Comorin, while on the Coromandel coast they had stations at Mylapur and Negapatam. In 1506 Almeida first visited Ceylon, which was afterward annexed to the Portuguese empire. In 1508 Sequeira advanced as far as Sumatra, and in 1511 the famous Malacca, the Gateway of the East, was conquered by Albuquerque. The way to the "lands where the spices grow" was thus at last laid open, and Albuquerque

¹ The story of the Portuguese empire in the East Indies is told by Barros, *Decadas da Asia*, Lisbon, 1778-88, with the continuation by Couto, in all 24 vols.; Bras Affonso de Albuquerque, *Commentarios do grande Afonso Dalboquerque*, Lisbon, 1774, in 4 vols. I give the dates of my own copies, which are, I think, the best editions. The great work of Barros began to be published in 1552; that of Albuquerque, son of the conqueror, was published in 1557. See also Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1666, in 3 vols.

had no sooner riveted his clutch upon Malacca than he sent Antonio d'Abreu and Francisco Serrano, with three galleons, to make a friendly visit to the Spice Islands *par excellence*, the Moluccas. Sailing down by Java, and between Celebes and Flores, this little fleet visited Amboina and Banda, and brought away as heavy a load of nutmegs and cloves as it was safe to carry.¹ Six years afterward, in 1517, Fernam de Andrade conducted the first European ship that ever sailed to China. He reached Canton and entered into friendly commercial relations with that city.

Thus data were beginning to accumulate in evidence that the continent of Asia did not extend nearly so far to the east as Toscanelli and Columbus had supposed. A comparison of longitudes, moreover, between the Moluccas and the Brazilian coast could hardly fail to bring out the fact of a great distance between them. Still theory did not advance so surely and definitely as it might seem to us with the modern map in our minds. The multitude of unfamiliar facts was bewildering, and the breadth of the Pacific ocean was too much for the mind to take in except by actual experience. We have now, in concluding this long chapter, to consider the heroic career of the man who finished what Columbus had begun, and furnished proof — though even this was not immediately understood — that the regions discovered by the Admiral belonged to a separate world from Asia.

Dim rudimentary conception of a separate ocean between Mundus Novus and Asia.

¹ For some account of the Spice Islands and their further history, see Argensola, *Conquista de las islas Molucas*, Madrid, 1609, folio.

Ferdinand Magellan, as we call him in English,¹ was a Portuguese nobleman of the fourth grade, but of family as old and blood as blue as any in the peninsula. He was born at Sabrosa, near Chaves,² in one of the wildest and gloomiest nooks of Tras-os-Montes, in or about the year 1480. The people of that province have always been distinguished for a rugged fidelity, combined with unconquerable toughness of fibre, that reminds one of the Scotch; and from those lonely mountains there never came forth a sturdier character than Ferdinand Magellan. Difficulty and danger fit to baffle the keenest mind and daunt the strongest heart only incited this man to efforts well-nigh superhuman. In his portrait, as given in Navarrete,³ with the great arching brows, the fiery

¹ The Portuguese name is Fernão da Magalhães; in Spanish it becomes Fernando de Magallanes, pronounced *Mah-gah-lyáh-nays*. In English one often, perhaps commonly, hears it as *Ma-jel'-lan*. One does not like to be pedantic in such trifles, and I don't mind slaughtering a consonant or two when necessary, but to shift the accent of a word seems to destroy its identity, so that *Ma-jel-lan'*, which we sometimes hear, seems preferable.

The documentary sources of the life of Magellan are chiefly to be found in the fourth volume of Navarrete's *Coleccion de viages*. The early accounts of his voyage have been collected and translated by the late Lord Stanley of Alderley, *The First Voyage Round the World*, London, 1874 (Hakluyt Society). A good biography, almost the first in any language, has lately appeared in English: Guillemand, *The Life of Ferdinand Magellan and the First Circumnavigation of the Globe*, London, 1890.

² Various writers have given Lisbon, or Oporto, or some village in Estremadura as his birthplace; but Sabrosa seems clearly established. See the reference to his first will, in Guillemand, p. 23.

³ *Coleccion de viages*, tom. iv. p. xxiv.; it is reproduced in Lord Stanley's volume; in Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, ii. 593; and elsewhere; but one gets the effect most completely in Navarrete.

black eyes, the firm-set lips, and mastiff jaw, covered but not concealed by the shaggy beard, the strength is almost appalling. Yet in all this power there was nothing cruel. Magellan was kind-hearted and unselfish, and on more than one occasion we see him risking his life in behalf of others with generosity worthy of a paladin.

Nothing is known of his childhood and youth except that at an early age he went to Lisbon and was brought up in the royal household. In 1505 he embarked as a volunteer in the armada which the brilliant and high-souled Almeida, first Portuguese viceroy of India, was taking to the East. There followed seven years of service under this commander and his successor Albuquerque. Seven years of anxious sailing over strange waters, checkered with wild fights against Arabs and Malays, trained Magellan for the supreme work that was to come. He was in Sequeira's expedition to Malacca, in 1508-09, the first time that European ships had ventured

Sequeira's expedition and the Malay plot, 1509.

east of Ceylon. While they were preparing to take in a cargo of pepper and ginger, the astute Malay king was plotting their destruction. His friendly overtures deceived the frank and somewhat too unsuspecting Sequeira. Malay sailors and traders were allowed to come on board the four ships, and all but one of the boats were sent to the beach, under command of Francisco Serrano, to hasten the bringing of the cargo. Upon the quarter-deck of his flagship Sequeira sat absorbed in a game of chess, with half-a-dozen dark faces intently watching him, their deadly purpose veiled with polite

words and smiles. Ashore the houses rose terrace-like upon the hillside, while in the foreground the tall tower of the citadel—square with pyramidal apex, like an Italian bell-tower—glistened in the September sunshine. The parties of Malays on the ships, and down on the bustling beach, cast furtive glances at this summit, from which a puff of smoke was presently to announce the fatal moment. The captains and principal officers on shipboard were at once to be stabbed and their vessels seized, while the white men ashore were to be massacred. But a Persian woman in love with one of the officers had given tardy warning, so that just before the firing of the signal the Portuguese sailors began chasing the squads of Malays from their decks, while Magellan, in the only boat, rowed for the flagship, and his stentorian shout of "Treason!" came just in time to save Sequeira. Then in wild confusion, as wreaths of white smoke curled about the fatal tower, Serrano and a few of his party sprang upon their boats and pushed out to sea. Most of their comrades, less fortunate, were surrounded and slaughtered on the beach. Nimble Malay skiffs pursued and engaged Serrano, and while he was struggling against overwhelming odds, Magellan rowed up and joined battle with such desperate fury that Serrano was saved. No sooner were all the surviving Portuguese brought together on shipboard than the Malays attacked in full force, but European guns were too much for them, and after several of their craft had been sent to the bottom they withdrew.

Sequeira and
Serrano saved
by Magellan.

This affair was the beginning of a devoted friendship between Magellan and Serrano, sealed by many touching and romantic incidents, like the friendship between Gerard and Denys in "The Cloister and the Hearth;" and it was out of this friendship that in great measure grew the most wonderful voyage recorded in history. After Albuquerque had taken Malacca in 1511, Serrano commanded one of the ships that made the first voyage to the Moluccas. On its return course his vessel, loaded with spices, was wrecked upon a lonely island which had long served as a lair for pirates. Fragments of wreckage strewn upon the beach lured ashore a passing gang of such ruffians, and while they were intent upon delving and searching, Serrano's men, who had hidden among the rocks, crept forth and seized the pirate ship. The nearest place of retreat was the island of Amboina, and this accident led Serrano back to the Moluccas, where he established himself as an ally or quasi-protector of the king of Ternate, and remained for the rest of his short life. Letters from Serrano aroused in Magellan a strong desire to follow his friend to that "new world" in the Indian waves, the goal so long dreamed of, so eagerly sought, by Columbus and many another, but now for the first time actually reached and grasped. But circumstances came in to modify most curiously this aim of Magellan's. He had come to learn something about the great ocean intervening between the Malay seas and Mundus Novus, but failed to form

Serrano's
shipwreck,
and his stay
at the Moluc-
cas.

The antipodal
line of de-
marcation be-
tween Spanish
and Portu-
guese waters.

any conception of its width at all approaching the reality. It therefore seemed to him that the line of demarcation antipodal to Borgia's meridian must fall to the west of the Moluccas, and that his friend Serrano had ventured into a region which must ultimately be resigned to Spain. In this opinion he was wrong, for the meridian which cuts through the site of Adelaide in Australia would have come near the line that on that side of the globe marked the end of the Portuguese half and the beginning of the Spanish half; but the mistake was easy to make and hard to correct.

About this time some cause unknown took Magellan back to Lisbon, where we find him in the midsummer of 1512. His hope of a speedy return to India was disappointed. Whether on account of a slight disagreement he had once had with Albuquerque, or for some other reason, he found himself out of favour with the king. A year or more of service in Morocco followed, in the course of which a Moorish lance wounded Magellan in the knee and lamed him for life. After his return to Portugal in 1514, it became evident that King Emanuel had no further employment for him. He became absorbed in the study of navigation and cosmography, in which he had always felt an interest. It would have been strange if an inquiring mind, trained in the court of Lisbon in those days, had not been stirred by the fascination of such studies. How early in life Magellan had begun to breathe in the art of seamanship with the salt breezes from the Atlantic we do not know; but

Magellan's return to Portugal; his scheme for sailing westward to the Moluccas.

at some time the results of scientific study were combined with his long experience in East Indian waters to make him a consummate master. He conceived the vast scheme of circumnavigating the globe. Somewhere upon that long coast of *Mundus Novus*, explored by Vespuccius and Coelho, Jaques and Solis, there was doubtless a passage through which he could sail westward and greet his friend Serrano in the Moluccas!

Upon both of Schöner's globes, of 1515 and 1520, such a strait is depicted, connecting the southern Atlantic with an ocean to the west of *Mundus Novus*. This has raised the question whether any one had ever discovered it before Magellan.¹ That there was in many minds a belief in the existence of such a passage seems certain; whether because the wish was father to the thought, or because the mouth of La Plata had been reported as the mouth of a strait, or because Jaques had perhaps looked into the strait of Magellan, is by no means clear. But without threading that blind and tortuous labyrinth, as Magellan did, for more than 300 geographical miles, successfully avoiding its treacherous bays and channels with no outlet, no one could prove that there was a practicable passage there; and there is no good reason for supposing that any one had accomplished such a feat of navigation before Magellan.

The strait on
Schöner's
globes.

¹ See the discussion in Wieser, *Magalhães-Strasse und Austral-Continent auf den Globen des Johannes Schöner*, Innsbruck, 1881; Kohl, *Geschichte der Entdeckungsreisen und Schiff-fahrten zur Magellans-Strasse*, Berlin, 1877; Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, viii. 375-387; Guillemand's *Magellan*, pp. 188-198.

The scheme of thus reaching the Moluccas by the westward voyage was first submitted to King Emanuel. To him was offered the first opportunity for ascertaining whether these islands lay within his half of the heathen world or not. He did not smile upon the scheme, though he may have laughed at it. The papal bulls and the treaty of Tordesillas prohibited the Spaniards from sailing to the Indies by way of the Cape of Good Hope; and unless they could get through the barrier of *Mundus Novus* there was no danger of their coming by a westerly route. Why not let well enough alone? Apparently Emanuel did not put much faith in the strait. We are told by Gaspar Correa that Magellan then asked the royal permission to go and offer his services to some other master. "The King said he might do what he pleased. Upon this Magellan desired to kiss his hand at parting, but the King would not offer it."¹

The alternative was thus offered to Magellan of abandoning his scheme of discovery or entering the service of Spain, and he chose the latter course. For this he has been roundly abused, not only by Portuguese writers from that day to this, but by others who seem to forget that a man has as clear a right to change his country and his allegiance as to move his home from one town to another. In the relations between state and individual the duty is not all on one side. As Faria y Sousa, more sensible than many of his countrymen, observes, the

Magellan's proposals are rejected by the king of Portugal;

and accordingly he enters the service of Spain.

¹ Guillemand, p. 82.

great navigator did all that honour demanded when by a special clause in his agreement with Spain he pledged himself to do nothing prejudicial to the interests of Portugal.¹

It was in October, 1517, that Magellan arrived in Seville and became the guest of Diego Barbosa, alcaide of the arsenal there, a Portuguese gentleman who had for several years been in the Spanish service. Before Christmas of that year he was married to his host's daughter ^{Magellan's} ~~marriage.~~ Beatriz de Barbosa, who accompanied him to the court. Magellan found favour in the eyes of the boy king, Charles V., and even obtained active support from Bishop Fonseca, in spite of that prelate's ingrained hostility to noble schemes and honourable men. It was decided to fit out an expedition to pursue the search in which Solis had lately lost his life. More than a year was consumed in the needful preparations, and it was not until September 20, 1519, that the little fleet cleared the mouth of the Guadalquivir and stood out to sea.

There were five small ships, commanded as follows:—

1. Trinidad, 110 tons, captain-general Ferdinand Magellan, pilot, Estevan Gomez;
2. San Antonio, 120 tons, captain Juan de Cartagena;
3. Concepcion, 90 tons, captain Gaspar Quesada;

¹ Faria y Sousa, *Comentarios á la Lusiada de Camões*, x. 140; Guillemard, p. 85. Cf. Lord Stanley of Alderley, *First Voyage Round the World*, pp. ii.-xv.

4. Victoria, 85 tons, captain Luis de Mendoza;
5. Santiago, 75 tons, captain Juan Serrano.

It is a striking illustration of the shiftlessness with which things were apt to be done by the government, and the difficulties under which great navigators accomplished their arduous work, that these five ships were all old and decidedly the worse for wear. All seem to

Ships and men of the great expedition.

have been decked, with castles at the stern and fore. About 280 men were on board, a motley crew of Spaniards and Portuguese, Genoese and Sicilians, Flemings and French, Germans and Greeks, with one Englishman from Bristol, and a few negroes and Malays. Of Portuguese there were at least seven-and-thirty, for the most part men attached to Magellan and who had left their country with him. It was fortunate that he had so many such, for the wiles of King Emanuel had pursued him into Spain and out upon the ocean. When that sovereign learned that the voyage was really to be made, he determined that it must not be allowed to succeed. Hired ruffians lurked about street corners in Seville, waiting for a chance that never came for rushing forth and stabbing the wary navigator; orders were sent to captains in the East Indies—among them the gallant Sequeira whom Magellan had saved—to intercept and arrest the fleet if it should ever reach those waters; and, worst of all, the seeds of mutiny were busily and but too successfully sown in Magellan's own ships.

Traitors in the fleet.

Of the four subordinate captains only one was faithful. Upon Juan Serrano, the brother of his dearest friend, Magellan could

absolutely rely. The others, Cartagena, Mendoza, and Quesada, sailed out from port with treason in their hearts. A few days after their start a small caravel overtook the Trinidad, with an anxious message to Magellan from his wife's father, Barbosa, begging him to be watchful, "since it had come to his knowledge that his captains had told their friends and relations that if they had any trouble with him they would kill him." For reply the commander counselled Barbosa to be of good cheer, for be they true men or false he feared them not, and would do his appointed work all the same.¹ For Beatriz, left with her little son, Rodrigo, six months old, the outlook must have been anxious enough.

Our chief source of information for the events of the voyage is the journal kept by a gentleman from Vicenza, the Chevalier Antonio Pigafetta, who obtained permission to accompany the expedition, "for to see the marvels of the ocean."² After leaving the Canaries on the 3d of October the armada ran down toward Sierra Leone and was becalmed, making only three leagues in three weeks. Then "the upper air burst into life" and the frail ships were driven along under bare poles, now and then dipping their yard-arms. During a month of this dreadful weather, the food and water grew scarce, and the rations were dimin-

Pigafetta's
Journal.

Crossing the
Atlantic.

¹ Correa, *Lendas da India*, tom. ii. p. 627; Guillemard, p. 149.

² Pigafetta's journal is contained, with other documents, in the book of Lord Stanley of Alderley, already cited. There is also a French edition by Amoretti, *Premier Voyage autour du Monde*, Paris, 1800.

ished. The spirit of mutiny began to show itself. The Spanish captains whispered among the crews that this man from Portugal had not their interests at heart and was not loyal to the Emperor. Toward the captain-general their demeanour grew more and more insubordinate, and Cartagena one day, having come on board the flagship, faced him with threats and insults. To his astonishment Magellan promptly collared him, and sent him, a prisoner in irons, on board the *Victoria* (whose captain was unfortunately also one of the traitors), while the command of the *San Antonio* was given to another officer. This example made things quiet for the moment.

On the 29th of November they reached the Brazilian coast near Pernambuco, and on the 11th of January they arrived at the mouth of La Plata, which they investigated sufficiently to convince them that it was a river's mouth and not a strait. Three weeks were consumed in this work. Their course through February and March along the coast of Patagonia was marked by incessant and violent storms, and the cold became so intense that, finding a sheltered harbour, with plenty of fish, at Port St. Julian, they chose it for winter quarters and anchored there on the last day of March. On the next day, which was Easter Sunday, the mutiny that so long had smouldered broke out in all its fury.

The hardships of the voyage had thus far been what staunch seamen called unusually severe, and it was felt that they had done enough. No one except Vespuceus and Jaques had ever approached

Winter quarters at Port St. Julian.

so near to the south pole, and if they had not yet found a strait, it was doubtless because there was none to find. The rations of bread and wine were becoming very short, and common prudence demanded that they should return to Spain. If their voyage was practically a failure it was not their fault; there was ample excuse in the frightful storms they had suffered and the dangerous strains that had been put upon their worn-out ships. Such was the general feeling, but when expressed to Magellan it fell upon deaf ears. No excuses, nothing but performance, would serve his turn; for him hardships were made only to be despised and dangers to be laughed at; and, in short, go on they must, until a strait was found or the end of that continent reached. Then they would doubtless find an open way to the Moluccas, and while he held out hopes of rich rewards for all, he appealed to their pride as Castilians. For the inflexible determination of this man was not embittered by harshness, and he could wield as well as any one the language that soothes and persuades.

Reasons for returning home; Magellan's refusal.

So long as all were busy in the fight against wind and wave, the captain-general's arguments were of avail. But the deliberate halt to face the hardships of an antarctic winter, with no prospect of stirring until toward September, was too much. Patience under enforced inactivity was a virtue higher than these sailors had yet been called upon to exhibit. The treacherous captains had found their opportunity and sowed distrust broadcast by hinting that a Portuguese commander could not

better serve his king than by leading a Spanish armada to destruction. They had evidently secured their men and prepared their blow before the fleet came to anchor. The ring-leaders of the mutiny were the captains Quesada, of the *Concepcion*, and Mendoza, of the *Victoria*, with Juan de Cartagena, the deposed captain of the *San Antonio*, which was now commanded by Magellan's cousin, Alvaro de Mesquita. On the night of Easter Sunday, Cartagena and Quesada, with thirty men, boarded the *San Antonio*, seized Mesquita and put him in irons; in the brief affray the mate of the *San Antonio* was mortally wounded. One of the mutineers, Sebastian Elcano, was put in command of the ship, such of the surprised and bewildered crew as were likely to be loyal were disarmed, and food and wine were handed about in token of the more generous policy now to be adopted. All was done so quickly and quietly that no suspicion of it reached the captain-general or anybody on board the *Trinidad*.

On Monday morning the traitor captains felt themselves masters of the situation. Three of the five ships were in their hands, and if they chose to go back to Spain, who could stop them? If they should decide to capture the flagship and murder their commander, they had a fair chance of success, for the faithful Serrano in his little ship *Santiago* was no match for any one of the three.

Defiance seemed quite safe, and in the forenoon, when a boat from the flagship happened to approach the *San Antonio* she was insolently told to keep away, since Ma-

The mutiny
at Port St.
Julian, April
1, 1520.

Desperate
situation of
Magellan.

geilan no longer had command over that ship. When this challenge was carried to Magellan he sent the boat from ship to ship as a test, and soon learned that only the Santiago remained loyal. Presently Quesada sent a message to the Trinidad requesting a conference between the chief commander and the revolted captains. Very well, said Magellan, only the conference must of course be held on board the Trinidad; but for Quesada and his accomplices thus to venture in the lion's jaws was out of the question, and they impudently insisted that the captain-general should come on board the San Antonio.

Little did they realize with what a man they were dealing. Magellan knew how to make them come to him. He had reason to believe that the crew of the Victoria was ^{His bold} _{stroke.} less disloyal than the others and selected that ship for the scene of his first *coup de main*. While he kept a boat in readiness, with a score of trusty men armed to the teeth and led by his wife's brother, Barbosa, he sent another boat ahead to the Victoria, with his alguazil, or constable, Espinosa, and five other men. Luis de Mendoza, captain of the Victoria, suffered this small party to come on board. Espinosa then served on Mendoza a formal summons to come to the flagship, and upon his refusal quick as lightning sprang upon him and plunged a dagger into his throat. As the corpse of the rebellious captain dropped upon the deck, Barbosa's party rushed over the ship's side with drawn cutlasses, the dazed crew at once surrendered, and Barbosa took command.

The tables were now turned, and with three ships in loyal hands Magellan blockaded the other two in the harbour. At night he opened fire upon the San Antonio, and strong parties from the Trinidad and the Victoria boarding her on both sides at once, Quesada and his accomplices were captured. The Concepcion thereupon, overawed and crestfallen, lost no time in surrendering; and so the formidable mutiny was completely quelled in less than four-and-twenty hours. Quesada was beheaded, Cartagena and a guilty priest, Pero Sanchez, were kept in irons until the fleet sailed, when they were set ashore and left to their fate; all the rest were pardoned, and open defiance of the captain-general was no more dreamed of. In the course of the winter the Santiago was wrecked while on a reconnoissance, but her men were rescued after dreadful sufferings, and Serrano was placed in command of the Concepcion.

At length on the 24th of August, with the earliest symptoms of spring weather, the ships, which had been carefully overhauled and repaired, proceeded on their way.¹ Violent storms harassed them, and it was not until the

¹ While they were staying at Port St. Julian the explorers made the acquaintance of many Patagonians, — giants, as they called them. “Their height appears greater than it really is, from their large guanaco mantles, their long flowing hair, and general figure: on an average their height is about six feet, with some men taller and only a few shorter; and the women are also tall.” Darwin, *Voyage of the Beagle*, London, 1870, p. 232. These Patagonians invoked a deity of theirs (or as Pigafetta puts it, “the chief of their devils”) by the name of Setebos. Shakespeare makes Caliban use this name twice in the *Tempest*, act i.

21st of October (St. Ursula's day) that they reached the headland still known as Cape Virgins. Passing beyond Dungeness they entered a large open bay, which some hailed as the long-sought strait, while others averred that no passage would be found there. It was, says Pigafetta, in Eden's version, "the straight now cauled the straight of Magellanus, beinge in sum place. C. x. leaques in length: and in breadth sumwhere very large and in other places lyttle more than halfe a leaque in bredth. On both the sydes of this strayght are great and hygh mountaynes couered with snowe, beyonde the whiche is the enteraunce into the sea of Sur. . . . Here one of the shyppes stole away priuilie and returned into Spayne." More than five weeks were consumed in passing through the strait, and among its labyrinthine twists and half-hidden bays there was ample opportunity for desertion. As advanced reconnoissances kept reporting the water as deep and salt, the conviction grew that the strait was found, and then the question once more arose whether it would not be best to go back to Spain, satisfied with this discovery, since with all these wretched delays the provisions were again running short. Magellan's answer, uttered in measured and quiet tones, was simply that he would go on and do his work "if he had to eat the leather off the ship's yards." Upon the San Antonio there

Desertion of
Gomez, with
the San An-
tonio.

scene 2, and act v. scene 1; in all probability he had been reading Eden's translation of Pigafetta, published in London in 1555. Robert Browning has elaborately developed Shakespeare's suggestions in his *Caliban on Setebos*.

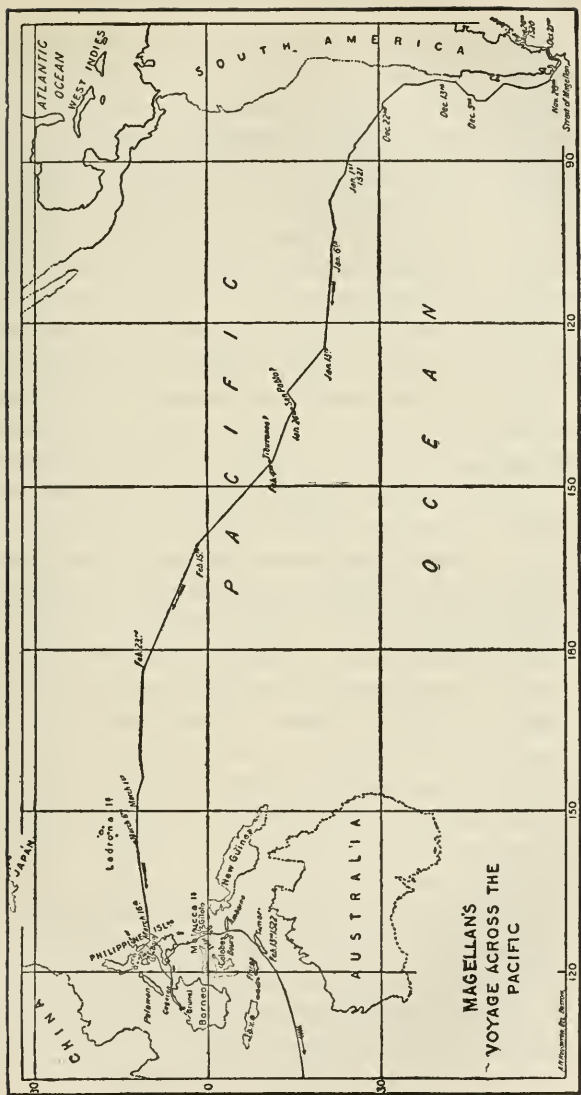
had always been a large proportion of the malcontents, and the chief pilot, Estevan Gomez, having been detailed for duty on that ship, lent himself to their purposes. The captain Mesquita was again seized and put in irons, a new captain was chosen by the mutineers, and Gomez piloted the ship back to Spain, where they arrived after a voyage of six months, and screened themselves for a while by lying about Magellan.

As for that commander, in Richard Eden's words, "when the capitayne Magalianes was past the strayght and sawe the way open to the other mayne sea, he was so gladde therof that for ioy the teares fell from his eyes, and named the poynt of the lande from whense he fyrst sawe that sea *Capo Desiderato*. Supposing that the shyp which stole away had byn loste, they erected a crosse upon the top of a hyghe hyll to direct their course in the straight yf it were theyr chaunce to coome that way." The broad expanse of waters before him seemed so pleasant to Magellan, after the heavy storms through which he had passed, that he called it by the name it still bears, Pacific. But the worst hardships were still before him. Once more a Sea of Darkness must be crossed by brave hearts sickening with hope deferred. If the mid-Atlantic waters had been strange to Columbus and his men, here before Magellan's people all was thrice unknown.

Entering the
Pacific.

"They were the first that ever burst
Into that silent sea ;"

and as they sailed month after month over the waste of waters, the huge size of our planet began



to make itself felt. Until after the middle of December they kept a northward course, near the coast of the continent, running away from the antarctic cold. Then northwesterly and westerly courses were taken, and on the 24th of January, 1521, a small wooded islet was found in water where the longest plummet-lines failed to reach bottom. Already the voyage since issuing from the strait was nearly twice as long as that of Columbus in 1492 from the Canaries to Guanahani. From the useless island, which they called San Pablo, a further run of eleven days brought them to another uninhabited rock, which they called Tiburones, from the quantity of sharks observed in the neighbourhood. There was neither food nor water to be had there, and a voyage of unknown duration, in reality not less than 5,000 English miles, was yet to be accomplished before a trace of land was again to greet their yearning gaze. Their sufferings may best be told in the quaint and touching words in which Shakespeare read them:—“And hauynge in this tyme consumed all theyr bysket and other vyttayles, they fell into such necessitie that they were enforced to eate the poulder that remayned therof beinge now full of woormes. . . . Theyre freshe water was also putrifeyed and become yelow. They dyd eate skynnes and pieces of lether which were fouled about certeyne great ropes of the shyps. [Thus did the captain-general’s words come true.] But these skynnes being made verye harde by reason of the soonne, rayne, and wynde, they lunge them by a corde in the sea for the space of foure

Famine and
scurvy.

or five dayse to mollifie them, and sodde them, and eate them. By reason of this famen and vnelene feedynge, summe of theyr gummes grewe so ouer theyr teethe [a symptom of scurvy], that they dyed miserably for hunger. And by this occasion dyed. xix. men, and . . . besyde these that dyed, xxv. or. xxx. were so sicke that they were not able to doo any seruice with theyr handes or arms for feeblenesse: So that was in maner none without sum disease. In three monethes and. xx. dayes, they sayled foure thousande leaques in one goulfe by the sayde sea cauled Pacificum (that is) peaceable, whiche may well bee so cauled forasmuch as in all this tyme hauyng no syght of any lande, they had no misfortune of wynde or any other tempest. . . . So that in fine, if god of his mercy had not gyuen them good wether, it was necessary that in this soo greate a sea they shuld all haue dyed for hunger. Whiche neuertheless they escaped soo hardely, that it may bee doubted whether euer the like viage may be attempted with so goode successe.”¹

One would gladly know — albeit Pigafetta’s journal and the still more laconic pilot’s log-book leave us in the dark on this point — how the ignorant and suffering crews interpreted this everlasting stretch of sea, vaster, said Maximilian Transylvanus, “than the human mind could conceive.” To them it may well have seemed that the theory of a round and limited earth was wrong after all, and that their infatuated commander was leading them out into the fathomless abysses of space, with no welcom-

Vastness beyond conception.

¹ *The First Three English Books on America*, p. 253.

ing shore beyond. But that heart of triple bronze,¹ we may be sure, did not flinch. The situation had got beyond the point where mutiny could be suggested as a remedy. The very desperateness of it was all in Magellan's favour; for so far away had they come from the known world that retreat meant certain death. The only chance of escape lay in pressing forward. At last, on the 6th of March, they came upon islands The Ladron islands. inhabited by savages ignorant of the bow and arrow, but expert in handling their peculiar light boats. Here the dreadful sufferings were ended, for they found plenty of fruit and fresh vegetables, besides meat. The people were such eager and pertinacious thieves that their islands received the name by which they are still known, the *Islas de Ladrones*, or isles of robbers.

On the 16th of March the three ships arrived at the islands which some years afterward were named *Philippines*, after Philip II. of Spain. Though these were islands unvisited by Europeans, yet Asiatic traders from Siam The Philip-pines. and Sumatra, as well as from China, were to be met there, and it was thus not long before Magellan became aware of the greatness of his triumph. He had passed the meridian of the *Moluccas*, and knew that these islands lay to the southward within an easy sail. He had accomplished the circumnavigation of the earth through its unknown portion, and the remainder of his

¹ Illi robur et æs triplex

Circa pectus erat, etc.

Horat., *Carm.*, i. 3; cf. Æschylus, *Prometh.*, 242.

route lay through seas already traversed. An erroneous calculation of longitudes confirmed him in the belief that the Moluccas, as well as the Philippines, properly belonged to Spain. Meanwhile in these Philippines of themselves he had discovered a region of no small commercial importance. But his brief tarry in these interesting islands had fatal results, and in the very hour of victory the conqueror perished, slain in a fight with the natives, the reason of which we can understand only by considering the close complication of commercial and political interests with religious notions so common in that age.

As the typical Spaniard or Portuguese was then a persecutor of heresy at home, so he was always more or less of a missionary abroad, and the missionary spirit was in his case intimately allied with the crusading spirit. If the heathen resisted the gospel, it was quite right to slay and despoil them. Magellan's nature was devoutly religious, and exhibited itself in the points of strength and weakness most characteristic of his age. After he had made a treaty of alliance with the king of the island of Sebu, in which, among other things, the exclusive privilege of trading there was reserved to the Spaniards, Magellan made the unexpected discovery that the king and his people were ready and even eager to embrace Christianity! They had conceived an exalted idea of the powers and accomplishments of these white strangers, and apparently wished to imitate them in all things. So in less than a week's time a

The mediæval spirit.

Conversion of the people of Sebu.

huge bonfire had been made of the idols, a cross was set up in the market, and all the people on the island were baptized! Now the king of Sebu claimed allegiance from chieftains on neighbouring islands who were slow to render it; and having adopted the white man's "medicine" he naturally wished to test its efficacy. What was Christianity good for if not to help you to humble your vassals? So the Christian king of Sebu demanded homage from the pagan king of Matan, and when the latter potentate scornfully refused, there was a clear case for a crusade! The steadfast commander, the ally and protector of his new convert, the peerless navigator, the knight without fear and without reproach, now turned crusader as quickly as he had turned missionary. Indeed there was no turning. These various aspects of life's work were all one to him; he would have summed up the whole thing as "serving God and doing his duty." So Magellan crossed over to the island of Matan, on the 27th of April, 1521, and was encountered by the natives in overwhelming force. After a desperate fight the Spaniards were obliged to retreat to their boats, and their commander, who years before had been the last man to leave a sinking ship, now lingered on the brink of danger, screening his men, till his helmet was knocked off and his right arm disabled by a spear thrust. A sudden blow brought him to the ground, and then, says the Chevalier Pigafetta, "the Indians threw themselves upon him with iron-pointed bamboo spears and scimitars, and every weapon they had,

Death of Magellan.

and ran him through — our mirror, our light, our comforter, our true guide — until they killed him.”¹

In these scenes, as so often in life, the grotesque and the tragic were strangely mixed. The defeat of the white men convinced the king of Sebu that he had overestimated the blessings of Christianity, and so, by way of atonement for the slight he had cast upon the gods of his fathers, he invited some thirty of the leading Spaniards to a banquet, and massacred them. The massacre at Sebu. Among the men thus cruelly slain were the faithful captains, Barbosa and Serrano. As the ships sailed hastily away the natives were seen chopping down the cross and conducting ceremonies in expiation of their brief apostasy. The blow was a sad one. Of the 280 men who had sailed out from the Guadalquivir only 115 remained. At the same time the Concepcion, being adjudged no longer seaworthy, was dismantled and burned to the water's edge. The constable Espinosa was elected captain of the Victoria, and the pilot Carvalho was made captain-general, but proving incompetent, was presently superseded by that Arrival at the Moluccas. Sebastian Elcano who had been one of the mutineers at Port St. Julian. When the Trinidad and Victoria, after visiting Borneo, reached the Moluccas they found that Francisco Serrano had been murdered by order of the king of Tidor at about the same time that his friend Magellan had fallen at Matan. The Spaniards spent some time in these islands, trading. When they were ready to start, on the 18th of December, the Trinidad

¹ Guillemard's *Magellan*, p. 252.

sprang a leak. It was thereupon decided that the *Victoria* should make for the Cape of Good Hope without delay, in order not to lose the favourable east monsoon. The *Trinidad* was to be thoroughly repaired, and then take advantage of the reversal of monsoon to sail for Panama.¹ Apparently it was thought that the easterly breeze which had wafted them so steadily across the Pacific was a monsoon and would change like the Indian winds, — a most disastrous error. Of the 101 men still surviving, 54 were assigned to the *Trinidad* and 47 to the *Victoria*. The former ship was commanded by Espinosa, the latter by Elcano.

When the *Trinidad* set sail, April 6, 1522, she had the westerly monsoon in her favour, but as she worked up into the northern Pacific she encountered the northeast trade-wind, and in trying to escape it groped her way up to the fortieth parallel and beyond. By that time, overcome with famine and scurvy, she faced about and ran back to the Moluccas. When she arrived, it was without her mainmast. Of her 54 men all but 19 had found a watery grave; and now the survivors were seized by a party of Portuguese, and a new chapter of misery was begun. Only the captain Espinosa and three of the crew lived to see Spain again.

Meanwhile on the 16th of May the little *Victoria*, with starvation and scurvy already thinning

¹ The circumstances of the founding of Panama will be mentioned below in chapter x. In order to complete in a single picture the account of *Mundus Novus*, I tell the story of Magellan in the present chapter, somewhat in advance of its chronological position.

the ranks, with foretopmast gone by the board and foreyard badly sprung, cleared the Cape of Good Hope, and thence was borne on the strong and friendly current up to the equator, which she crossed on the 8th of June. Only fifty years since Santarem and Escobar, first of Europeans, had crept down that coast and crossed it! Into that glorious half-century what a world of suffering and achievement had been crowded! Dire necessity compelled the Victoria to stop at the Cape Verde islands. Her people sought safety in deceiving the Portuguese with the story that they were returning from a voyage in Atlantic waters only, and thus they succeeded in buying food. But while this was going on, as a boat-load of thirteen men had been sent ashore for rice, some silly tongue, loosened by wine in the head of a sailor who had cloves to sell, babbled the perilous secret of Magellan and the Moluccas. The thirteen were at once arrested and a boat called upon the Victoria, with direful threats, to surrender; but she quickly stretched every inch of her canvas and got away. This was on the 13th of July, and eight weeks of ocean remained. At last, on the 6th of September¹ — the thirtieth anniver-

Return of the
Victoria.

¹ They were surprised to hear their friends at home calling it the 7th: — “And amonge other notable thynges . . . wrytten as touchynge that vyage, this is one, that the Spanyardes hauinge sayled about three yeares and one moneth, and the most of them notynge the dayes, day by day (as is the maner of all them that sayle by the ocean), they founde when they were returned to Spayne that they had loste one daye. So that at theyr arryuall at the porte of Sinile, beinge the seuenth daye of September, was by theyr accompt but the sixth day. And where as Don Peter Martyr declared the strange effecte of this thyng to a certeyne

sary of the day when Columbus weighed anchor for Cipango — the *Victoria* sailed into the *Gualquivir*, with eighteen gaunt and haggard survivors to tell the proud story of the first circumnavigation of the earth.¹

The voyage thus ended was doubtless the greatest feat of navigation that has ever been performed, and nothing can be imagined that would surpass it except a journey to some other planet.

An unparalleled voyage. It has not the unique historic position of the first voyage of Columbus, which brought together two streams of human life that had been disjoined since the Glacial Period. But as an achievement in ocean navigation that voyage of Columbus sinks into insignificance by the side of it, and when the earth was a second time encompassed by the greatest English sailor of his age, the advance in knowledge, as well as the different route chosen, had much reduced the difficulty of the performance. When we consider the frailness of the ships, the immeasurable extent of the unknown, the mutinies that were prevented or quelled, and the hardships that were endured, we can have no hesitation in speaking of Magellan as the prince of navigators. Nor can we ever fail to admire the simplicity and purity of that devoted

excellente man, who, for his singular lernynge, was greatly advanced to honoure in his common welthe and made Themperour's ambassadoure, this worthy gentelman, who was also a greate Philosopher and Astronomer, answered that it coulede not otherwyse chaunce unto them, hauynge sayled three yeares continually, euer folowynge the soonne towarde the West." *The First Three English Books on America*, p. 246.

¹ Their names are given below in Appendix D.

life in which there is nothing that seeks to be hidden or explained away.

It would have been fitting that the proudest crest ever granted by a sovereign — a terrestrial globe belted with the legend Elcano's crest. *Primus circumdedisti me* (Thou first encompassed me) — should have been bestowed upon the son and representative of the hero; but when the *Victoria* returned there was none to receive such recognition. In September, 1521, Magellan's son, the little Rodrigo, died, and by March, 1522, the gentle mother Beatriz had heard, by way of the Portuguese Indies, of the fate of her husband and her brother.¹ In that same month — “grievously sorrowing,” as we are told — she died. The coat-of-arms with the crest just mentioned, along with a pension of 500 ducats, was granted to Elcano, a weak man who had ill deserved such honour. Espinosa was also, with more justice, pensioned and ennobled.

One might at first suppose that the revelation of such an immensity of water west of *Mundus Novus* would soon have resulted in the evolution of the conception of a distinct western hemisphere. This effect was, however, very slowly wrought in men's minds. How slowly the result was comprehended. The fact was too great and too strange to be easily taken in and assimilated with the mass of mingled fact and theory already existing. It was not until 1577–80 that the Pacific was crossed, for the second time, by Sir Francis Drake. How imperfectly its dimensions were comprehended may be seen from

¹ Guillelard, p. 90.

the globe of Orontius Finæus, 1531, of which a sketch has already been given. In his *Opusculum Geographicum*, published in 1533, Schöner placed Newfoundland and Florida in Asia and identified the city of Mexico with Marco Polo's Quinsay. To bring out the correct outline and huge continental mass of North America, and to indicate with entire precision its relations to

The work of
two centuries.

Asia, was the Work of Two Centuries, a brief sketch of which will be given hereafter. But before we can properly come to that final chapter in the history of the Discovery of America, there are other points which demand attention. Something must be said concerning the earliest contact between the civilization of Europe just emerging from the Middle Ages and the semi-civilizations of the archaic world of America, similar in many respects to those that had

What next
concerns us.

flourished in the eastern hemisphere before the times of Abraham and Agamemnon. No scenes in history are more remarkable than those which attended this earliest contact. It would be hard to point to a year more fraught with thrilling interest than 1519, when in the month of November, at the very time that Magellan was breasting the storms of the southern Atlantic, on the way to his long-sought strait, Hernando Cortes was anxiously inspecting the terraced roofs and picturesque drawbridges of the strange city to which Montezuma had just admitted him. We have now to deal briefly with that episode in the Discovery of America known as the Conquest of Mexico.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO.

IF we were engaged upon a philosophical history of the human mind, the career of maritime discovery in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries would have great interest for us, with regard to its influence upon men's habits of thought. In the long run, the effect of increased knowledge of the earth is to dispel mythological mystery and the kind of romance that goes with it, and to strengthen men's belief in the constancy of nature. As long as nothing was known of the lands beyond the equator, it was easy enough to people them with gnomes and griffins. There was no intrinsic improbability in the existence of a "land east of the sun and west of the moon," or any of the other regions subject to the Queen of the Fairies, — any more than in the existence of Cipango or Cathay, or any other real country which was indefinitely remote and had but rarely been visited. As long as men's fancy had free sweep, beyond the narrow limits of "the world as known to the ancients," there was plenty of room for fairyland. But in these prosaic days our knowledge of the earth's surface has become so nearly complete as to crowd out all thought of enchanted ground. Beyond

Effects of increased knowledge of geography upon the romantic spirit.

the dark and perilous sea we no longer look for El Dorado, since maps and gazetteers have taught us to expect nothing better than the beautiful but cruel, the romantic but humdrum, world with which daily experience has already made us so well acquainted. In this respect the present age, compared with the sixteenth century, is like mature manhood compared with youth. The bright visions have fled, but the sober realities of life remain. The most ardent adventurer of our time has probably never indulged in such wild fancies as must have flitted through the mind of young Louis de Hennepin when he used to hide behind tavern doors while the sailors were telling of their voyages. "The tobacco smoke," he says, "used to make me very sick; but, notwithstanding, I listened attentively to all that was said about their adventures at sea and their travels in distant countries. I could have passed whole days and nights in this way without eating."¹

The first effect of the voyages of Columbus and his successors was to arouse this spirit of romantic curiosity to fever heat. Before the newly-found lands had been explored, there was no telling what they might not contain. Upon one point, however, most of the early adventurers were thoroughly agreed. The newly-found coasts must be near Cipango and Cathay, or at any rate somewhere within the territories of the "Grand Khan;" and the reports of Marco Polo, doubtless bravely embellished in passing

Romantic
dreams of the
Spanish ex-
plorers.

¹ Hennepin, *Voyage Curieux* (1704), 12, cited in Parkman's *La Salle*, p. 120.

from mouth to mouth, whetted the greed for gold and inflamed the crusading zeal of the sturdy men who had just driven the Moor from Granada and were impatiently longing for "fresh woods and pastures new." It was taken for granted that the countries beyond the Sea of Darkness abounded in rich treasure which might be won without labour more prosaic than fighting; for as heathen treasure it was of course the legitimate prey of these soldiers of the Cross. Their minds were in a state like that of the heroes of the Arabian Nights who, if they only wander far enough through the dark forest or across the burning desert, are sure at length to come upon some enchanted palace whereof they may fairly hope, with the aid of some gracious Jinni, to become masters. But with all their unchecked freedom of fancy, it is not likely that the Spaniards who first set foot upon the soil of Mexico had ever imagined anything stranger than the sights they saw there; nor did ever a slave of the lamp prepare for man a triumph so astounding as that of which the elements were in readiness awaiting the masterful touch of Hernando Cortes in the year 1519.

I have already described, in its most general outlines, the structure of society in ancient Mexico.¹ A glance at its history is now necessary, if we would understand the circumstances of its sudden overthrow. A very brief sketch is all that is here practicable, and it is all that my purpose requires.

¹ See above, vol. i. pp. 100-131.

The earliest date which we can regard as clearly established in the history of Mexico is 1325 A. D., the year in which the great Aztec pueblo was founded. For whatever happened before that time we have to grope our way in the uncertain light of vague or conflicting traditions and tempting but treacherous philological speculations. It is somewhat as in the history of Greece before the first Olympiad. Sundry movements of peoples and a few striking incidents loom up through the fog of oblivion, and there is room for surmises that things may have happened in this way or in that way, but whether we succeed in putting events into their true order, or get them within a century or so of their real dates, remains very doubtful. According to Mr. Hubert Bancroft, the cool Mexican table-land, since often known as Anáhuac,¹ or "lake country," was occupied during the sixth and seventh centuries of the Christian era by tribes of various degrees of barbarism belonging to the group ever since known as Nahuas. In the fertile valleys horticulture became developed, population increased, arts of construction thrived, and in course of time a kind of supremacy over the whole region east and south of the lakes is said to have been secured by certain confederated tribes called Toltecs, a name which has been explained as meaning "artificers" or "builders." It has

Prehistoric
Mexico.

The "Tol-
tecs."

¹ There was no such thing as an "empire of Anáhuac," nor was the name peculiar to the Mexican table-land; it was given to any country near a large body of water, whether lake or sea. See Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Ruines de Palenqué*, p. 32.

been supposed that the name may have been loosely applied to pueblo-builders by other people who did not erect such structures. Among the principal seats of Toltec supremacy we hear much of the city or pueblo of Tollan, on the site of the modern village of Tula, some forty miles to the northwest of the city of Mexico. It is well to beware, however, about meddling much with these Toltecs. In some respects they remind one of the Pelasgi. Whatever seemed strange or inexplicable in the early history of Greece, the old historians used to dispose of by calling in that mysterious people, the Pelasgi. Greek history had its Pelasgic dark cupboard into which it used to throw its nondescript rubbish of speculation; and I suspect that the Toltecs have furnished a similar dark cupboard to the historians of Mexico. There was doubtless, as we shall presently see, a tribe of Toltecs which dwelt for a time at Tollan, and it was the misfortune of this people to have its name become the vehicle of divers solar myths associated with the fair god Quetzalcoatl. The name Tollan, which means "place of the sun," occurs in other parts of Mexico; it was quite commonly applied to Cholula, the pueblo especially sacred to Quetzalcoatl.¹ Wherever legends came to be located in which the Fair God figured, his followers the Toltecs naturally figured likewise. "All arts and sciences, all knowledge and culture, were ascribed to this wonderful mythical people; and wherever the natives were asked concerning the origin of ancient and unknown structures,

¹ Bandelier, *Archæological Tour in Mexico*, p. 194.

they would reply: 'The Toltecs built them.'"¹ In this way seems to have been generated that notion of a "Toltec empire" which has bewildered and misled so many writers.

In opposition to the Toltecs we find frequent mention of the Chichimecs, whose name The "Chichimecs." is said to mean "barbarians." Such an epithet would indicate that their enemies held them in scorn, but does not otherwise give us much information. At the time of the Discovery it was applied in two very different senses; 1. in general, to the roaming savage tribes far to the north of Anáhuac, and 2. in particular, to the "line of kings" (i. e. clan out of which the head war-chiefs were chosen) at Tezcuco.² This may indicate that at some time the great pueblo-town of Tezcuco was seized and appropriated by a people somewhat inferior in culture; or that neighbouring pueblos applied to the Tezucans an opprobrious epithet which stuck; or, perhaps, that at some time the Tezucans may have repelled an invasion of lower peoples, so that their chiefs

¹ See Brinton, "The Toltecs and their Fabulous Empire," in his *Essays of an Americanist*, pp. 83-100, an admirable treatment of the subject. The notion of the Toltec empire pervades M. de Charnay's *Ancient Cities of the New World*, and detracts from the value of that able book. M. de Charnay's archæological work is very good, but his historical speculations will bear considerable revision and excision.

² Their history has been written by their descendant Fernando de Ixtlilxochitl (born in 1570), *Histoire des Chichimèques, et des anciens rois de Tezcuco*, Paris, 1840, 2 vols. This work contains many valuable facts, but its authority is gravely impaired by the fact that Ixtlilxochitl "wrote for an interested object, and with the view of sustaining tribal claims in the eyes of the Spanish government." See Bandelier, *Archæological Tour*, p. 192.

were called Chichimecs by way of compliment, as Roman warriors were called Germanicus or Africanus. Ingenuity may amuse itself with surmises, but the true explanation is often something that nobody would have thought of. It is not even certain that the name means barbarian, or anything of the sort.¹ The Chichimecs are no more than the Toltecs a safe subject for speculation.²

It may have been anywhere from the ninth to the eleventh century that a number of Nahua tribes, coming from some undetermined north-^{The Nahua tribes.}erly region which they called Aztlan,³ invaded the territory of Anáhuac, and planted them-

¹ Mr. Bandelier, improving upon a hint of the learned Veytia (*Historia antigua del Méjico*, cap. xii. p. 143), suggests that the word Chichimecs may mean "kin of red men." *Peabody Museum Reports*, ii. 393.

² The learned Rêmi Siméon, in his introduction to the *Annales de Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin*, Paris, 1889, has not quite succeeded in avoiding the pitfalls which surround this subject; e. g. "Ces trois grands peuples, les Toltèques, les Mexicains, et les Chichimèques, avaient donc chacun leur caractère particulier. Les Toltèques étaient artisans, les Mexicains guerriers et commerçants, les Chichimèques agriculteurs," etc., p. xxxvi. This sort of generalization does not help us much.

³ The situation of Aztlan, and the meaning of the name, have furnished themes for much speculation. Mr. Morgan, following Acosta and Clavigero, interpreted Aztlan as "place of cranes," and inferred that it must have been in New Mexico, where cranes abound (*Houses and House-Life*, p. 195). Duran translated it "place of whiteness" (*Historia de Nueva España*, i. 19); but, as Dr. Brinton observes, it may mean "place by salt water" (*Essays of an Americanist*, p. 88). Father Duran thought that Aztlan was situated within the region of our Gulf States; cf. Brassens, *Hist. des nations civilisées de l'Amérique centrale*, ii. 292. Some writers have supposed it was the home of the "mound-builders" in the Mississippi, and in recent times a group of earthworks in Wisconsin has been named Aztlan or Aztalan.

selves at various commanding points. It is probable that there was a series of waves of invasion by peoples essentially the same in blood and speech. As Dr. Brinton has ably pointed out, the story of Tollan and its people as we find it in three of the most unimpeachable authorities — Father Duran, Tezozomoc, and the Codex Ramirez — virtually identifies Toltecs with Aztecs. The situation of that Tollan which is now called Tula was on one of the principal ancient trails from the north into the elevated Valley of Mexico. It was a natural pass or gateway, and had the importance which belongs to such places. The ruins of the ancient town are upon a small hill, known as Coatepetl, or Serpent Hill, which figures largely in the legends about the Toltecs. The town consisted of large edifices built of rubble-stone mingled with adobe-brick, with flat and terraced roofs, somewhat after the fashion, perhaps, of the pueblos in New Mexico. Mural painting and figure-carving were practised by its inhabitants. According to the authorities just cited, there was a division among the Nahua tribes migrating from Aztlan. Some passed on into the Valley of Mexico, while others fortified themselves on the Serpent Hill and built a temple to the war-god Huitzilopochtli. The city of Tollan thus founded lasted for some generations, until its people, hard pressed by hostile neighbours, re-

Much more probable are the views of Mendieta (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, p. 144), who places it in the province of Xalisco; or of Orozco y Berra (*Historia antigua de Mexico*, tom. iii. cap. 4), who places it in Michoacan. Albert Gallatin expressed a similar view in *Trans. Amer. Ethnolog. Soc.*, ii. 202.

treated into the Valley of Mexico, and afterward built the city which has become famous under that name.¹

In this story the founders of Mexico are virtually identified with those of Tollan. Following this hint, we may suppose the "Toltec period" in Mexican tradition to have been simply the period when the pueblo-town of Tollan was flourishing, and domineered most likely over neighbouring pueblos. One might thus speak of it as one would speak of the "Theban period" in Greek history. After the "Toltec period," with perhaps an intervening "Chichimec period" of confusion, came the "Aztec period;" or in other words, some time after Tollan lost its importance, the city of Mexico came to the front. Such, I suspect, is the slender historical residuum underlying the legend of a "Toltec empire."²

The Codex Ramirez assigns the year 1168 as the date of the abandonment of the Serpent Hill by the people of Tollan. We begin to leave this twilight of legend when we meet the Aztecs already encamped in the Valley of Mexico. Finding the most obviously eligible sites preoccupied, they were sagacious enough to detect the advantages of a certain marshy spot through which the outlets of lakes Chalco and Xochimilco, besides sundry rivulets, flowed northward and eastward into Lake Tezcuco. Here in

The fabulous
"Toltec em-
pire."

The Aztecs,
and the found-
ing of the city
of Mexico.

¹ Duran, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España*, cap. iii.; Tezozomoc, *Crónica Mexicana*, cap. ii.; *Codex Ramirez*, p. 24.

² See Brinton, *op. cit.* p. 89.

the year 1325 they began to build their pueblo, which they called Tenochtitlan, — a name whereby hangs a tale. When the Aztecs, hard pressed by foes, took refuge among these marshes, they came upon a sacrificial stone which they recognized as one upon which some years before one of their priests had immolated a captive chief. From a crevice in this stone, where a little earth was imbedded, there grew a cactus, upon which sat an eagle holding in its beak a serpent. A priest ingeniously interpreted this symbolism as a prophecy of signal and long-continued victory, and forthwith diving into the lake he had an interview with Tlaloc, the god of waters, who told him that upon that very spot the people were to build their town. The place was therefore called Tenochtitlan, or “p'lace of the cactus-rock,” but the name under which it afterward came to be best known was taken from Mexitl, one of the names of the war-god Huitzilopochtli. The device of the rock and cactus, with the eagle and serpent, formed a tribal totem for the Aztecs, and has been adopted as the coat-of-arms of the present Republic of Mexico. The pueblo of Tenochtitlan was surrounded by salt marshes, which by dint of dikes and causeways the Aztecs gradually converted into a large artificial lake, and thus made their pueblo by far the most defensible stronghold in Anáhuac, — impregnable, indeed, so far as Indian modes of attack were concerned.¹

¹ According to Mr. Bandelier the only Indian position comparable with it for strength was that of Atitlan, in Guatemala. *Peabody Museum Reports*, vol. ii. p. 97.

The advantages of this commanding position were slowly but surely realized. A dangerous neighbour upon the western shore of the lake was the tribe of Tecpanecas, whose principal pueblo was Azcaputzalco. The Aztecs succeeded in making an alliance with these Tecpanecas, but it was upon unfavourable terms and involved the payment of tribute to Azcaputzalco. It gave the Aztecs, however, some time to develop their strength. Their military organization was gradually perfected, and in 1375 they elected their first *tlacatecuhtli*, or "chief-of-men," whom European writers, in the loose phraseology formerly current, called "founder of the Mexican empire." The name of this official was Acamapichtli, or "Handful-of-Reeds." During the eight-and-twenty years of his chieftaincy the pueblo houses in Tenochtitlan began to be built very solidly of stone, and the irregular water-courses flowing between them were improved into canals. Some months after his death in 1403 his son Huitzilihuitl, or "Humming-bird," was chosen to succeed him. This Huitzilihuitl was succeeded in 1414 by his brother Chimalpopoca, or "Smoking Shield," under whom temporary calamity visited the Aztec town. The alliance with Azcaputzalco was broken, and that pueblo joined its forces to those of Tezcucó on the eastern shore of the lake. United they attacked the Aztecs, defeated them, and captured their chief-of-men, who died a prisoner in 1427. He was succeeded by Izcoatzin, or "Obsidian Snake," an aged chieftain who died in 1436.

The first four
Aztec "chiefs-
of-men."

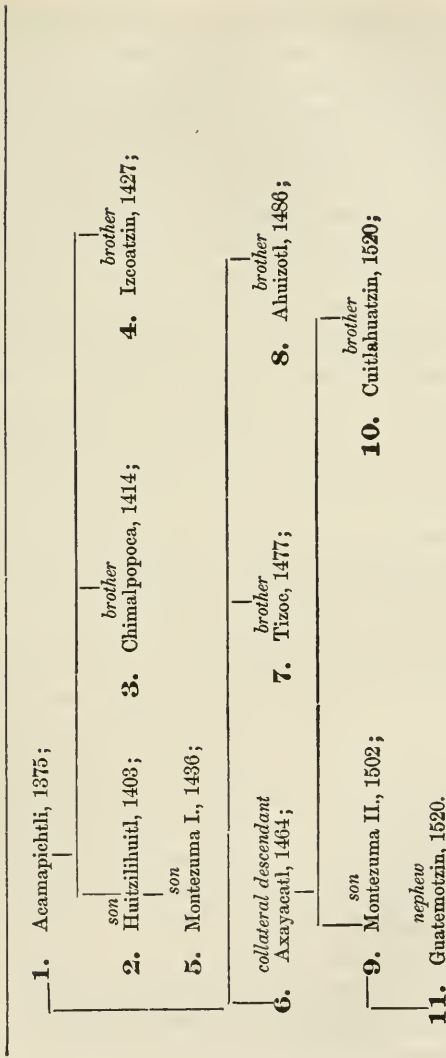
During these nine years a complete change came over the scene. Quarrels arose between Azcaputzalco and Tezcuco; the latter pueblo entered into alliance with Tenochtitlan, and together they overwhelmed and destroyed Azcaputzalco, and butchered most of its people. What was left of the conquered pueblo was made a slave mart for the Aztecs, and the remnant of the people were removed to the neighbouring pueblo of Tlacopan, which was made tributary to Mexico. By this great victory the Aztecs also acquired secure control of the springs upon Chepultepec, or "Grasshopper Hill," which furnished a steady supply of fresh water to their island pueblo.

The next step was the formation of a partnership between the three pueblo towns, Tenochtitlan, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan, for the organized and systematic plunder of other pueblos. All the tribute or spoils extorted was to be divided into five parts, of which two parts each were for Tezcuco and Tenochtitlan, and one part for Tlacopan. The Aztec chief-of-men became military commander of the confederacy, which now began to extend operations to a distance. The next four chiefs-of-men were Montezuma, or "Angry Chief," the First, from 1436 to 1464; Axayacatl, or "Face-in-the-Water," from 1464 to 1477; Tizoc, or "Wounded Leg," from 1477 to 1486; and Ahuizotl, or "Water-Rat," from 1486 to 1502. Under these chiefs the great temple of Mexico was completed, and the aqueduct from Chepultepec was increased in capacity until it not only supplied

Destruction of
Azcaputzalco.

The Mexican
Confederacy.

TABLE OF THE SUCCESSION (ELECTIVE) AND OF THE RELATIONSHIPS OF THE ELEVEN MEXICAN TLACATECUHTLI, OR "CHIEFS-OF-MEN."



water for ordinary uses, but could also be made to maintain the level of the canals and the lake. In the driest seasons, therefore, Tenochtitlan remained safe from attack. Forth from this well-protected lair the Aztec warriors went on their errands of blood. Thirty or more pueblo towns, mostly between Tenochtitlan and the Gulf coast, scattered over an area about the size of Massachusetts, were made tributary to the Confederacy; and as all these communities spoke the Nahuatl language, this process of conquest, if it had not been cut short by the Spaniards, might in course of time have ended in the formation of a primitive kind of state. This tributary area formed but a very small portion of the country which we call Mexico. If the reader will just look at a map of the Republic of Mexico in a modern atlas, and observe that the states of Queretaro, Guanajuato, Michoacan, Guerrero, and a good part of La Puebla, lie outside the region sometimes absurdly styled "Montezuma's Empire," and surround three sides of it, he will begin to put himself into the proper state of mind for appreciating the history of Cortes and his companions. Into the outlying region just mentioned, occupied by tribes for the most part akin to the Nahuatl in blood and speech, the warriors of the Confederacy sometimes ventured, with varying fortunes. They levied occasional tribute among the pueblos in these regions, but hardly made any of them regularly tributary. The longest range of their arms seems to have been to the eastward, where they sent their tax-gatherers along the coast into the isthmus of Te-

huantepec, and came into conflict with the warlike Mayas and Quiches. On the other hand, as already observed, the Confederacy did not effect any true military occupation of the country near at hand, and within twenty or thirty leagues of Tenochtitlan such pueblo towns as Cholula and Tlascalala, with populations of about 30,000 persons, retained their independence. The Tlascalans, The hostile Tlascalans. indeed, were a perpetual thorn in the side of the Confederacy. Occupying a strong defensive position, they beat back repeatedly the forces of the chief-of-men and aided and abetted recalcitrant pueblos in refusing tribute. The state of feeling between Tlascalans and Aztecs was like that between Romans and Carthaginians, or Turks and Montenegrins.

Such was, in general outline, what we may call the political situation in the time of the son of Axayacatl, the second Montezuma, who was elected chief-of-men in 1502, being then thirty-four years of age. One of the first The second Montezuma. expeditions led by this Montezuma, in 1503, was directed against the Tlascalans for the purpose of obtaining captives for sacrifice; it met with disastrous defeat, and furnished victims for the Tlascalan altars. A raid of Montezuma's into Michoacan was also repulsed, but upon the eastern coast he was more successful in wringing tribute from the pueblo towns, and in arousing in their inhabitants a desperate rage, ready to welcome any chance of delivery from the oppressor. Many towns refused tribute and were savagely punished; and as always happens upon the eve of a crisis in

history, we hear wild rumours of supernatural portents. There was the usual tale of comet and eclipse, and the volcanic craters in the Cordillera were thought to be unwontedly active.¹ At length, in the course of the year 1518, came the handwriting on the wall. A certain Indian named Pinotl was Montezuma's tax-gatherer (*calpixca*) and spy at the pueblo of Cuetlachtlan, some thirty miles inland from the Gulf coast and about as far to the southward from San Juan de Ulloa. To this officer there came one day an Indian from the neighbouring pueblo of Mictlan-Quauhtla on the coast, with a story the like of which no man in all that country had ever heard. He had seen a great tower, with wings, moving hither and thither upon the sea. Other Indians, sent to verify the rumour, saw two such towers, and from one of them a canoe was let down and darted about on the water, and in it were a kind of men with white faces and heavy beards, and they were clad in a strange and shining raiment.² At this news the tax-gatherer Pinotl, with a body of attendants, hastened down to the shore and met the Spanish squadron of Juan de Grijalva. Pinotl went on board one of these marvellous winged towers, and exchanged gifts with its commander, who was pleased to hear about the wealth and power of Pinotl's master,

An amazing story.

Pinotl visits the mysterious strangers.

¹ Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, i. 113.

² Tezozomoc, ii. 232; Duran, ii. 359-377; Bancroft, *loc. cit.* Tezozomoc says that this Indian's ears, thumbs, and big toes were mutilated; concerning the purport of which a query will presently be made.

and promised some day before long to come and pay him a visit in his great city among the mountains. When the dread strangers had gone on their way, the tax-gatherer's party took the shortest trail to Tenochtitlan, and hurrying to the tecpan, or council-house, informed Montezuma that they had seen and talked with gods. On strips of maguey paper they had made sketches of the Spaniards and their ships and arms, along with abundant hieroglyphic comments; and when all this was presently laid before the tribal council for consideration, we may dimly imagine the wild and agitated argument that must have ensued.

No doubt the drift of the argument would be quite undecipherable for us were it not for the clue that is furnished by the ancient Mexican beliefs concerning the sky-god and culture-hero, Quetzalcoatl. This personage was an object of reverence and a theme of mythical tales among all the Nahua and Maya peoples.¹ Like Zeus and Woden he has been supposed to have been at some time a terrestrial hero who became deified after his death, but it is not likely that he ever had a real existence, any more than Zeus or Woden. In his attributes Quetzalcoatl resembled both the Greek and the Scandinavian deity. He was cloud gatherer, wielder of the thunderbolt, and ruler of the winds. As lord of the clouds he was represented as a bird; as lord of the lightning he was represented as a serpent;² and his name

¹ The Mayas called him Cukulcan.

² I have fully explained this symbolism in *Myths and Myth-Makers*, chap. ii., "The Descent of Fire."





Quetzal-Coatl means "Bird-Serpent."¹ In this character of elemental deity he was commonly associated with Tlaloc, the god of rain, of waters, and of spring verdure.² This association is depicted upon the two famous slabs discovered by Mr. Stephens in 1840 in the course of his researches at Palenque. The slabs were formerly inlaid in the pillars that supported the altar in the building known as the "Temple of the Cross, No. 1." They are about six feet in length by three in width. On the left-hand slab Tlaloc appears as a "young man magnificently arrayed; he wears a richly embroidered cape, a collar and medallion around his neck, a beautiful girdle to his waist; the ends of the *maxtli*³ are hanging down front and back, co-

¹ Or "Feathered Serpent." Mr. Bandelier (*Archæol. Tour*, p. 170) suggests that the word *quetzalli* "only applies to feathers in the sense of indicating their bright hues," and that the name therefore means "Shining Serpent." But in the Mexican picture-writing the rebus for Quetzalcoatl is commonly a feather or some other part of a bird in connection with a snake; and the so-called "tablet of the cross" at Palenque represents the cross, or symbol of the four winds, "surmounted by a bird and supported by the head of a serpent" (Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 118). Here the symbolism is complete and unmistakable. The cross is the symbol of Tlaloc, the rain-god, who is usually associated with Quetzalcoatl.

Two very learned and brilliant accounts of Quetzalcoatl are those of Bandelier (*Archæol. Tour*, pp. 168-216), and Brinton (*American Hero-Myths*, pp. 63-142). It seems to me that the former suffers somewhat from its Ennemerism, and that Dr. Brinton, treating the subject from the standpoint of comparative mythology, gives a truer picture. Mr. Bandelier's account, however, contains much that is invaluable.

² Sahagun, *Hist. de las cosas de la Nueva España*, lib. ii. cap. 1.

³ "Maxtlatl, bragas, o cosa semejante," Molina, *Vocabulario*,

thurni cover his feet and legs up to the knee. On the upper end of his head-dress is the head of a stork, having a fish in his bill, whilst other fishes are ranged below it." ^{Quetzalcoatl and Tlaloc.} ¹ The right-hand slab represents Quetzalcoatl as an old man, clad in the skin of an ocelot, or Mexican "tiger," and blowing puffs of air through a tube. The bird's brilliant feathers and sharp beak are seen in his head-dress, and about his waist is the serpent twisting and curling before and behind.

The building at Palenque in which these sculptured slabs once adorned the altar appears to have been a temple consecrated to Quetzalcoatl and Tlaloc. The connection between the two deities was so close that their festivals "were celebrated together on the same day, which was the first of the first month of the Aztec calendar, in February." ^{Specialization of Tlaloc as elemental deity.} ² There was nothing like equality between the two, however. Tlaloc remained specialized as the god of rains and giver of harvests; he was attached as a subordinate appendage to the mighty Blower of Winds and Wielder of Lightning, and his symbolism served to commemorate the elemental character of the latter. On the other hand Quetzalcoatl, without losing his attributes as an elemental deity, acquired many other attributes. As has frequently happened to sky-gods and solar heroes, he became generalized until almost all kinds of activities and interests were ascribed to him. As god of the seasons, he was

¹ Charnay, *Ancient Cities of the New World*, p. 216.

² Brinton, *American Hero-Myths*, p. 125.

said to have invented the Aztec calendar. He taught men how to cut and polish stones ; he was patron of traders, and to him in many a pueblo ingenious thieves prayed for success, as Greek thieves prayed to Hermes. It was he that promoted fertility among men, as well as in the vegetable world ; sterile wives addressed to him their vows. Yet at the same time Quetzalcoatl held celibacy in honour, and in many pueblos houses of nuns were consecrated to him. Other features of asceticism occurred in his service ; his priests were accustomed to mutilate their tongues, ears, and other parts of the body by piercing them with cactus thorns.

As Zeus had his local habitation upon Mount Olympus and was closely associated with the island of Crete, so Quetzalcoatl had his favourite spots. Cholula was one of them ; another was Tollan, but, as already observed, this place was something more than the town which commanded the trail from Mexico into the north country. Like Cadmus and Apollo, this New World culture-deity had his home in the far east ; there was his Tollan, or " place of the sun." And here we come to the most interesting part of the story, the conflict between Light and Darkness, which in all aboriginal American folk-lore appears in such transparent and unmistakable garb.¹ One of the most

¹ In this aspect of the power of light contending against the power of darkness, Quetzalcoatl is the counterpart of the Algonquin Michabo, the Iroquois Ioskeha, and the Peruvian Viracocha, to whom we shall by and by have occasion to refer. See Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, chap. vi.

important figures in the Mexican pantheon was Tezcatlipoca, the dread lord of night and darkness, the jealous power that visited mankind with famine and pestilence, the ravenous demon whose food was human hearts. No deity was more sedulously worshipped than Tezcatlipoca, doubtless on the theory, common among barbarous people, that it is by all means desirable to keep on good terms with the evil powers. Between Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca there was everlasting hostility. The latter deity had once been the sun, but Quetzalcoatl had knocked him out of the sky with a big club, and jumping into his place had become the sun instead of him. Tezcatlipoca, after tumbling into the sea, rose again in the night sky as the Great Bear; and so things went on for awhile, until suddenly the Evil One transformed himself into a tiger, and with a blow of his paw struck Quetzalcoatl from the sky. Amid endless droll and uncouth incidents the struggle continued, and the combatants changed their shapes as often as in the Norse tale of Farmer Weathersky.¹ The contest formed the theme of a whole cycle of Mexican legends, some grave, some humorous, many of them quite pretty.² In some of these legends the adversaries figured, not as elementary giants, but as astute and potent men. The general burden of the tale, the conclu-

¹ See also the delicious story of the Gruagach of Tricks, in Curtin's *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland*, pp. 139-156.

² Quite a number were taken down by Father Sahagun (about 1540) from the lips of the natives, in the original Nahuatl, and are given in his *Hist. de las cosas de Nueva España*, lib. iii., and in Brinton's *American Hero-Myths*, pp. 106-116.

sion most firmly riveted in the Mexican mind, was that Quetzalcoatl had been at last outwitted by his dark enemy and obliged to forsake the land.¹

Accompanied by a few youthful worshippers he fared forth from Cholula, and when he had reached the eastern shore, somewhere in the Coatzacoalco country, between Cuetlactlan and Tabasco, he bade farewell to his young companions, saying that he must go farther, but at some future time he should return from the east with men as fair-skinned as himself and take possession of the country. As to whither he had gone, there was a difference of opinion. Some held that he had floated out to sea on a raft of serpent skins; others believed that his body had been consumed with fire on the beach, and that his soul had been taken up into the morning star. But in whatever way he had gone, all were agreed that in the fulness of time Quetzalcoatl would return from the eastern ocean, with white-faced companions, and renew his beneficent rule over the Mexican people.²

His return, it would seem, must needs involve the dethronement of the black Tezcatlipoca. According to one group of legends the fair culture-

¹ What a pathos there is in these quaint stories! These poor Indians dimly saw what we see, that the Evil One is hard to kill and often seems triumphant. When things seem to have arrived at such a pass, the untutored human mind comforts itself with Messianic hopes, often destined to be rudely shocked, but based no doubt upon a sound and wholesome instinct, and one that the future career of mankind will justify. It is interesting to watch the rudimental glimmerings of such a hope in such a people as the ancient Mexicans.

² Brinton, *op. cit.* pp. 117, 133.

hero condemned the sacrifice of human beings, and held that the perfume of flowers and incense was sufficient without the shedding of blood; in similar wise he was said to look with disapproval upon wars and violence of whatever sort. If the theory which found expression in these legends should prove correct, the advent of Quetzalcoatl would overturn the worship of Tezcatlipoca, who demanded human victims, and likewise that of his grewsome ally Huitzilopochtli, the war-god who presided over the direful contests in which such victims were obtained. In short, it would revolutionize the whole system upon which the political and social life of the Nahua peoples had from time immemorial been conducted. One is naturally curious to know how far such a theory could have expressed a popular wish and not merely a vague speculative notion, but upon this point our information is lamentably meagre. It does not appear that there was any general longing for the reign of Quetzalcoatl, like that of the Jews for their Messianic Kingdom. But the notion that such a kingdom was to come was certainly a common one in ancient Mexico, and even in that fierce society there may well have been persons to whom the prevalence of wholesale slaughter did not commend itself, and who were ready to welcome the hope of a change.

When the Spanish ships arrived upon the Mexican coast in 1518, the existence of this general belief was certainly a capital fact, and probably the supreme fact, in the political and military situation. It effectually paralyzed the opposition to

their entrance into the country. Surely such a grouping of fortunate coincidences was never known save in fairy tales. As the Spanish ships came sailing past Tabasco, they were just reversing the route by which Quetzalcoatl had gone out into the ocean; as he had gone, so they were coming in strict fulfilment of prophecy! Mictlan-Quauhtla was evidently a point from which the returning deity was likely to be seen; and when we read that the Indian who ran with the news to Cuetlachtlan had his ears, thumbs, and toes mutilated, how can we help remembering that this particular kind of self-torture was deemed a fit method of ingratiating oneself into the favour of Quetzalcoatl? When Pinotl went on board ship he found the mysterious visitors answering in outward aspect to the requirements of the legend. In most mythologies the solar heroes are depicted with abundant hair. Quetzalcoatl was sometimes, though not always, represented with a beard longer and thicker than one would have been likely to see in ancient America. The bearded Spaniards were, therefore, at once recognized as his companions. There were sure to be some blonde Visigoth complexions among them,¹ and their general hue was somewhat fairer than that of the red men. Nothing more was needed to convince the startled Aztecs that the fulfilment of the prophecy was at hand. Mon.

¹ Indeed, we know of at least one such blonde on this fleet, Pedro de Alvarado, whom the Mexicans called *Tonatiuh*, "sun-faced," on account of his shaggy yellow hair and ruddy complexion.

tezuma could hardly fail thus to understand the case, and it filled him with misgivings. We may be sure that to the anxious council in the teopan every shooting-star, every puff from the crater of Popocatepetl, and whatever omen of good or evil could be gathered from any quarter, came up for fresh interpretation in the light of this strange intelligence. Let us leave them pondering the situation, while we turn our attention to the Spaniards, and observe by what stages they had approached the Mexican coast.

From the island of Hispaniola as a centre, the work of discovery spread in all directions, and not slowly, when one considers the difficulties involved in it.

Diffusion of
the work of
discovery
from Hispaniola.

With the arrival of Diego Columbus, as admiral and governor of the Indies, in 1509, there was increased activity. In 1511 he sent Velasquez to conquer Cuba, and two years later Juan Ponce de Leon, governor of Porto Rico, landed upon the coast of Florida. In the autumn of 1509 the ill-fated expeditions of Ojeda and Nicuesa began their work upon the coast of Darien; and in 1513 Balboa crossed that isthmus and discovered the Pacific ocean. Rumours of the distant kingdom of the Incas reached his ears, and in 1517 he was about starting on a voyage to the south, when he was arrested on a charge of premeditating treason and desertion, and was put to death by Pedrarias, governor of Darien. This melancholy story will claim our attention in a future chapter. It is merely mentioned here, in its chronological

order, as having a kind of suggestiveness in connection with the conduct of Cortes.

After the fall of Balboa the Spaniards for some time made little or no progress to the southward, but their attention was mainly directed to the westward. In 1516 food was scarce in Darien, and to relieve the situation about a hundred of the colonists were sent over to Cuba; among them was Córdoba's expedition, 1517. the soldier of fortune, Bernal Diaz de Castillo, afterward one of the most famous of chroniclers. These men had plenty of Indian gold, with which they fitted up a couple of ships to go slave-catching in the bay of Honduras. The governor, Velasquez, added a ship of his own to the expedition, and the chief command was given to Francisco Hernandez de Córdoba, a man "very prudent and courageous, and strongly disposed to kill and kidnap Indians."¹ The chief pilot was Antonio de Alaminos, who had been with Columbus on his fourth voyage, and there were in all more than a hundred soldiers. From Santiago they sailed, in February, 1517, through the Windward Passage around to Puerto Principe to take in sundry supplies. While they were waiting there the pilot, recalling to mind some things that Columbus had told him, was seized with the idea that a rich country might be discovered within a short distance by sailing to the west. Córdoba was persuaded by his arguments, and loyally sent

¹ Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, tom. iv. p. 369. This sort of expedition was illegal, and so it was publicly announced that the expedition was fitted out for purposes of discovery. See Bancroft's *Mexico*, vol. i. p. 6.

word to Velasquez, asking if he might be allowed to act as governor's lieutenant in any new lands he might discover.¹ Assent having been given, the little fleet finally sailed from the lately-founded town of Havana, and presently reached the northeastern corner of the peninsula of Yucatan. Here the Spaniards for the first time saw signs of that Oriental civilization for which they had so long been looking in vain. Strange-looking towers or pyramids, ascended by stone steps, greeted their eyes, and the people, who came out in canoes to watch the ships, were clad in quilted cotton doublets, and wore cloaks and brilliant plumes. These Mayas were bitterly hostile. Apparently they had heard of the Spaniards. It would have been strange indeed if, in the six years since Velasquez had invaded Cuba, not a whisper of all the slaughter and enslavement in

Hostile de-
meanour of
the Mayas.

¹ This is graphically told by Las Casas: — "Y estando allé, dijo el piloto Alaminos al capitan Francisco Hernandez que le parecia que por aquella mar del Poniente, abajo de la dicha isla de Cuba, le daba el corazon que habia de haber tierra muy rica, porque cuando andaba con el Almirante viejo, siendo él muchacho, via que el Almirante se inclinaba mucho à navegar hacia aquella parte, con esperanza grande que tenia que habia de hallar tierra muy poblada y muy más rica que hasta allí, é que así lo afirmaba, y porque le faltaron los navíos no prosiguió aquel camino, y tornó, desde el cabo que puso nombre de Gracias á Dios, atras á la provincia de Veragua. Dicho ésto, el Francisco Hernandez, que era de buena esperanza y buen ánimo, asentándosele aquestas palabras, determinó de enviar por licencia á Diego Velasquez," etc. *Op. cit.* p. 350. Alaminos had evidently confused in his memory the fourth voyage of Columbus with the second. It was in the second that Columbus felt obliged to turn back, and it is clear that in the fourth he had no intention of going west of Cape Honduras.

that island had found its way across the one hundred miles of salt water between Cape San Antonio and Cape Catoche. At several places along the shore the natives are said to have shouted "Castilians! Castilians!" At Catoche their demeanour was at first friendly, but after the Spaniards had come ashore they drew them into an ambush and attacked them, killing two and wounding several. The Spaniards then reëmbarked, taking with them a couple of young captives whom they trained as interpreters. After a fortnight's sail along the coast they arrived at Campeche. Here the Maya natives invited them into the town, and showed them their huge pueblo fortresses and their stone temples, on the walls of which were sculptured enormous serpents, while the altars dripped fresh blood. "We were amazed," says Bernal Diaz, "at the sight of things so strange, as we watched numbers of natives, men and women, come in to get a sight of us with smiling and careless countenances."¹ Presently, however, priests approaching with fragrant censers requested the visitors to quit the country; and they deemed it prudent to comply, and retired to their ships. Proceeding as far as Champoton, the Spaniards were obliged to go ashore for water to drink. Then the Indians set upon them in overwhelming numbers and wofully defeated them, slaying more than half their number, and wounding nearly all the rest. The wretched survivors lost no time in getting back to Cuba, where Córdoba soon died of his wounds. Worse

Defeat of the
Spaniards at
Champoton.

¹ Diaz, *Historia verdadera*, cap. iii.

luck they could hardly have had, but they brought back a little gold and some carved images stolen from a temple, and their story incited Velasquez to prepare a new expedition.

Four caravels were accordingly made ready and manned with 250 stout soldiers. The chief command was given to the governor's nephew, Juan de Grijalva, and the captains of two of the ships were Pedro de Alvarado and Francisco de Montejo. Sailing from Santiago early in April, 1518, they landed first at the island of Cozumel, and then followed the Yucatan coast till they reached Champoton, where they came to blows with the natives, and being fully prepared for such an emergency defeated them. In June they came to a country which they called Tabasco, after the name of a chief¹ with whom they had some friendly interviews and exchanged gifts. It was a few days later, at the little bay near the shore of which stood the pueblo of Micatlan-Quauhtla, that they were boarded by the tax-gatherer Pinotl who carried such startling intelligence of them to Montezuma. The demeanour of the Nahuatl people in this neighbourhood was quite friendly; but the Spaniards were more and more struck with horror at the ghastly sights they saw of human heads raised aloft on poles, human bodies disembowelled, and grinning idols dripping blood from their jaws. On St. John's day they stopped at an island, the name of which they understood

¹ The Spaniards often mistook the name of some chief for a territorial name, as for example Quarequa, Pocososa, Birú, etc., of which more anon.

to be Ulua,¹ and so they gave it the name now commonly written San Juan de Ulloa. Here Alvarado was sent back to Cuba with fifty or more sick men, to report what had been done and get reinforcements with which to found a colony. Grijalva kept on with the other three ships, as far, perhaps, as the river Pánuco, beyond the region of pueblos tributary to the Aztecs. By this time their ships were getting the worse for wear, and they began once more to encounter fierce and hostile Indians. Accordingly they turned back, and retracing their course arrived in Cuba early in November.

The effect of this expedition was very stimulating. A quarter of a century had elapsed since Columbus's first voyage, and the Spaniards had been active enough in many directions, but Excitement of the Spaniards. until lately they had seen no indications of that Oriental civilization and magnificence which they had expected to find. They had been tossed on weather-beaten coasts, and had wandered mile after mile half-starved through tropical forests, for the most part without finding anything but rude and squalid villages inhabited by half-naked barbarians. Still hope had not deserted them; they were as confident as ever that, inasmuch as they were in Asia, it could not be so very far to the dominions of the Great Khan. Now Grijalva's tidings seemed to justify their lingering hope. Pinotl and other Indians had told him that far up in that country dwelt their mighty king who ruled over many cities and had no end of gold. Of

¹ An imperfect hearing of Culhua, a name common in Mexico.

course this must be the Great Khan, and the goal which Columbus had hoped to attain must now be within reach! The youthful Grijalva was flushed with anticipations of coming glory.

No sooner had he arrived in Cuba, however, than he was taught the lesson that there is many a slip betwixt the cup and the lip. He had found occasion to censure Alvarado, and that captain, nursing his spite and getting home some time before his young commander, had contrived to poison the mind of his uncle the governor. So Grijalva was set aside, all his fine hopes turned sick with chagrin. The prize was not for him, but for another young man, a native of Estremadura, who in 1504 had come over to the Indies. The name of this knight-errant, now in his thirty-fourth year, bold and devout, fertile in devices and unscrupulous, yet perhaps no more so than many a soldier whose name is respected, an Achilles for bravery, an Odysseus for craft and endurance, was Hernando Cortes. In 1511 he had served with distinction under Velasquez in the expedition which conquered Cuba, and he was at this time *alcalde* (chief judge) of the newly founded town of Santiago on that island. He now persuaded Velasquez to appoint him to command the important expedition fitted out in the autumn of 1518 for operations on the Mexican mainland.

Before Cortes started, Velasquez began to worry lest he might prove too independent a spirit, and he twice sent messengers after him to recall him and put another in his place. Cortes politely disregarded the messages, thus verifying the govern-

or's fears. Early in March, 1519, he landed at Tabasco, found the natives unfriendly, defeated them in a sharp skirmish, seized a fresh stock of provisions, and proceeded to San Juan de Ulloa, whence he sent messengers to Montezuma with gifts and messages as from his sovereign Charles V. Presently he ascertained that the yoke of the Aztec confederacy was borne unwillingly by many tributary towns and districts, and this was one of the main facts that enabled him to conquer the country. At first Cortes contrived to play a double game, encouraging the tributary towns to arrest Montezuma's tax-gatherers, and then currying favour with these officials by quietly releasing them and sending them with soft words to Montezuma.

It was now desirable to make a quick, bold stroke and enlist all his followers irrevocably in the enterprise. Cortes laid the foundations of the town of Vera Cruz (a little to the north of its present site), and a municipal government was then and there framed. Cortes then resigned his commission from Velasquez, and was at once reëlected captain-general by his municipality. He was doing pretty much the same thing that Balboa had been wrongly accused of doing, and he knew well that the alternative before him was victory or the headsman's block. He sent his flagship to Spain, with Montejo and a few other influential and devoted friends, to gain the ear of the grave young king who, while these things were going on, had been elected to the imperial throne of Charlemagne and the Othos.

The scuttling
of the ships.

Then, with a strange mixture of persuasion and stealth, he had his ships one after another scuttled and sunk.¹ Nothing was left but to march on Mexico-Tenochtitlan.

¹ It is often carelessly said that Cortes burned his ships. Three or four were at first secretly scuttled, and there was more or less discussion as to whether the sinking was done by worms. Then the mariners who were in the secret reported other ships unseaworthy. Cortes's first argument was that it would not be worth while to waste time in trying to repair such extensive damages; then he advanced to the position that perhaps it would be wise to sink all that were left, so as to be able to take the sailors along on the march into the country. All were then scuttled but one. Presently some of the malcontents in the camp discovered how the scuttling had been done, and loudly upbraided Cortes. He then boldly faced them, and asked for whom but cowards were means of retreat necessary! There was one ship left; if there were any craven-hearted enough to wish to abandon the enterprise, in God's name let them go at once and in that ship. Cortes well knew what chord to touch in a soldier's heart. As the complaints were drowned in cheers, he went on and suggested that inasmuch as that last ship was of no use it might as well be sunk likewise; which was forthwith done. See Bernal Diaz, *Historia verdadera*, cap. xxx.-xl.

It was the Sicilian general Agathokles who *burned* his ships when he invaded the territory of Carthage in 310 B. C., and it is interesting to compare the graphic description of Diodorus Siculus (lib. xx. cap. 7) with that of Bernal Diaz. The characteristics of the two commanders and the two different ages are worth noting. After crossing the Mediterranean, despite some real danger from Carthaginian cruisers of superior strength and much fancied danger from a total eclipse of the sun, Agathokles determined to destroy his ships, since guarding them would detain a part of his force, while in the event of his defeat they would not avail to save him from the Carthaginian fleet. So he gathered his army together and performed the customary sacrifices to the patron goddesses, Demeter and Persephone. The auspices turned out to be favourable. Then he told the soldiers that in an anxious moment upon the water he had vowed, if these goddesses should conduct him safely to the African shore, to make a burnt-offer

A wonderful march! At one point (Iztacmixtitlan) they came upon a valley where "for four successive leagues there was a continuous line of houses, and the Lord of the valley," we are told, "lived in a fortress such as was not to be found in the half of Spain, surrounded by walls and barbicans and moats." What was the force with

The Spanish
force.

which our knight-errant ventured into such a country? It consisted of 450 Spaniards, many of them clad in mail, half-a-dozen small cannon, and fifteen horses. It was not enough that the Spanish soldier of that day was a bull-dog for strength and courage, or that his armour was proof against stone arrows and lances, or that he wielded a Toledo blade that could cut through silken cushions, or that his arquebus and cannon were not only death-dealing weapons but objects of superstitious awe. More potent than all else together were those frightful monsters, the horses. Before these animals men, women, and children fled like sheep, or skulked and peeped from behind their walls in an ecstasy of terror. It was that paralyzing, blood-curdling fear of the supernatural, against which no amount of physical bravery, nothing in the world but modern knowledge, is of the slightest avail. Perhaps Sir Arthur Helps is right in saying that it was the horse that overthrew the kingdoms of the Aztecs and the

ing of his fleet in honour of them. The peremptory obligation was at once recognized by the army. Agathokles with a torch set fire to his flagship, and at the same moment all the other ships were set blazing by their own captains, amid the murmured prayers of the soldiers and the solemn notes of the trumpet. The event, on the whole, justified the daring policy of Agathokles.

Incas.¹ But besides all this, there was the legend of the bright Quetzalcoatl coming to win back his ancient kingdom from the dark Tezcatlipoca. And strongly coöperating with all other circumstances was the readiness of the hounded and crest-fallen tributary pueblos to welcome any chance that might humble the Triple Tyrant of the Lake! Surely, if ever the stars in their courses fought for mortal man, that man was Hernando Cortes. This luck, however, should not lessen our estimate of his genius, for never was man more swift and sure in seizing opportunities. To offer chances to a dull-witted man is like casting pearls before swine.

As the little army advanced, its progress was heralded by awe-struck couriers who made pictures of the bearded strangers and their hooped monsters, and sent them, with queer hieroglyphic notes and comments, to the Great Pueblo on the lake. Cortes soon divined the situation, albeit imperfectly, and displayed an audacity the like

of which was perhaps never seen before in the world. At the town of Cempoala

Audacity of
Cortes at Cem-
poala.

he had already set free the victims held for sacrifice, and hurled the misshapen idols from the temple. But his boldness was wedded to prudence, and while he did this he seized the persons of the principal chiefs. It had been observed in Cuba and other islands that if the cacique were taken prisoner the Indians seemed unable to fight. "Under Indian customs the prisoner was put to death,

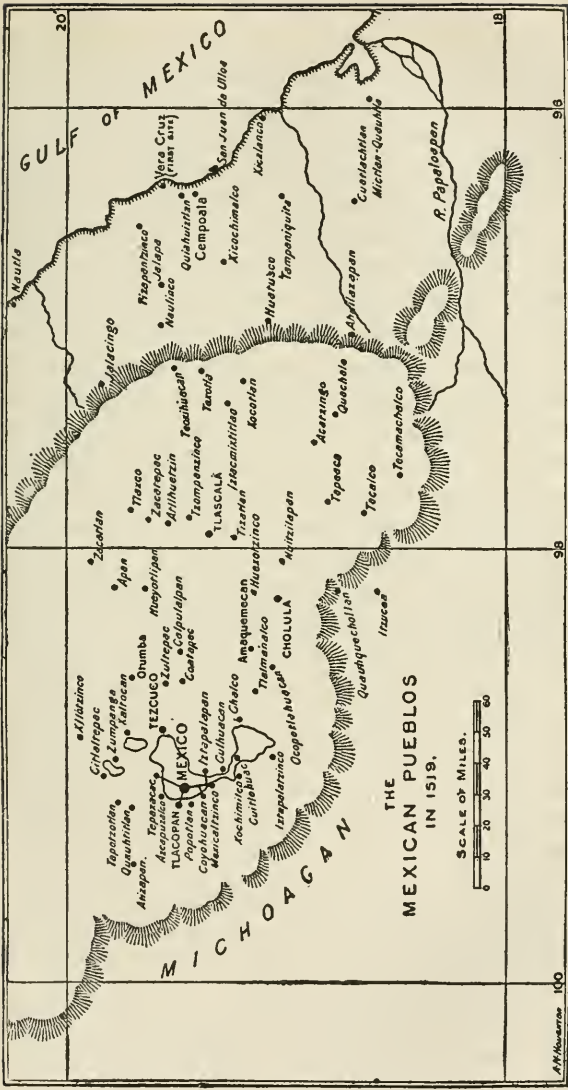
¹ See the striking passage in his *Spanish Conquest*, vol. iii. p. 547.

and, if a principal chief, the office reverted to the tribe and was at once filled." But when the Spaniards took the principal chief and held him captive, he "remained alive and in possession of his office, so that it could not be filled. The action of the people was paralyzed by novel circumstances."¹ Cortes put the Cempoalans in this position, and learned a lesson from which he was soon to profit on a tremendous scale. The Cempoalans were overawed, and looked on in silence while their temples were purified and crosses set up. By one of the many strange coincidences in this meeting of two grades of culture so widely sundered, the cross was not only a Christian but also a Mexican symbol. It was one of the emblems of Quetzalcoatl, as lord of the four cardinal points and the four winds that blow therefrom. Doubtless, therefore, many of the Cempoalans must have reasoned that the overthrow of the idols was no more than Tezcatlipoca had a right to expect from his great adversary. Others doubtless fumed with rage, but when it came to venting their wrath in some kind of united action they knew not how to act without their chiefs.

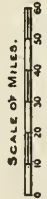
It was on the 16th of August, 1519, that Cortes started from Cempoala on his march toward the city of Mexico. His route lay past Xicochimalco and Teoxihuacan to Texotla, and thence to Xocotlan,² a town described as having thirteen pyramid-temples, whence we may perhaps infer that the people were grouped in thirteen clans. The Span-

¹ Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 211, note.

² The route is well described in Bancroft's *Mexico*, chap. xii.



THE
MEXICAN PUEBLOS
IN 1519.



iards had now climbed to the plateau of Anáhuac, more than 7,000 feet above the level of the sea. At Xocotlan fifty men were sacrificed to them as to deities, and cakes dipped in the blood of the victims were offered them to eat.¹ From this horrible place they passed on to Iztacmixtitlan, whence after a halt of three days they marched upon Tlascala. This powerful pueblo, as we have seen, had successfully withstood all attempts of the Aztecs to extort tribute from it. When the fierce Tlascalans learned that the strangers were approaching their town, they had an interesting discussion in their tribal council which reveals to us the opposing views that were probably entertained in every pueblo in the land. One chieftain, Maxixcatzin, argued that the Spaniards were probably gods whom it was idle to think of resisting. Another chieftain, Xicotencatl,² thought that this view was at least doubtful enough to be worth testing; the strangers assumed odious airs of authority, but they were a mere handful in number, and the men of Tlascala were invincible; by way of experiment, at all events, it was worth while to fight. After much debate this counsel prevailed, and the tawny warriors went forth against the Spaniards. Bernal Diaz says there

¹ Gomara, 68; Duran, ii. 401-408; Sahagun, 14; Acosta, 518; Torquemada, i. 417; cited in Bancroft, *op. cit.* i. 196. See also Clavigero, *Storia antica del Messico*, ii. 69; Müller, *Geschichte der Amerikanischen Urreligionen*, p. 631.

² Mr. Bandelier regards Maxixcatzin and Xicotencatl as sharing the office of head war-chief, an instance of dual executive quite common in ancient America. *Peabody Museum Reports*, ii. 660.

were 50,000 of them in the field, and later writers have swelled the number to 150,000. In studying the conquest of Mexico one soon gets used to this sort of thing. Too many of its historians belong to a school of which Falstaff, with his men in buckram, was the founder. Bernal Diaz was an eye-witness; he took part in the battle, and, if we strike off about one cipher from his figure and make it 5,000, we shall get somewhere within the bounds of credibility, and the odds will remain sufficiently great to attest the valour of the Spaniards. The Tlascalan army was apparently marshalled in phratries, one of them from the allied pueblo of Huexotzinco. They were distinguished by the colours of their war-paint. They wore quilted cotton doublets, and carried leather shields stretched upon a framework of bamboo and decorated with feathers. Upon their heads they wore helmets of stout leather fashioned and trimmed with feather-work so as to look like heads of snakes or jaguars, and the chiefs were distinguished by gorgeous plumes. Their weapons were long bows, arrows tipped with obsidian, copper-pointed lances, slings, javelins, and heavy wooden swords with sharp blades of obsidian inserted in both edges.¹ With this barbaric host the Spaniards had two days of desultory fighting. By the end of that time a great many Tlascalans had been killed; a few Spaniards had been wounded, and one or two had been killed,² but

Battle between Spaniards and Tlascalans.

¹ Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. ii. pp. 406-410.

² The ingrained Mexican custom of trying to capture their

they were so carefully buried by their comrades that the enemy did not learn the fact, and it was sagely concluded that the white men must be more than mortal.

The sturdy Xicotencatl, however, was not willing to give up the case without one more trial. He took counsel with soothsayers, and the opinion was suggested that the strangers, as solar deities, were very probably dependent for their strength, and perhaps for their invulnerability, upon direct contact with the solar radiance. Possibly in the

Scheme of the
Tlascalan
soothsayers.

night-time they might turn out to be mortal. At all events it was worth trying, and Xicotencatl made up his mind to act on his own account that very night. In making his preparations for an attack he sent a small party of spies to the Spanish camp with presents and soft words. They were to watch things keenly, and bring back such information as might prove useful. Some were to stay in the camp and at an appointed signal set fire to it. Cortes received these Indians graciously, but presently their behaviour excited suspicion, and to their utter terror and confusion they suddenly found themselves arrested and charged with treachery! There was no use in lying to superhuman beings who clearly possessed the godlike power of

enemies for sacrifice, instead of slaying them on the field, is cited by Bandelier as a reason why more Spaniards did not get killed in these straggling fights. "Thus, for the sake of capturing a single horseman, they recklessly sacrificed numbers of their own, when they thought to be able to surround him, and cut him off from his corps or detachment. The custom was general among the Nahuatlac tribes." *Peabody Museum Reports*, ii. 128.

reading the secret thoughts of men; so the spies, or some of them, made confession. Thus informed of the situation, Cortes waited till nightfall, and then cut off the thumbs of the spies and sent them to tell Xicotencatl that he would find the white man as invincible by night as by day.¹

Cortes followed the messengers at no great distance with a party of horsemen; and while the Tlascalan warriors were limp with amazement at this penetration of their design, the party charged in among them at full gallop, scattering them in wildest panic and cutting them down by the score.²

Complete
triumph of
Cortes.

It was clear that nothing was to be gained by opposing these children of the sun. The unfortunate soothsayers who had advised the night attack were disembowelled, stewed with chile pepper, and served in a ragout; and the Tlascalan tribal council, taught wisdom by adversity, decided to improve the situation by making an alliance with the wielders of thunder and lightning, and enlisting, if possible, their resistless strength in the work of humbling Tlascala's ancient enemy. Upon the people of the Aztec Confederacy these events made a most profound impression. They freely acknowledged that beings who could so easily defeat the Tlascalans must be more than human. But when it was

Alliance be-
tween Tlasca-
lans and
Spaniards.

¹ "Y los embió para que dixessen a Xicotēcatl su capitán-general, que lo mismo haria de quantas espías pudiesse auer, y que fuesse cõ su exercito, porque siempre conoceria que los Castellanos eran inuencibles de día y de noche." Herrera, decad. ii. lib. vi. cap. 8.

² Diaz, *Historia verdadera*, cap. xlvii.-1.

learned that these dreaded strangers had entered into friendly alliance with the "republic" of Tlascalala,¹ and were now leading an army of its warriors toward Tenochtitlan, we can well imagine the consternation that must have pervaded the streets of that great pueblo.

From this time the community of interests kept the Tlascalans faithful to the white men even after the illusion as to their supernatural qualities had died away. If we would form a true conception of the conquest of Mexico by a handful of Spaniards, we must remember that Tlascalala, with its few allied pueblos, had shown itself nearly a match for the Aztec Confederacy; and the advantage of this alliance was now added to the peculiar combination of circumstances that made the Spaniards so formidable.

Affairs having duly been arranged at Tlascalala, the little army, now followed by a formidable body of dusky allies, approached Cholula, a strong pueblo allied with the Confederacy and especially identified with the worship of Quetzalcoatl.² The town was not only one of the principal markets in Mexico, but it was held in much reverence for its religious associa-

Treachery at Cholula, discovered by Doña Marina.

¹ It is curious to see Tlascalala commonly mentioned as a "republic" and the Aztec Confederacy as an "empire," ruled by an absolute monarch, when in reality the supreme power in both was vested in the tribal councils. This indicates that the Aztec *tlacatecuhtli* had acquired higher dignity than that merely of head war-chief. He had joined to this the dignity of chief priest, as we shall see.

² There is an excellent account of Cholula in Bandelier's *Archæological Tour*, pp. 79-262.

tions. With the aid and approval of emissaries from Tenochtitlan, the chiefs of Cholula prepared an ambushade for the Spaniards, who were politely and cordially admitted into the town with the intention of entrapping them. But with Cortes there was a handsome young Indian woman from Tabasco, who had fallen in love with him there and remained his faithful companion through all the trials of the conquest. Her aid was invaluable, since to a thorough familiarity with the Nahuatl and Maya languages she soon added a knowledge of Spanish, and for quick wit and fertility of resource she was like Morgiana in the story of the Forty Thieves. The name given to this young woman on the occasion of her conversion and baptism was Marina, which in Nahuatl mouths became Malina, and oddly enough the most common epithet applied to Cortes, by Montezuma and others, was Malintzin or Malinche, "lord of Marina." It was through her keenness that the plot of the Cholultec chiefs was discovered and frustrated. Having ascertained the full extent of their plans, Cortes summoned the principal chiefs of Cholula to a conference, announced his intention of starting on the morrow for Tenochtitlan, and with an air of innocent trust in them, he asked them to furnish him with an additional supply of food and with an auxiliary force of Cholulans. In childish glee at this presumed simplicity, and confident that for once the white stranger was not omniscient, the chiefs readily promised the men and provisions. Several three-year-old babes had been sacrificed that day, and

The gods too
confident.

the auspices were favourable. So the chiefs spent the night in arranging their *coup de main* for the next morning, while Cortes saw that his cannon were placed in suitable positions for raking the streets. In the morning a throng of Cholultec warriors crowded into the square where the Spaniards were quartered, and the chiefs felt so sure of their game that to the number of thirty or more they accepted an invitation to meet "Malinche" in private and receive his parting blessing. When they were assembled, and with them the Aztec emissaries, whom Cortes took care to have at hand, they heard such words as froze them with terror. It seems that, here as well as at Tlascala, there were two parties, one counselling submission, the other resistance, only here the resistance had assumed the form of treachery. Having been primed by Marina with full and accurate information, Cortes conveyed to the astounded chiefs the secret history of their little scheme, and informed them that they were his prisoners, but he knew how to separate sheep from goats and only the guilty should be punished. As for Montezuma, though it was said that he was privy to the Cholulan plot, Cortes declared himself unwilling to believe such a slander against one whom he had always understood to be a worthy prince. It was his policy for the moment to soothe the emissaries from Tenochtitlan while he exhibited his fiend-like power. We can dimly imagine the paralyzing amazement and terror as the chiefs who had counselled submission were picked out and taken aside. At this moment the thunder of ar-

Massacre at
Cholula.

tillery, never heard before in Cholula, burst upon the ear. Bloody lanes were ploughed through the mass of dusky warriors in the square, hippocentaurs clad in shining brass charged in among them, and the Tlascaltec warriors, who had been encamped outside, now rushed into the town and began a general massacre. Several hundred, perhaps some thousands, were slain, including the head war-chief. Of the captured chiefs a few were burned at the stake, doubtless as a warning example for Montezuma. Cortes then released all the caged victims fattening for sacrifice, and resumed his march.

From Cholula the little army proceeded to Huexotzinco and thence to Amaquemecan, where they were met by chiefs from Tlalmanalco, inveighing against the tyranny of the Aztecs and begging for deliverance. Passing Tlalmanalco and Iztapalatzinco, the Spaniards went on to Cuiclahuac, situated upon the causeway leading across the lake of Chalco. This was one of the many towns in the lately-found Indies which reminded the Spaniards of Venice; i. e. it was built over the water, with canals for streets. Its floating gardens and its houses glistening in their stucco of white gypsum delighted the eyes of the Spaniards. Crossing the causeway they marched on to Iztapalapan, where they arrived on the 7th of November, 1519, and saw before them the Queen First sight of Tenochtitlan. of Pueblos. "And when we beheld," says Bernal Diaz, "so many cities and towns rising up from the water, and other populous places situated on the terra firma, and that causeway, straight as a

level, which went into Mexico, we remained astonished, and said to one another that it appeared like the enchanted castles which they tell of in the book of Amadis, by reason of the great towers, temples, and edifices which there were in the



water, and all of them work of masonry. Some of our soldiers asked if this that they saw was not a thing in a dream.”¹

It may well be called the most romantic moment in all history, this moment when European eyes

¹ Diaz, *Historia verdadera*, cap. lxxxvii.

first rested upon that city of wonders, the chief ornament of a stage of social evolution two full ethnical periods behind their own. To say that it was like stepping back across the centuries to visit the Nineveh of Sennacherib or hundred-gated Thebes is but inadequately to depict the situation, for it was a longer step than that. Such chances do not come twice to mankind, for when two grades of culture so widely severed are brought into contact, the stronger is apt to blight and crush the weaker where it does not amend and transform it. In spite of its foul abominations, one sometimes feels that one would like to recall that extinct state of society in order to study it. The devoted lover of history, who ransacks all sciences for aid toward understanding the course of human events, who knows in what unexpected ways one stage of progress often illustrates other stages, will sometimes wish it were possible to resuscitate, even for one brief year, the vanished City of the Cactus Rock. Could such a work of enchantment be performed, however, our first feeling would doubtless be one of ineffable horror and disgust, like that of the knight in the old English ballad, who folding in his arms a damsel of radiant beauty finds himself in the embrace of a loathsome fiend.

A most romantic moment.

But inasmuch as the days of magic are long since past, and the ointment of the wise dervise, that enabled one to see so many rich and buried secrets, has forever lost its virtues, the task for the modern student is simply the prosaic one of

setting down such few details as can be gathered from the Spanish narratives¹ and sifted in view of what little we know about such points as the Spaniards were liable to misinterpret. A few such details will help us to understand the way in which this archaic phase of human development was so abruptly cut short.

The city of Mexico stood in a salt lake, and was approached by three causeways of solid masonry, each, as the Spanish soldiers said, two lances in breadth, which might mean from twenty to thirty feet. Being from four to five miles in length, and assailable on both sides by the canoes of the city's defenders, they were very dangerous avenues for an enemy, whether advancing or retreating. Near the city these causeways were interrupted by wooden drawbridges. Then they were continued into the city as main thoroughfares, and met in the great square where the temple stood. The city was also connected with the

The cause-
ways.

¹ My authorities for the description of Tenochtitlan are Cortes, *Cartas y relaciones al emperador Carlos V.*, Paris, 1866; Bernal Diaz, *Historia verdadera*, Madrid, 1632; Icazbalceta, *Coleccion de documentos*, etc., Mexico, 1858-66; *Relazione fatta per un gentil' huomo del Signor Fernando Cortese*, apud Ramusio, *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, Venice, 1556; Tezozomoc, *Histoire de Mexique*, Paris, 1853; Ixtlilxochitl, *Relaciones*, apud Kingsborough's *Mexican Antiquities*, London, 1831-48, vol. ix.; Sahagun, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, Mexico, 1829; Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, Madrid, 1723; Clavigero, *Storia antica del Messico*, Cesena, 1780; Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, Madrid, 1851-55; Gomara, *Historia de Mexico*, Antwerp, 1554; Herrera, *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos* etc., Madrid, 1601; Veytia, *Historia antigua de Mejico*, Mexico 1836; Vetancurt, *Teatro mexicano*, Mexico, 1870.

mainland by an aqueduct in solid masonry leading down from Chapultepec. The streets might have reminded one of Venice, in so far as some were canals alive with canoes, while others were dry footpaths paved with hard cement, and the footways often crossed the canals on bridges. These paths and canals ran between immense houses of red stone, many of them coated with a hard white stucco. The houses enclosed great courtyards, and vast as were the spaces The houses. covered by them there was seldom a third story. The low flat roofs, often covered with flower-gardens, were protected by stone parapets with small towers at intervals, so that every house was a fortress. The effect must have been extremely picturesque. Military precautions were everywhere visible. The bridges across the canals could be drawn up at a moment's notice. The windows were mere loop-holes, and they as well as the doorways were open. The entrance to the house could be barricaded, but doors had not been invented. Sometimes a kind of bamboo screen was hung in the doorway and secured by a cross-bar; sometimes, especially in interior doorways, there were hangings of cotton or feather-work.¹

¹ The portière is much more ancient than the door, and goes back at least as far as the lower period of barbarism; as e. g. the Mandan buffalo robe above mentioned, vol. i. p. 81. The Greeks in the upper period of barbarism had true doors with hinges and latches. One of the cosiest pictures in the delicious *Odyssey* is that of the old nurse Eurykleia showing Telemachus to his chamber, when leaving him tucked under the woollen rug she goes out, and closes the door with its silver ring and fastens the latch with a thong: —

ᾠξεν δὲ θύρας θαλάμου πύκα ποιητοῖο,
ἔζετο δ' ἐν λέκτρῳ, μαλακὸν δ' ἔκδυνε χιτῶνα·

The number of the houses and of their occupants has been the subject of curious misapprehensions. The Licentiate Zuazo, a scholarly and careful man whom Cortes left in charge of the city in 1524, and who ought to be good authority, said that there were 60,000 *vecinos*.¹ As I have before observed,² this Spanish word may mean either "inhabitants" or "householders." The latter interpretation was given to it by Gomara and Peter Martyr,³ and has been generally adopted; but as nobody has given the circumference of the city as more than four leagues, and as it was in all probability less than that,⁴ there would not have begun to be room enough for 60,000 of these huge houses, along with the space occupied by canals and open squares, temples with their pyramids, and gardens between the houses.⁵ The book of one of Cortes's com-

The popula-
tion.

καὶ τὸν μὲν γραίης πυκιμηδέος ἔμβαλε χερσίν.
ἡ μὲν τὸν πτύξασα καὶ ἀσκήσασα χιτῶνα,
πασσάλῳ ἀγκρεμάσασα παρὰ τρητοῖς λεχέεσσιν,
βῆ ῥ' ἴμεν ἐκ θαλάμοιο, θύρην δ' ἐπέρυσσε κορῶνῃ
ἀργυρέῃ, ἐπὶ δὲ κληῖδ' ἐτάνυσσεν ἱμάντι.
ἔνθ' ὄγε παννύχιος, κεκαλυμμένος οἶδς ἄωτῳ,
βούλευε φρεσὶν ἦσιν ὁδὸν τὴν πέφραδ' Ἀθήνη.

Odyssey, i. 436.

M. Charnay, in his investigations at Uxmal, found "four rings or stone hooks inside the doorways near the top, from which it is easy to conjecture that a wooden board was placed inside against the opening, and kept in place by two transversal bars entering the stone hooks." *Ancient Cities of the New World*, p. 398.

¹ *Carta de Licenciado Zuazo*, MS., apud Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, bk. iv. chap. i.

² See above, vol. i. p. 95.

³ Gomara, *Crónica de la Nueva España*, Saragossa, 1554, cap. lxxviii.; Martyr, *De Orbe Novo*, dec. v. cap. iii.

⁴ Bandelier, *Archæological Tour*, p. 50.

⁵ "Nearly all the old authors describe the public buildings as

panions, known as the Anonymous Conqueror, survives only in an Italian translation, and this has 60,000 *habitori*, which can mean nothing

surrounded by pleasure-grounds or ornamental gardens. It is very striking that, the pueblo having been founded in 1325, and nearly a century having been spent in adding sufficient artificial sod to the originally small solid expanse settled, the Mexicans could have been ready so soon to establish purely decorative parks within an area, every inch of which was valuable to them for subsistence alone!" Bandelier, in *Peabody Museum Reports*, vol. ii. p. 422. That the corn-growers of Tenochtitlan were cramped for room is plain from the fact that they constructed "floating gardens," or rafts covered with black loam which were moored at various points in the shallow lake. These artificial gardens (*chinampas*) were usually rectangular in shape and from thirty to fifty yards in length; maize, beans, tomatoes, and other vegetables were raised in them. See Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, tom. ii. p. 483; Acosta, *Historia de las Indias*, p. 472; Clavigero, *Storia di Messico*, tom. ii. p. 152. This practice indicates that there was no superfluous space in the city. Nevertheless the testimony of "nearly all the old authors," that extensive flower gardens were to be seen, is not to be lightly rejected. Flowers were used in many of the religious festivals, and there is abundant evidence, moreover, that the Mexicans were very fond of them. This is illustrated in the perpetual reference to flowers in old Mexican poems:—"They led me within a valley to a fertile spot, a flowery spot, where the dew spread out in glittering splendour, where I saw various lovely fragrant flowers, lovely odorous flowers, clothed with the dew, scattered around in rainbow glory; there they said to me, 'Pluck the flowers, whichever thou wishest, mayest thou the singer be glad, and give them to thy friends, to the chiefs, that they may rejoice on the earth.' So I gathered in the folds of my garment the various fragrant flowers, delicate scented, delicious," etc. Brinton, *Ancient Nahuatl Poetry*, p. 57. Of the twenty-seven ancient Mexican songs in this interesting collection, there is scarcely one that does not abound with ecstatic allusions to flowers:—"The delicious breath of the dewy flowers is in our homes in Chiapas;" "my soul was drunken with the flowers;" "let me gather the intoxicating flowers, many coloured, varied in hue," etc.

but inhabitants.¹ Taking 60,000 as the population, which seems a reasonable figure, the number of communal houses can hardly have exceeded 300, as the number of persons in a house can hardly have averaged less than 200. We have already, in the first chapter of this work, seen how the organization of the Aztec tribe in four phratries divided the city into four quarters, each with its curial temple and peculiar ceremonies. It reminds one of the threefold division of Rome by tribes at the time when the Ramnes occupied the Palatine hill, while the Titii lived on the Quirinal, and the Luceres on the Esquiline.² The communal houses, as Richard Eden has it, were "palaices of maruelous bygnes, and curiously buylded with many pleasaunt diuises." Upon the front of each was sculptured the totem or beast-symbol of the clan to which it belonged, that upon the one in which Montezuma received the strangers being an eagle with a wildcat (*ocelotl*) grasped in its beak. It was customary to carve upon the jambs, on either side of the doorway, enormous serpents with gaping mouths.

The dress of the people was of cotton, the men

¹ *Relazione fatta per un gentil' huomo del Signor rernando Cortese*, apud Ramusio, *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, Venice, 1556, tom. iii. fol. 309. Mr. Morgan (*Ancient Society*, p. 195) thinks the number of inhabitants could not have exceeded 30,000, but I see no reason for doubting the statements of Zuazo and the Anonymous Conqueror.

² Tlatelulco constituted a fifth quarter, for the Tlatelulcans, who had been conquered in 1473, deprived of tribal rights, and partially re-adopted; an interesting case, for which see Bandler, *Peabody Museum Reports*, ii. 593.

wearing loose cloaks and ample fringed sashes, and the women long robes reaching to the ground. These cotton garments were ^{Dress.} often elaborately embroidered and dyed with the rich scarlet of the cochineal. Capes of fur or doublets of feather-work were worn in cold weather. The feet were protected by a kind of sandal, and the head by a white cotton hood. The hair was ordinarily worn long, and a deep violet hair-dye was used by the women. Faces were sometimes smeared with red or yellow ointment, and the teeth stained with cochineal. Gold and silver bracelets and anklets and rings for fingers, ears, and nose were worn by men and women.

In the interior of the houses cedar and other fine woods were used for partitions and ^{Interiors.} ceilings. The chief decorations were the mural tapestries woven of the gorgeous plumage of parrots, pheasants, cardinals, and humming-birds, and one purpose of the many aviaries was to furnish such feathers. Except a few small tables and stools, there was not much furniture. Palm-leaf mats piled on the hard cemented floor served as beds, and sometimes there were coverlets of cotton or feather-work. Resinous torches were used for lights. The principal meal of the day was served on low tables, the people sitting on mats or cushions in long rows around the sides of the room, with their backs against the wall. A lighted brazier stood in the middle, and before tasting the food each person threw a ^{Dinner.} morsel into the brazier as an offering to the fire-god. The commonest meat was the

turkey, a bird as characteristic of Mexico as its cactuses. The name of this fowl preserves a curious illustration of the mixture of truth and error which had led to the discovery of America. When it was first introduced into European barnyards in 1530, people named it on the theory that it was an Asiatic fowl. The Germans for a while called it *Calecutische hahn* or Calicut cock; the French still call it *dinde*, which at first was *poulet d'Inde* or India fowl; and the English called it the Turkey fowl; but the Oriental country which it came from was really Mexico, many thousand miles east of Asia.

Cookery had made some progress among the Aztecs. Indian meal beaten up with eggs was baked in loaves, and there were cakes resembling the modern *tortilla*. Then there was the *tamale*, a kind of pie of meat and vegetables with a covering of Indian meal. Fresh fish were abundant. There were various ragouts intensely hot with
Dishes. tabasco and chile sauce. Bernal Diaz counted thirty such dishes upon Montezuma's table. One favourite mess was frog spawn and stewed ants peppered with chile; another was human flesh cooked in like manner. To the cannibalism almost universal among American aborigines the people of Mexico and Central America added this epicure's touch.¹

¹ The first dish mentioned by Bernal Diaz seemed to Mr. Prescott both startling and apocryphal, and even the old soldier himself, in spite of the cannibalism he had witnessed, was slow to admit the truth of what he was told. It was a fricassee of very young children: — "E como por passatiempo oi dezir, que le solian guisar carnes de muchachos de poca edad," etc. (*Historia verdadera*, cap. xci.) When we bear in mind, however, that in

These viands were kept hot by means of chafing dishes and were served on earthenware bowls or

times of public excitement and peril it was customary to obtain the auspices by sacrificing young children, and that the flesh of the human victim seems invariably to have been eaten, there is nothing at all improbable in what was told to Diaz.

Sir Henry Yule, in one of his learned notes to Marco Polo, mentions instances which show the connection between cannibalism and sundry folk-lore notions; e. g. "after an execution at Peking certain large pith balls are steeped in the blood, and under the name of *blood-bread* are sold as a medicine for consumption. It is only to the blood of decapitated criminals that any such healing power is attributed." There is evidence that this remnant of cannibalism is not yet extinct in China. Among civilized peoples in modern times instances of cannibalism have been for the most part confined to shipwrecked crews in the last stages of famine. Among savages and barbarians of low type, famine and folk-lore probably combine to support the custom. When the life of the Jesuit priest Brébeuf had gone out amid diabolical torments, during which he had uttered neither cry nor groan, an Iroquois chief tore out his heart and devoured it for the very practical purpose of acquiring all that courage; on the other hand, when one of Mr. Darwin's party asked some Fuegians why they did not eat their dogs instead of their grandmothers, they replied, probably in some amusement at his ignorance of sound economical principles, "Doggies catch otters; old women no!" In mediæval Europe instances of cannibalism can be traced to scarcity of food, and among the Turks there seem to have been cases quite sufficient to explain the fabulous picture of King Richard, in the presence of Saladin's ambassadors, dining on a curried Saracen's head

"soden full hastily
With powder and with spysory,
And with saffron of good colour."

In the interior of northern Sumatra dwell a people called Battas, civilized enough to use a phonetic alphabet. Their ancient cannibalism is now restricted by law. Three classes of persons are condemned to be eaten; 1. a commoner guilty of adultery with a Rajah's wife; 2. enemies taken in battle outside their own village; 3. traitors and spies, in default of a ransom equivalent to 60 dollars a head. See Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i. pp. 275-277; vol. ii. p. 231; Parkman, *Jesuits in North America*, p. 389; Darwin, *Voyage of the Beagle*, London, 1870, p. 214.

plates, for the making of which Cholula was especially noted. Chocolate, flavoured with
 Drinks. vanilla, was the ordinary beverage. Food was handled with the fingers, but bowls of water and towels were brought in at the end of the meal, and the next thing in order was to smoke tobacco and get drunk with *pulque*, the fermented juice of the century plant.¹

The trade implied by this sort of life was not done in shops. There were no shops in this Aztec pueblo, but two spacious market-places, with fairs
 Markets. every fifth day. There were displayed foods, cloths, and ornaments; tools, weapons, and building materials; mats and stools, dye-stuffs and pottery. Traffic was chiefly barter, but there were such rudimentary attempts at currency as quills packed with gold-dust, bags of cocoa seed, and queer little bits of copper and tin shaped like the letter T. There were no coins or scales, and selling by weight was unknown. In most of the pueblos traders came in from the country, or from other towns, with their wares borne on litters, the only kind of wagon or carriage in use; but in Mexico such conveyance was done chiefly by canoes. In the market-place there were booths where criminals were tried and sentenced.

¹ The maguey, or *Agave americana*, sometimes called American aloe. One of these plants in a green tub stood on either side of the steps leading up to the front door of George Nupkins, Esq., magistrate, in Ipswich (*Pickwick Papers*, chap. xxv.). For a good account of the many and great uses of the century-plant, see Baudelier, *Archæological Tour*, p. 217; Garcilasso, *Comentarios reales*, pt. i. lib. viii. cap. 13. From the pulque, a kind of strong brandy, called *mescal*, is distilled.

Crime was frequent, and punishment swift and cruel.¹ Another feature of the market-place would seem in itself to epitomize all the incongruousness of this strange Aztec world. A barber's shop seems to suggest civilization as vividly as a stone knife suggests barbarism. In the Mexican market there were booths where the scanty beards of the dusky warriors were shaved with razors of obsidian!²

Close by the principal market and in the centre of the pueblo was the great enclosure of the temple, surrounded by stone walls eight feet in height, and entered by four gateways, ^{The temple.} one from each of the wards or quarters above described. Within were not less than twenty *teocallis*, or truncated pyramids, the tallest of which was the one dedicated to the war-god. It was ascended by stone stairs on the outside, and as the Spaniards counted 114 stairs it was probably not far from 100 feet in height. This height was divided into five stages, in such wise that a man, after ascending the first flight of stairs, would walk on a flat terrace or ledge around to the opposite side of the pyramid, and there mount the second flight. Thus the religious processions on their way to the summit would wind four times about the pyramid, greatly enhancing the spectacular effect. This may or may not have been the purpose of the arrangement; it was at any rate one of its

¹ The subject of crimes and punishments in ancient Mexico is well summarized by Bandelier, *Peabody Museum Reports*, vol. ii. pp. 623-633.

² Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, bk. iv. chap. ii.; on American beards, cf. Brinton, *The American Race*, p. 40.

results. On the summit was a dreadful block of jasper, convex at the top, so that when the human victim was laid upon his back and held down, the breast was pushed upward, ready for the priest to make one deep slashing cut and snatch out the heart. Near the sacrificial block were the altars and sanctuaries of the gods Tezcatlipoca, Huitzilopochtli, and others, with idols as hideous as their names.¹ On these altars smoked fresh human hearts, of which the gods were fond, while other parts of the bodies were made ready for the kitchens of the communal houses below. The gods were voracious as wolves, and the victims were numerous.² In some cases

¹ See the photograph of an idol, probably of Huitzilopochtli, dug up in 1790 near the cathedral, which stands on the site of the heathen temple, in Bandelier, *Archæological Tour*, p. 59.

² A native Mexican author, born in 1579, says that at the dedication of the new temple to Huitzilopochtli, in 1487, the number of victims was 80,600 (Chimalpahin Quauhtleuanitzin, *Sixième et Septième Relations*, ed. Siméon, Paris, 1889, p. 158). I rather think that, even for such a grand occasion, we must at least cut off a cipher. There can be little doubt, however, that within this whole snake-worshipping world of Mexico and Central America there were many thousand victims yearly, — men, women, and children. A very complete view, with many of the hideous details, is given in Bancroft's *Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. ii. pp. 302-341, 687-714; see also Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 40; Stephens, *Central America*, vol. ii. p. 185. For a human sacrifice among the Pawnees, somewhat similar to the Mexican custom, see Brinton, *The American Race*, p. 97. For some references to human sacrifices among the ancient Germans and Huns, see Gibbon, chap. xxx., xxxiv.; Leo, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes*, Halle, 1854, bd. i. p. 96; Mone, *Geschichte des Heidenthums*, Leipsic, 1822, ii. 20, 136; Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vol. i. p. 244; among the Saxons, Sidonius Apollinaris, lib. viii. epist. 6; among the Carthaginians, Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. xii. p. 565.

the heart was thrust into the mouth of the idol with a golden spoon, in others its lips were simply daubed with blood. In the temple a great quantity of rattlesnakes, kept as sacred objects, were fed with the entrails of the victims. Other parts of the body were given to the menagerie beasts, which were probably also kept for purposes of religious symbolism. Blood was also rubbed in the mouths of the carved serpents upon the jambs and lintels of the houses. The walls and floor of the great temple were clotted with blood and shreds of human flesh, and the smell was like that of a slaughter-house. Just outside the temple, in front of the broad street that led across the causeway to Tlacopan, stood the *tzompantli*, which was "an oblong sloping parallelogram of earth and masonry, one hundred and fifty-four feet [long] at the base, ascended by thirty steps, on each of which were skulls. Round the summit The place of skulls. were upwards of seventy raised poles about four feet apart, connected by numerous rows of cross-poles passed through holes in the masts, on each of which five skulls were filed, the sticks being passed through the temples. In the centre stood two towers, or columns, made of skulls and lime, the face of each skull being turned outwards, and giving a horrible appearance to the whole. This effect was heightened by leaving the heads of distinguished captives in their natural state, with hair and skin on. As the skulls decayed, or fell from the towers or poles, they were replaced by others, so that no vacant place was left."¹ If Lucretius could have visited such a

¹ Bancroft, *Native Races*, etc., vol. ii. p. 586.

tzompantli he would have found a fit text for his sermon on the evils of religion.

It was into this strange city that on the 8th of November, 1519, Montezuma, making the best of bitter necessity, welcomed his long-bearded visitors with timorous politeness, and assigned them a great house near the temple for their lodgings. This house is supposed to have been a *tecpan* or tribal council-house built in the time of Axayacatl, but for some reason superseded in general use by another *tecpan* since built in the same neighbourhood. It was large enough to afford ample accommodation for the 450 Spaniards with their 1,000 or more Tlascalan allies, and Cortes forthwith proceeded quietly to station his sentinels along the parapet and to place his cannon where they could do the most good. After a few days spent in accepting the hospitalities proffered by Montezuma and in studying the city and its people, the Spanish commander went to work with that keen and deadly sagacity which never failed him. Safety required that some step should be taken. From what had occurred at Tlascala and Cholula, it is fair to suppose that in Tenochtitlan also there were two parties, the one inclined to submit to the strangers as representatives of Quetzalcoatl, the other disposed to resist them as interlopers. With time the latter counsels were almost certain to prevail. Familiarity with the sight of the strangers about the streets would deaden the vague terror which their presence at first inspired. Ceasing to be dreaded as gods they

Entry of
the Spaniards
into Tenoch-
titlan.

would not cease to be regarded as foreigners, and to the warrior of Tenochtitlan a foreigner was interesting chiefly as meat, — for his idols, his rattlesnakes, and himself. Whether as strangers or as emissaries of Quetzalcoatl, the Spaniards had already incurred the deadly hatred of those obscene carrion-birds, the priests of the black Tezcatlipoca and his ally Huitzilopochtli. And then had they not brought into the city a host of its eternal enemies the Tlascalans? How would the Romans of Hannibal's time have felt and acted toward anybody who should insolently have brought into Rome a force of Carthaginians? It was clear enough to Cortes and his men that their situation was excessively dangerous. A dangerous situation. Sooner or later an outbreak was to be expected, and when it should come the danger was immeasurably greater than before Tlascala or in Cholula; for if the people should simply decide to blockade and starve the Spaniards, there would be no escape save by a desperate fight through the streets and along those interminable causeways. Truly no hero of fairyland astray in an ogre's castle was ever in worse predicament than Cortes and his little army cooped in this stronghold of cannibals! There was no ground for surprise if they should one and all get dragged to the top of the great pyramid on their way to the kettles of the communal kitchens.

It was therefore necessary to act decisively and at once, while all the glamour of strangeness still enveloped them. Cortes acted upon the principle that the boldest course was the safest. A blow

must be struck so promptly and decisively as to forestall and fatally cripple resistance, and here Cortes was aided by his experience at Cempoala. One can hardly fail to see that on that occasion, as at present, his own extraordinary sagacity must have derived no little aid from such facts about the ideas and habits of the people as his keenly observant and devoted Marina could tell him. We have seen that at Cempoala the capture of a few chiefs quite paralyzed the people, so that even if the party opposed to the Spaniards had prevailed in the council it would probably have been for a time incapacitated for action. It seems to me that this incapacity arose from the paramount necessity of performing sacrifices and taking the auspices before fighting, and that nobody but the head war-chief — or, in the case of a dual executive, perhaps one of the two head war-chiefs — was properly qualified to perform these ceremonies. Early Greek and Roman history afford abundant illustrations of a stage of culture in which people did not dare to precipitate hostilities without the needful preliminary rites; since to do so would simply enrage the tutelary deities and invite destruction. If we would understand the conduct of ancient men we must not forget how completely their minds were steeped in folk-lore.

Now we have already had occasion to observe that the people of the Aztec Confederacy had joined the priestly to the military function in their *tlacatecuhtli*, or “chief-of-men,” thus taking a step toward developing the office to the point at

Effect of
seizing the
head war-
chief.

tained by the Greek *basileus*, or king, of the Homeric period.¹ We learn from Sahagun that in ancient Mexico there were two high-priests, and the first of these was called Quetzalcoatl and surnamed *Totec*, "our Lord."² Now one of Montezuma's titles, as shown by his picture in the Codex Vaticanus, was *Quetzalcoatl Totec tlamazqui* (i. e. Quetzalcoatl our Lord Priest) of Huitzilopochtli. As supreme military commander, Montezuma's title was *Tlacochehuhtli* or *Tlacochealcatl*. For the generalissimo to become chief priest of the war-god is a development so natural and so practical that we find it repeated in every society where we have data for tracing back the kingship to its origins. In Mexican mythology the primitive Totec was a comrade of the fair god Quetzalcoatl; this cheerful creature used to go about clad in a garment of human skins, and Torquemada tells us of a certain great festival at which Montezuma performed a religious dance clothed in such a garment. Torquemada adds that to the best of his knowledge and belief this was not a freak of Montezuma's, but an ancestral custom.³ Clearly it was a symbolic identification of Montezuma with Totec. At the ceremony of investiture with the office of *tlacatehuhtli*, Montezuma was solemnly invested with the garments of the war-god, a blue breechcloth and blue sandals, a cloak of blue network, and a necklace and diadem of turquoises. His fan-shaped head-dress was

Montezuma
was a priest-
commander.

¹ See above, vol. i. p. 114.

² Sahagun, *Historia*, lib. iii. cap. ix.

³ Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, lib. vii. cap. xx.

made chiefly of the brilliant golden-green feathers of the *quetzal*, or paradise-trogon, relieved with a bit of bright red from the *tlauquechol*, or roseate spoonbill. Attached to this head-dress, over the forehead, was a clasp of burnished gold in the likeness of a humming-bird's beak; and this emblem denoted that Montezuma was the living representative of Huitzilopochtli.¹ None but him could without sacrilege assume this emblem. This group of facts seems to prove that Montezuma had acquired the functions of supreme pontiff in addition to those of supreme war-chief. Indeed in his blue raiment, with the gold beak over his forehead, he was attired in the paraphernalia of a "god-king," and to that dignity and authority his office would probably in course of time have developed if things had been allowed to take their natural course.² Montezuma was not the first "chief-of-men" at Tenochtitlan in whom the functions of high priest and head war-chief were combined. That stage of development had already been reached in his immediate predecessors Ahuizotl, Tizoc, and Axayacatl, if not earlier.

Just how far Cortes understood the natural effect of capturing such a personage and holding him in durance, one can hardly say. Incredibly

¹ For the facts mentioned in this paragraph I am indebted to the learned monograph of Mrs. Zelia Nuttall, "Standard or Head-dress? an Historical Essay on a Relic of Ancient Mexico," in Peabody Museum, *Archæological and Ethnological Papers*, vol. i. No. 1, Cambridge, 1888. This essay shows that Mrs. Nuttall has made notable progress in the difficult work of deciphering the ancient Mexican hieroglyphic writing.

² See below, p. 347.

audacious as the plan must have seemed, it was probably the only thing that could have saved the Spaniards, and Cortes (as he wrote to Charles V.) had been in the city only six days when his decision was made. Events had lately come to his knowledge which furnished a pretext. A small band of Spaniards had been left at Vera Cruz, and Quauhpopoca — an Aztec chief, probably one of Montezuma's tax-gatherers sent to collect tribute from the pueblo of Nautla — had picked a quarrel with these Spaniards, and there had been a fight in which the white men were victorious, but not without losing half-a-dozen of their number. The fact was thus revealed that the strangers were mortal. Cortes decided to make this affair the occasion for taking possession of Montezuma's person. After a night spent with his captains and priests in earnest prayer,¹ he visited the "chief-of-men," in company with the big blonde "sun-faced" Alvarado and other mail-clad warriors, and taking, as usual, his trusty Marina as interpreter. Cortes told Montezuma that charges had been brought against him of having instigated the conduct of Quauhpopoca; not that Cortes believed these charges, O dear, no! he had too much respect for the noble *tlacatecuhtli* to believe them, but still it was his duty to investigate the facts of the case. Montezuma promptly despatched a messenger to bring home the unlucky

¹ "E como tenemos acordado el dia antes de prender al Montezuma, toda la noche estuvimos en oracion con el Padre de la Merced, rogando á Dios, que fuesse de tal modo, que redundasse para su santo servicio." Diaz, *Historia verdadera*, cap. xcv. fol. 74 verso.

Quauhpopoca. Very good, pursued Cortes with much suavity, but until the inquiry should be brought to some satisfactory termination, of course his august friend could not entertain the slightest objection to coming and making his quarters in the tecpan occupied by the white men. It appeared, however, that Montezuma did entertain most decided objections to any such surrender of himself. But his arguments and entreaties were of no avail against the mixture of soft persuasion with ominous threats in which Cortes knew so well how to deal. So when the Spanish captains returned to their fortress they took Montezuma with them, paying him every outward mark of respect. It was a very subtle scheme. The *tlacatecuhtli* was simply transferred from one tecpan to another; the tribal council could meet and public business be transacted in the one place as well as in the other. That the fact of Montezuma's virtual imprisonment might not become too glaring, Cortes sometimes let him go to the temple, but on such occasions not less than a hundred Spaniards, armed to the teeth, served as an escort. Cortes was now acting governor of Tenochtitlan and of the Confederacy, with Montezuma as his mouthpiece and the *tlato-can*, or tribal council, holding its meetings under his own roof!

When Quauhpopoca arrived, a couple of weeks after the seizure of Montezuma, Cortes had him tried for treason, and condemned him, with several of his friends, to be burned alive in the square in front of his tecpan; and with a refinement of

prudence and of audacity at which one cannot sufficiently marvel, he sent his men around to the dart-houses and collected a vast quantity of arrows and javelins which he caused to be piled up about the stakes to which the victims were chained, so that weapons and warriors were consumed in the same blaze. A conspiracy for the release of Montezuma, in which his brother Cuitlahuatzin and the tribal chiefs of Tezcuco and Tlacopan were implicated, was duly discovered, and it was not long before Cortes had these three dignitaries safely confined in his tecpan and in irons, while he contrived, through Montezuma, to dictate to the tribal councils at Tezcuco and Tlacopan the summary deposition of the old chiefs and the election of such new ones as he deemed likely to be interested on their own account in his safety. He does not seem to have realized the full importance of his capture of Cuitlahuatzin, who stood next to Montezuma in the customary line of succession. In Tenochtitlan Cortes began an image-breaking crusade. The cruel custom of human sacrifices greatly shocked him, as men are wont to be shocked by any kind of wickedness with which they are unfamiliar; and devil-worship was something that his notions of Christian duty required him to suppress. His action in this direction might have been over rash but for the sagacious counsel of his spiritual adviser, Father Olmedo, who warned him not to go too fast. So at first he contented himself with taking possession of one of the pyramids, where he threw down the

Burning of
Quauhpopoca.

Cleansing of
one of the
pyramids.

idols, cleansed the reeking altar and sprinkled it with holy water, set up the crucifix and an image of the Virgin, and had the mass performed there, while the heathen multitude in the square below looked on and saw it all. If we did not understand the possible interpretation of these acts as sanctioned by Quetzalcoatl, and also the superstitious incapacity of the people to act without their priest-commander, it would be utterly incomprehensible that the fires of Aztec wrath should have smouldered so long. The long winter passed in sullen quiet, and April flowers were blooming, when picture-writing, sent up from the coast, was fraught with sudden intelligence alarming to Cortes. Pánfilo de Narvaez, with 18 ships and not less than 1,200 soldiers, had anchored at San Juan de Ulloa, sent from Cuba by Velasquez, with orders to pursue the disobedient knight-errant and arrest him.

Cortes was not the man to waste precious moments in wondering what he had better do. He left Pedro de Alvarado, with about 150 men, to take charge of Montezuma and Mexico. With the remaining 300 he hastened to the coast, came down upon Narvaez unawares like a thief in the night, defeated and captured him, entranced his troops with tales of the great Mexican pueblo, whetted their greed with hopes of plunder, kindled the missionary zeal of the priests, and ended by enlisting every man of them under his own banner. Thus with more than quadrupled force he marched back to Mexico. There evil news awaited him. Alvarado's cast of mind was

Arrival of
Narvaez.

Defeat of
Narvaez.

of far lower grade than that of Cortes. He had in him less of Reynard and more of Isegrim. Not fathoming the reasons of the Aztecs for forbearance, he made the grave mistake of despising them as spiritless cowards. There were some grounds for a suspicion that the chiefs of the clans were meditating an attack upon the Spaniards in the city, and Alvarado, in this imminent peril, with nerves intensely strained, made up his mind to be beforehand. There was in the Aztec city a great spring festival, the gladdest of the year, the May day of rejoicing over the return of verdure and flowers. Every year at this season a young man, especially chosen for manly beauty and prowess, was presented with four brides and feasted sumptuously during a honeymoon of twenty days. On the twenty-first day all mili-^{Festival of Tezcatlipoca.}tary deeds and plans were held in abeyance, and the city was given up to festivities, while a solemn procession of youths and maidens, clad in dainty white cotton and crowned with garlands of roasted maize, escorted the chosen young man to the summit of the great pyramid. There they knelt and adored him as an incarnation of the god Tezcatlipoca. Then he was sacrificed in the usual manner, and morsels of his flesh were sent about to the clan chiefs to be stewed and eaten with devout hymns and dances.¹

¹ The sacrifice of a she-goat by some of the barbarians in the army of Alboin, King of the Lombards, afforded Gibbon an opportunity for one of his ingenious little thrusts at the current theology of his time. "Gregory the Roman (*Dialog.*, iii. 27) supposes that they likewise adored this she-goat. I know of but one religion in which the god and the victim are the same" (!) *De-*

It was this day of barbaric festivity in the year 1520 that the imprudent Alvarado selected for delivering his blow. In the midst of the ceremonies the little band of Spaniards fell upon the people and massacred about 600, including many chiefs of clans. Thus Alvarado brought on the sudden calamity which he had hoped to avert. The Aztecs were no cowards, and had not the Spaniards still possessed the priest-commander Montezuma it would have gone hard with them. As it was they soon deemed it best to retreat to their fortress, where they were surrounded and besieged by a host of Indians who began trying in places to undermine the walls. By threats Alvarado compelled Montezuma to go out upon the roof and quiet the outbreak. Things went on for some weeks without active fighting, but the Indians burned the brigantines on the lake which Cortes had built during the winter as a means of retreat in case of disaster. The Spaniards by good luck found a spring in their courtyard and their store of corn was ample, so that thirst and hunger did not yet assail them.

When Cortes entered the city on the 24th of June, he found the streets deserted, the markets closed, and many of the drawbridges raised. A

cline and Fall, chap. xlv., note 14. Ancient Mexico would have furnished the learned historian with another example, and a more extensive study of barbarous races would have shown him that the case of Christianity is by no means exceptional. Indeed the whole doctrine of vicarious sacrifice, by which Christianity was for a time helped, but has now long been encumbered, is a survival from the gross theories characteristic of the middle period of barbarism.

few Indians from their doorways scowled at the passing troops. When Cortes met Alvarado he told him that he had behaved like a madman, but it was now the turn of Cortes himself to make a mistake. He could not be expected to know that in that community there was an ulterior power behind the throne. That ulterior power was the *tlatocan*, or tribal council, which elected the priest-commander from the members of a particular family, in accordance with certain customary rules of succession. In a great emergency the council which thus elected the ruler could depose him and elect another. Now Cortes had in his fortress Montezuma's brother Cuitlahuatzin, who stood next in the regular line of succession, and he evidently did not understand the danger in letting him out. The increase of numbers was fast telling upon the stock of food, and Cortes sent out Cuitlahuatzin with orders to have the markets opened. This at once brought matters to a terrible crisis. Cuitlahuatzin convened the *tlatocan*, which instantly deposed Montezuma and elected him in his place.

Return of
Cortes.

Deposition of
Montezuma.

Early next morning came the outbreak. A hoarse sound arose, like the murmur of distant waters, and soon the imprisoned Spaniards from their parapet saw pyramids, streets, and house-tops black with raging warriors. They attacked with arrows, slings, and javelins, and many Spaniards were killed or wounded. The Spanish cannon swept the streets with terrible effect and the canals near by ran red with blood, but the Indians pressed on, and shot burning arrows through the embra-

tures until the interior woodwork began to take fire.

At Cortes's direction Montezuma presented himself on the terraced roof and sought to assuage the wrath of the people, but now he found that his authority was ended. Another now wore the golden beak of the war-god. He was no longer general, no longer priest, and his person had lost its sacred character. Stones and darts were hurled

His death.

at him; he was struck down by a heavy stone, and died a few days afterward, whether from the wound, or from chagrin, or both. Before his death the Spaniards made a sortie, and after terrific hand to hand fighting stormed the great temple which overlooked and commanded their own quarters and had sadly annoyed them. They flung down the idols among the people and burned the accursed shrines. It was on the last day of June that Montezuma died, and on the evening of the next day, fearing lest his army should be blockaded and starved, Cortes evacuated the city. The troops marched through quiet and deserted streets till they reached the great causeway leading to Tlacopan. Its three drawbridges had all been destroyed. The Spaniards carried a pontoon, but while they were passing over the first bridgeway the Indians fell upon them in vast numbers, their light canoes swarming on both sides of the narrow road. The terrible night that ensued has ever since been known in his-

The Melancholy Night.

tory as *la noche triste*. Cortes started in the evening with 1,250 Spaniards, 6,000 Tlascalans, and 80 horses. Next morning, after reaching

terra firma he had 500 Spaniards, 2,000 Tlascalans, and 20 horses. All his cannon were sunk in the lake; and 40 Spaniards were in Aztec clutches to be offered up to the war-god. Then Cortes sat down upon a rock, and buried his face in his hands and wept.

Not for one moment, however, did he flinch in his purpose of taking Mexico. In a few days the Indians from that and other neighbouring pueblos attacked him in overwhelming force in the valley of Otumba, hoping to complete his destruction, but he won such a decisive and murderous victory as to reëstablish his shaken prestige. It was well, for Mexico had sent an embassy to Tlascala, and in that pueblo the council of clan chiefs were having an earnest debate much like those that one reads in Thucydides or Xenophon. There were speakers who

Victory at
Otumba and
its effects.

feared that success for the Spaniards would ultimately mean servitude for Tlascala, and the Aztec envoys played upon this fear. Nothing could have happened at this time so likely to ensure the destruction of Cortes as the defection of the Tlascalans. But his victory at Otumba determined them to keep up their alliance with him. During the autumn Cortes occupied himself with operations, military and diplomatic, among the smaller pueblos, defeating any that ventured to resist him and making alliances with such as were eager to wreak their vengeance upon the hated Tenochtitlan. It is enough to say that all this work was done with characteristic skill. Cortes now found ships useful. Taking some of those that had come

with Narvaez, he sent them to Hispaniola for horses, cannon, and soldiers; and by Christmas Eve he found himself at the head of a thoroughly equipped army of 700 infantry armed with pikes and cross-bows, 118 arquebusiers, 86 cavalry, a dozen cannon, and several thousand Indian allies. Though the belief that white men could not be killed had been quite overthrown, yet the prestige of Cortes as a resistless warrior was now restored, and the prospect of humbling the Aztecs kindled a fierce enthusiasm in the men of Quauquechollan, Huexotzinco, Chalco, and other pueblos now ranked among his allies.

Starting at Christmas on his final march against the mighty pueblo, Cortes first proceeded to Tezcuco. In that community there was disaffection toward its partner on the lake, resulting from recent quarrels between the chiefs, and now Ixtlixochitl, the new war-chief of the Tezcucans, gave in his adherence to Cortes, admitted him into the town, and entertained him hospitably in the tecpan. This move broke up the Aztec Confederacy, placed all the warriors of Tezcuco at the disposal of Cortes, and enabled him without opposition to launch a new flotilla of brigantines on the lake and support them with swarms of agile Tezcucan canoes. Thus the toils were closing in upon doomed Tenochtitlan. Meanwhile small-pox had carried off Cuitlahuatzin, and his nephew Guatemotzin was now "chief-of-men," — a brave warrior whom Mexicans to this day regard with affectionate admiration for his gallant defence of their city. For ferocious courage the Aztecs

Gaining of
Tezcuco.

were not surpassed by any other Indians on the continent, and when Cortes at length began the siege of Mexico, April 28, 1521,¹ the fighting that ensued was incessant and terrible. The fresh water supply was soon cut off, and then slowly, but surely the besiegers upon the three causeways and in the brigantines closed in upon their prey. Points of advantage were sometimes lost by the Aztecs through their excessive anxiety to capture Spaniards alive. Occasionally they succeeded, and then from the top of the great pyramid would resound the awful tones of the sacrificial drum made of serpent skins, a sound that could be heard in every quarter of this horrible city; and the souls of the soldiers sickened as they saw their wretched comrades dragged up the long staircase, to be offered as sacrifices to Satan. Every inch of ground was contested by the Aztecs with a fury that reminds one of the resistance of Jerusalem to the soldiers of Titus. At last, on the 13th of August, the resistance came to an end. Canals and footways were choked with corpses, and a great part of the city lay in ruins. The first work of the conquerors was to cleanse and rebuild. The ancient religion soon passed away, the ancient society was gradually metamorphosed, and Mexico assumed the aspect of a Spanish town. On the site of the heathen temple a Gothic church was erected, which in 1573 was replaced by the cathedral that still stands there.

The capture of Tenochtitlan was by no means

¹ The death of Magellan, at Matan, occurred the day before, April 27.

Siege of
Mexico.

equivalent to the conquest of the vast territory that now goes under the name of Mexico. Much work was yet to be done in all directions, but it is not necessary for the purposes of this book that I should give an account of it. I am concerned here with the Conquest of Mexico only in so far as it is an episode in the Discovery of America, only in so far as it illustrates a phase of the earliest contact between the two hemispheres, each hitherto ignorant of the other, each so curiously affected by its first experience of the other; and for my purpose the story here given will suffice. Nor is it necessary to recount the vicissitudes of the later years of Cortes, who had to contend against the enmity of Bishop Fonseca and a series of untoward circumstances connected therewith. His discovery of the peninsula of California will be mentioned in a future chapter. He returned finally to Spain in 1540, and served with great merit in the expedition against Algiers in the following year; but he was neglected by the emperor, and passed the rest of his life in seclusion at Seville. He died at a small village near that city on the 2d of December, 1547.

Death of
Cortes.

A great deal of sentimental ink has been shed over the wickedness of the Spaniards in crossing the ocean and attacking people who had never done them any harm, overturning and obliterating a "splendid civilization," and more to the same effect. It is undeniable that unprovoked aggression is an ex-

How the Span-
ish conquest
should be re-
garded.

tremely hateful thing, and many of the circumstances attendant upon the Spanish conquest in America were not only heinous in their atrocity, but were emphatically condemned, as we shall presently see, by the best moral standards of the sixteenth century. Yet if we are to be guided by strict logic, it would be difficult to condemn the Spaniards for the mere act of conquering Mexico without involving in the same condemnation our own forefathers who crossed the ocean and overran the territory of the United States with small regard for the proprietary rights of Algonquians, or Iroquois, or red men of any sort. Our forefathers, if called upon to justify themselves, would have replied that they were founding Christian states and diffusing the blessings of a higher civilization; and such, in spite of much alloy in the motives and imperfection in the performance, was certainly the case. Now if we would not lose or distort the historical perspective, we must bear in mind that the Spanish conquerors would have returned exactly the same answer. If Cortes were to return to this world and pick up some history book in which he is described as a mere picturesque adventurer, he would feel himself very unjustly treated. He would say that he had higher aims than those of a mere fighter and gold-hunter; and so doubtless he had. In the complex tangle of motives that actuated the mediæval Spaniard — and in his peninsula we may apply the term mediæval to later dates than would be proper in France or Italy — the desire of extending the dominion of the Church was a very real and

powerful incentive to action. The strength of the missionary and crusading spirit in Cortes is seen in the fact that where it was concerned, and there only, was he liable to let zeal overcome prudence.

There can be no doubt that, after making all allowances, the Spaniards did introduce a better state of society into Mexico than they found there. It was high time that an end should be put to those hecatombs of human victims, slashed, torn open, and devoured on all the little occasions of life. It sounds quite pithy to say that the Inquisition, as conducted

It was a good thing for Mexico.

in Mexico, was as great an evil as the human sacrifices and the cannibalism; but it is not true.¹ Compared with the ferocious barbarism of ancient Mexico the contemporary Spanish modes of life were mild, and this, I think, helps further to explain the ease with which the country was conquered. In a certain sense the prophecy of Quetzalcoatl was fulfilled, and the coming of the Spaniards did mean the final dethronement of the ravening Tezcatlipoca. The work of the noble Franciscan and Dominican monks who followed closely upon Cortes, and devoted their lives to the spiritual welfare of the Mexicans, is a more attractive subject than any picture of military conquest. To this point I shall return hereafter, when we come to consider the sublime career of Las Casas. For the present we may conclude in the spirit of one of the noblest of Spanish historians, Pedro de

¹ As Llorente, the historian of the Inquisition who has fully set forth its enormities, once wittily observed, "Il ne faut pas calomnier même l'Inquisition."

Cieza de Leon, and praise God that the idols are cast down.¹

The conquest of Mexico was followed at intervals by the reduction of Guatemala, Honduras, and Yucatan; and while this work was going on, captains from Darien overran Nicaragua, so that what we may call the northern and southern streams of Spanish conquest — the stream which started from Hispaniola by way of Cuba, and that which started from Hispaniola by way of Darien — at length came together again. The southern stream of Spanish conquest, thus stopped in one direction at Nicaragua, kept on its course southward along the Pacific coast of South America until it encountered a kind of semi-civilization different from anything else that was to be seen in the western hemisphere. We are now prepared for the sketch, hitherto postponed, of Ancient Peru.

¹ *Crónica del Peru*, pt. i. cap. lviii.

CHAPTER IX.

ANCIENT PERU.

FROM the elevated table-lands of New Mexico and Arizona to the southward as far as the mountain fastnesses of Bolivia, the region of the Cordilleras was the seat of culture in various degrees more advanced than that of any other parts of the New World. Starting from Central America, we find in the tombs of the little province of Chiriqui, between Costa Rica and Veragua, a wealth of artistic remains that serve in some respects to connect the culture of Central America with that of the semi-civilized peoples beyond the isthmus of Darien.¹ Of these peoples the first were the Muyscas, or Chibchas, whose principal towns were near the site of Bogotá. There were many tribes of Chibchas, speaking as many distinct dialects of a common stock language. They had no writing except rude pictographs and no means of recording events. Their family was in a rudimentary state of development, and kinship was traced only through the female line. There was a priesthood, and the head war-chief, whose office was elec-

¹ See Holmes, "Ancient Art of the Province of Chiriqui," *Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology*, vol. vi. pp. 13-187; Bollaert, *Antiquarian Researches in New Granada*, London, 1860.

tive, had begun to exercise the highest priestly functions. They were idolaters, with human sacrifices, but seem to have abandoned cannibalism. Their funeral customs deserve mention. We have observed that the Mexicans practised cremation. In some parts of Central America the dead were buried, in others burnt. But in coming down to the isthmus of Darien we begin to find mummies. Among the people of the Andes in the middle status of barbarism, it was customary to embalm the bodies of chiefs and other important personages, and to wrap them closely in fine mantles adorned with emeralds. The mummy was then buried, and food, weapons, and living concubines were buried with it. Such was the practice among the Chibchas.

The houses of these people were very large, and shaped either like the frustum of a cone or like that of a pyramid. The walls were built of stout timbers fastened with wedges and cemented with adobe clay. Maize and cotton were cultivated, and cotton cloth of various coloured designs was made. The rafts and rope bridges resembled those of the Peruvians hereafter to be mentioned. Chiefs and priests were carried on wooden litters. In every town there were fairs at stated intervals. Goods were sold by measure, but not by weight. Round tiles of gold, without stamp or marking of any sort, served as a currency, and when there was not enough of it salt was used as a medium of exchange. Trade, however, was chiefly barter. The Chibchas had some slight intercourse with the

people of Quito and some knowledge of the Inca kingdom beyond.¹

This Chibcha culture, in many respects lower, but in some respects higher, than that of the Mexicans, was probably typical of the whole Andes region for unknown centuries before its various peoples were brought under the comparatively civilizing sway of the Incas. On the eastern slopes of the giant mountains this semi-civilization maintained itself precariously against the surging waves of lower barbarism and savagery. The ethnology of South America has been much less thoroughly studied than that of North America, and our subject does not require us to attempt to enumerate or characterize these lower peoples. They have been arranged provisionally in four groups, although it is pretty clear that instances of non-related tribes occur in some if not in all the groups. At the time of the Discovery the ferocious Caribs inhabited the forests of Venezuela and Guiana, and had established themselves upon many of the West India islands.

The Caribs.

¹ The principal sources of information about the Chibchas are Piedrahita, *Historia del Nuevo Reyno de Granada*, Antwerp, 1688; Simon, *Tercera (y cuarta) noticia de la segunda parte de las Noticias Historiales de las Conquistas de Tierra Firme en el Nuevo Reyno de Granada*, 1624 (in Kingsborough's *Mexican Antiquities*, vol. viii.); Herrera, *Historia General de los hechos de los Castellanos*, etc., Madrid, 1601 (especially the fifth book); Joaquin Acosta, *Compendio Historico del Descubrimiento y Colonizacion de la Nueva Granada*, Paris, 1848; Cassani, *Historia de la Compania de Jesus del Nuevo Reino de Granada*, Madrid, 1741; Uricoechea, *Memoria sobre las Antiquidades Neo-Granadinas*, Berlin, 1854. The subject is well tabulated in Spencer's *Descriptive Sociology*, No. ii.

Their name, first written in Latin form "Caribales" by Columbus in 1498, was presently corrupted into "Canibales," and has thus furnished European languages with an epithet since applied to all eaters of human flesh. Adjacent to the Caribs, but distinct from them, were the Maypures, whose tribes ranged from the headwaters of the Orinoco southward into Bolivia. The Caribs and Maypures make up what is geographically rather than ethnologically known as the Orinoco group of Indians. A second group, called Amazonians, includes a great number of ^{Various sav-}tribes, mostly in the upper status of ^{age groups.}savagery, ranging along the banks of the Amazon and its tributaries; about their ethnology very little is known. Much better defined is the third or Tupi-Guarani group, extending over the vast country southward from the Amazon to La Plata. This family of tribes, speaking a common stock language, is more widely diffused than any other in South America; and it is certain that within the area which it occupies there are other tribes not related to it and not yet classified. The fourth group is merely geographical, and includes families so different as the Pampas Indians of the Argentine Republic, the inhabitants of Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego, and the brave Araucanians of Chili.¹

All the peoples here mentioned were, when discovered, either in the upper status of savagery or the lower status of barbarism, and to many of

¹ See Keane's essay on the "Ethnography and Philology of America," appended to Bates's *Central and South America*, 2d ed. London, 1882, pp. 443-561.

them the same description would still be applicable. Lowest of all were the Fuegians and some of the tribes on the Amazon; highest of all were the Araucanians, with their habitat on the western slope of the Andes.

The whole of this Pacific slope, from the country of the Araucanians northward to that of our friends the Chibchas, was occupied by the family of Quichua-Aymara tribes, since commonly known as Peruvians. These tribes were probably the first in all America to emerge from the lower status of barbarism, and at the time of the Discovery they had approached much nearer to the formation of a true nationality than any others. In some important respects they were much more civilized than the people of Mexico and Central America, but they had not attained to the beginnings of true civilization, inasmuch as they had neither an alphabet nor any system of hieroglyphic writing. In preserving traditions the Peruvian *amautas*, or "wise men," were aided by a queer system of mnemonics worked out by tying complicated knots in cords of divers colours.¹

¹ Mr. Tylor's description of the *quipus* is so good that I cannot do better than insert it here in full:—"When a farmer's daughter ties a knot in her handkerchief to remember a commission at market by, she makes a rudimentary *quipu*. Darius made one when he took a thong and tied sixty knots in it, and gave it to the chiefs of the Ionians, that they might untie a knot each day, till, if the knots were all undone and he had not returned, they might go back to their own land. (Herodotus, iv. 98.) . . . This is so simple a device that it may have been invented again and again. . . . It has been found in Asia (Erman's *Siberia*, i. 492), in Africa (Klemm's *Culturgeschichte*, i. 3), in

These knotted cords, or *quipus*, were also used in keeping accounts, and in some ways they were curi-

Mexico, among the North American Indians (Charlevoix, vi. 151); but its greatest development was in South America." The Peruvian *quipu* consists "of a thick main cord, with thinner cords tied on to it at certain distances, in which the knots are tied. . . . The cords are often of various colours, each with its own proper meaning; red for soldiers, yellow for gold, white for silver, green for corn, and so on. This knot-writing was especially suited for reckonings and statistical tables; a single knot meant ten, a double one a hundred, a triple one a thousand, two singles side by side twenty, two doubles two hundred. The distances of the knots from the main cord were of great importance, as was the sequence of the branches, for the principal objects were placed on the first branches and near the trunk, and so in decreasing order. This art of reckoning is still in use among the herdsmen of the Puna (the high mountain plateau of Peru)," and they explained it to the Swiss naturalist Tschudi "so that with a little trouble he could read any of their *quipus*. On the first branch they usually register the bulls, on the second the cows, these again they divide into milch cows and those that are dry; the next branches contain the calves, according to age and sex, then the sheep in several subdivisions, the number of foxes killed, the quantity of salt used, and lastly the particulars of the cattle that have died. On other *quipus* is set down the produce of the herd in milk, cheese, wool, etc. Each heading is indicated by a special colour or a differently twined knot. It was in the same way that in old times the army registers were kept; on one cord the slingers were set down, on another the spearmen, on a third those with clubs, etc., with their officers; and thus also the accounts of battles were drawn up. In each town were special functionaries whose duty was to tie and interpret the *quipus*; they were called *quipucamayocuna*, or 'knot-officers.' . . . They were seldom able to read a *quipu* without the aid of an oral commentary; when one came from a distant province, it was necessary to give notice with it whether it referred to census, tribute, war, etc. . . . They carefully kept the *quipus* in their proper departments, so as not, for instance, to mistake a tribute-cord for one relating to the census. . . . In modern times all the attempts made to read the ancient *quipus* have been in vain. The difficulty in deciphering them is very great, since every knot indi-

ously analogous on the one hand to Indian wampum belts and on the other hand to the tally-sticks used in old times by officers of the exchequer in France and England. Learned Spaniards were astonished at seeing how many things the Peruvians could record with their *quipus*. Nevertheless, as compared with hieroglyphics even as rude as those of Mexico, these knotted cords were very inefficient instruments for recording knowledge. For this reason the historic period of the Peruvian people goes but a short distance back of the Discovery. All lists of the Incas agree in beginning with Manco Capac;¹ and there is practical cates an idea, and a number of intermediate notions are left out. But the principal impediment is the want of the oral information as to their subject-matter, which was needful even to the most learned decipherers." As to the ancient use of the *quipu* in Mexico, "Boturini placed the fact beyond doubt by not only finding some specimens in Tlascala, but also recording their Mexican name, *nepohualtzitzin*, a word derived from the verb *tlapohua*, 'to count.' (Boturini, *Idea de una nueva Historia*, etc., Madrid, 1746, p. 85). . . . *Quipus* are found in the Eastern Archipelago and in Polynesia proper, and they were in use in Hawaii forty years ago, in a form seemingly not inferior to the most elaborate Peruvian examples. . . . The fate of the *quipu* has been everywhere to be superseded, more or less entirely, by the art of writing. . . . When, therefore, the Chinese tell us (Gouquet, *Origine des Lois*, etc., tom. iii. p. 322; Mailla, *Hist. générale de la Chine*, Paris, 1777, tom. i. p. 4) that they once upon a time used this contrivance, and that the art of writing superseded it, the analogy of what has taken place in other countries makes it extremely probable that the tradition is a true one." Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, London, 1865, pp. 154-158. See also Garcilasso, *Comentarios reales*, lib. ii. cap. 13; lib. vi. cap. 8, 9.

¹ The pronunciation of this name is more correctly indicated by writing it *Ccapac*. The first *c* is "a guttural far back in the throat; the second on the roof of the mouth." Markham's *Quichua Grammar*, p. 17. The result must be a kind of guttural elick.

unanimity as to the names and order of succession of the Incas. But when we come to dates for the earlier names, all is indefinite.

Manco has been variously placed from ^{Lists of Incas.} the eleventh to the thirteenth century, the later date being far more probable than the earlier if we have regard for the ordinary rules of human longevity. The first Inca whose career may be considered strictly historical is Viracocha, whose reign probably began somewhere about A. D. 1380, or a century and a half before the arrival of the Spaniards in Peru.¹ Moreover throughout the fifteenth century, while the general succession of

¹ The following list of the Incas will be useful for reference:—

1. Manco Capac	cir. 1250?
2. Sinchi Rocca	
3. Lloque Yupanqui	
4. Mayta Capac	
5. Capac Yupanqui	
6. Inca Rocca	
7. Yahuar-huaccac	
8. Viracocha	cir. 1380.
9. Inca Urco	cir. 1400.
10. Pachacutec Inca Yupanqui	cir. 1400.
11. Tupac Yupanqui	cir. 1439.
12. Huayna Capac	cir. 1475.
13. Huascar	1523.
14. Atahualpa (<i>usurper</i>)	1532.
15. Manco Capac Yupanqui	1533.
16. Sayri Tupac	1544.
17. Cusi Titu Yupanqui	1560.
18. Tupac Amaru	1571.

The last Inca reigned only a few months and was beheaded in 1571. This list in the main follows that of Mr. Markham (*Winsor, Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, i. 232), but on the weighty authority of Cieza de Leon and others less weighty I insert the name of the Inca Urco, whose evil fortune, presently to be mentioned, furnishes no valid reason for omitting his name from the roll.

events is quite clear, the dates are much less precise than in Mexico, where hieroglyphic records were kept.

But although the historic period for Peru dates no farther back than for Mexico, there are some reasons for supposing that if the whole story of the semi-civilization of the Incas were accessible, it would carry us much farther into the past than anything to be found in Mexico, even if we were to accept a good deal of what has been imagined about the Toltecs and their deeds, and other pre-historic circumstances in the land of the Nahuas.

Lake Titicaca. The country about Lake Titicaca, the traditional cradle of Peruvian culture, is in some respects the most remarkable spot in the New World. In that elevated region, of which the general altitude nearly answers to that of such Alpine summits as the peak of the Jungfrau, but which is still a valley, dominated by those stupendous mountains, Sorata and Illimani, inferior only to the highest of the Himalayas, there are to be seen remnants of cyclopean architecture at which all beholders, from the days of the first Spanish visitors down to our own, have marvelled. These works, to judge from the rude carvings upon them, are purely American, and afford no ground for the notion that they might have been constructed by others than the aboriginal inhabitants of the New World; but they certainly imply a greater command of labour than is to be inferred from an inspection of any other buildings in America. These cyclopean structures, containing monoliths which, in the absence of beasts of burden,

must have required large companies of men to move, are found at Tiahuanacu, hard by Lake Titicaca; and it would appear that to this Thibet of the New World we must assign the first development of the kind of semi-civilization that the Spaniards found in Peru. According to one of the foremost authorities, Mr. Clements Markham, an extensive and more or less consolidated empire was at one time governed from Tiahuanacu. Peruvian tradition handed over to the Spanish historians the names of sixty-five kings belonging to a dynasty known as the Piruas. Allowing an average of twenty years for a reign, which The alleged Pirua dynasty. is a fair estimate, these sixty-five kings would cover just thirteen centuries.¹ As there was a further tradition of a period of disintegration and confusion intervening between the end of the Pirua dynasty and the time of Manco Capac, Mr. Markham allows for this interval about four centuries. Then the series of sixty-five Pirua kings, ending about the ninth century of our era, would have begun in the fifth century before Christ.

In such calculations, however, where we are dealing with mere lists of personal names, unchecked by constant or frequent reference to historic events connected with the persons, the chances

¹ The 50 English sovereigns, from Egbert to William IV. inclusive (omitting the Cromwells as covering part of the same time as Charles II., and counting William and Mary as one) reigned 1,009 years; almost exactly an average of 20 years. The 44 Frankish and French kings, from Pepin to Louis XVI. inclusive (omitting Eudes as covering time otherwise covered) reigned 1,042 years; an average of nearly 24 years, raised by the two exceptionally long reigns of Louis XIV. and Louis XV., which covered 131 years.

of error are so numerous as to leave little room for confidence in the conclusion. One is much inclined to doubt whether anything can properly be said to be known about the so-called Pirua dynasty or its works. It is customary to ascribe the so-called fortress on the Sacahuaman hill overlooking Cuzco to the same people and the same period as the ruins of Tiahuanacu; but according to Cieza de Leon, the most careful and critical of the early Spanish writers on Peru,¹ this great building was begun in

Ruins on the
Sacahuaman
hill.

¹ "The work of Pedro de Cieza de Leon," says Mr. Markham, "is, in many respects, one of the most remarkable literary productions of the age of Spanish conquest in America. Written by a man who had passed his life in the camp from early boyhood, it is conceived on a plan which would have done credit to the most thoughtful scholar, and is executed with care, judgment, and fidelity."

Cieza de Leon was probably born in Seville about 1519, and died about 1560. At the age of fourteen he came to the New World, and remained until 1550, and in the course of these seventeen years of very active service he visited almost every historic point in western South America from Darien to Potosi. In 1541 he began keeping a journal, which formed the basis of his "Chronicle," of which the first part was published at Seville in 1553, and dedicated to the prince afterwards Philip II. In the dedication Cieza says, "The attempt savours of temerity in so unlearned a man, but others of more learning are too much occupied in the wars to write. Oftentimes, when the other soldiers were reposing, I was tiring myself by writing. Neither fatigue nor the ruggedness of the country, nor the mountains and rivers, nor intolerable hunger and suffering, have ever been sufficient to obstruct my two duties, namely, writing and following my flag and my captain without fault. . . . Much that I have written I saw with my own eyes, and I travelled over many countries in order to learn more concerning them. Those things which I did not see, I took great pains to inform myself of, from persons of good repute, both Christians and Indians." There can be no doubt that he took great pains. For minuteness of observation

the time of Pachacutec, and continued under his successors, Tupac, Huayna, and Huascar, so that

and accuracy of statement his book is extraordinary. Wherever he went he was careful to describe the topography of the country, its roads and ruined buildings, the climate, vegetation, animals tame and wild, the manners and occupations of the people, and their beliefs and traditions. Along with the instincts of a modern naturalist he had the critical faculty and sifted his authorities in a way that was unusual in his time. He had also an eye for the glorious beauty of the landscape. He was eminently honourable and humane, and strongly condemned the atrocities so often committed by the Spaniards. While his book is thus in many respects modern in spirit and method, it is full of the oldtime quaintness. Where a modern writer, for example, in order to explain similarities in the myths and heathen customs of different parts of the world, would have recourse in some cases to the hypothesis of a community of tradition and in other cases to the general similarity of the workings of the human mind under similar conditions, Cieza, on the other hand, is at once ready with an unimpeachable explanation; the similarity simply shows that "the Devil manages to deceive one set of people in the same way as he does another." At one time Cieza served in New Granada under a certain Robledo, who was shockingly cruel to the natives and caused many to be torn in pieces by bloodhounds; afterwards, in visiting the scene of some of his worst actions, Robledo was arrested for insubordinate conduct, and hanged, and his body was cooked and eaten by the natives. Wherefore, says Cieza, after telling of his evil deeds, "God permitted that he should be sentenced to death in the same place, and have for his tomb the bellies of Indians."

The plan of Cieza's great work, as announced in his prologue, was a noble one:—

- “PART I. The divisions and description of the provinces of Peru.
- PART II. The government, great deeds, origin, policy, buildings, and roads of the Incas.
- PART III. Discovery and conquest of Peru by Pizarro, and rebellion of the Indians.
- PART IV. *Book i.* War between Pizarro and Almagro.
Book ii. War of the young Almagro.
Book iii. The civil war of Quito.
Book iv. War of Huarina.
Book v. War of Xaquixaguana.

the work was apparently still going on when the Spaniards arrived. Precisely the same account of the matter is given by Garcilasso de la Vega, who must be regarded as an authority scarcely less important than Cieza de Leon. Garcilasso says that

Commentary I. Events from the founding of the Audience to the departure of the President.

Commentary II. Events to the arrival of the Viceroy Mendoza." The first of these parts, as already observed, was published at Seville in 1553; it has been reprinted several times and translated into other languages. Part II. remained in manuscript until 1873; it was dedicated to Dr. Juan Sarmiento, who was for a short time President of the Council of the Indies, but was never in America. At the beginning of his manuscript Cieza says it is for (*para*) Dr. Sarmiento. By one of those curious slips which the wisest are liable to make, Mr. Prescott, who used this manuscript, translated *para* as if it were *por* (by), and assumed that Sarmiento was the writer. Mr. Prescott hardly knew which author most to admire, Sarmiento or Cieza! but we now know that his praise, bestowed upon both, belongs wholly to the latter. Part III. and the first two books of Part IV. are not yet to be obtained. We are assured by Don Ximenez de Espada that he knows where the manuscript is, though he has not seen it. The manuscript of the third book of Part IV. is in the Royal Library at Madrid; a copy of it found its way in 1849 into the hands of the late Mr. James Lenox, of New York, who paid \$3,000 for it. It was at length edited by Espada, and published at Madrid in 1877. The fourth and fifth books of Part IV. and the two commentaries were completed by Cieza de Leon before his death, but whether they are in existence or not is not known. Perhaps we may yet be so fortunate as to recover the whole of this magnificent work, which ranks indisputably foremost among the sources of information concerning ancient Peru. The first two parts have been translated into English, and edited, with learned notes and introductions, by Mr. Clements Markham, to whom I am indebted for this sketch of the strange vicissitudes of the book. See Markham, *The Travels of Cieza de Leon, contained in the First Part of his Chronicle of Peru*, London, 1864; *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, London, 1883 (both published by the Hakluyt Society).

the fortress was fifty years in building and was not finished until the reign of Huayna Capac, if indeed it could properly be said to have been finished at all. "These works," says Garcilasso, "with many others throughout the empire, were cut short by the civil wars which broke out soon afterwards between the two brothers Huascar Inca and Atahualpa, in whose time the Spaniards arrived and destroyed everything; and so all the unfinished works remain unfinished to this day."¹ It has become fashionable

Testimony of
Cieza and
Garcilasso.

¹ Compare Garcilasso, *Royal Commentaries*, ed. Markham, vol. ii. p. 318, with Markham's Cieza de Leon, vol. ii. p. 163. The father of the historian Garcilasso Inca de la Vega belonged to one of the most distinguished families of Spain. In 1531, being then twenty-five years old, he went to Guatemala and served under Pedro de Alvarado as a captain of infantry. When Alvarado invaded Peru in 1534, but consented to retire and left a great part of his force behind him (see below, p. 408), the captain Garcilasso was one of those that were left. For eminent military services he received from Pizarro a fine house in Cuzco and other spoils. In 1538 he was married to Chimpa Oello, baptized as Doña Isabel, a granddaughter of the great Inca Tupac Yupanqui. Mr. Markham informs us that "a contemporary picture of this princess still exists at Cuzco — a delicate looking girl with large gentle eyes and slightly aquiline nose, long black tresses hanging over her shoulders, and a richly ornamented woollen mantle secured in front by a large gold pin." The Inca Garcilasso de la Vega, son of this marriage, was born in Cuzco in 1540. He was carefully educated by an excellent Spanish priest, and became a good scholar. His father, one of the most honourable and high-minded of the Spanish cavaliers, was made governor of Cuzco, and his home was a place where Spaniards and Incas were hospitably entertained. From infancy the young Garcilasso spoke both Spanish and Quichua, and while he was learning Latin and studying European history, his mother and her friends were steeping him in Peruvian traditions. At about the age of twelve he lost this gentle mother, and in 1560 his gallant father also died. Garcilasso then went to Spain and served

in recent times to discredit this testimony of Garcilasso and Cieza, on the ground of their want of extensive archæological knowledge; but it seems to me that in this case scepticism is carried rather too far. Garcilasso was great-great-grandson of the Inca Pachacutec under whom the work at Sacsahuaman is said to have begun, and his statements as to the progress of that work which went on until it was stopped by the civil war between his mother's cousins Huascar and Atahualpa are too nearly contemporaneous to be lightly set aside, especially when independently confirmed by so

for some years in the army. After retiring from the service, somewhere from 1570 to 1575, he settled in Cordova and devoted himself to literary pursuits until his death in 1616. His tomb is in the cathedral at Cordova. Besides other books Garcilasso Inca wrote *The Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, in two parts, the first of which, treating of the history and antiquities of Peru before the arrival of the Spaniards, was published at Lisbon in 1609; the second part, treating of the conquest of Peru and the civil wars of the conquerors, was published at Cordova in 1616. There have been several editions and translations in various languages. An English translation of the first part, by Mr. Clements Markham, has been published by the Hakluyt Society, London, 1869, 2 vols. Garcilasso's unrivalled opportunities for gathering information, and his excellent use of them, give to his book an authority superior to all others except that of Cieza de Leon, and Garcilasso was better able than the latter to understand the Peruvian view of the situation. He often quotes from Cieza, and always with high respect. His book is at once learned and charming; its tone is kindly and courteous, like the talk of a thoroughbred gentleman. One cannot read it without a strong feeling of affection for the writer.

Throughout this chapter — except in a few cases, where it seems desirable to give the Spanish — I cite from Mr. Markham's version of Garcilasso and Cieza; but, as I cite by book and chapter, instead of volume and page, the references are equally convenient for any edition or version.

careful an inquirer as Cieza. This testimony is positive that the cyclopean architecture at Saesahuaman was the work of recent Incas. With Tiahuanacu the case may be quite different. Garcilasso, indeed, in giving the names of the four chief architects who were successively employed at Sacsahuaman, lets drop the remarkable statement, "The third was Acahuana Inca, to whom is also attributed a great part of the edifices at Tiahuanacu."¹ But in another place Garcilasso quotes without dissent the statement of Cieza that contemporary Peruvians believed the buildings at Tiahuanacu to be much older than the Saesahuaman fortress, and indeed that the recent Incas built the latter work in emulation of the former.² So, perhaps, in his remark about the architect Acahuana having superintended the works at Tiahuanacu, Garcilasso's memory, usually so strong and precise,³ may for once have tripped. It might fail to serve him about works at distant Lake Titicaca, but such a slip, if it be one, should not discredit his testimony as to the great edifice near Cuzco, about the stones of which he had often played with his Spanish and Peruvian schoolfellows, regarding them as the work of his mother's immediate ancestors.

Assuming as correct the statement in which Garcilasso and Cieza agree, that the Incas of the

¹ Garcilasso, lib. vii. cap. xxix.

² Cieza, pt. i. cap. cv. ; Garcilasso, lib. iii. cap. i.

³ He often observes, with winning modesty, that it is so long since he left Peru that his memory may deceive him ; but in such cases, whenever we can bring other evidence to bear, the dear old fellow turns out almost invariably to be correct.

fifteenth century built the Sacsahuaman fortress in emulation of the ancient structures at Tiahuanacu, in order to show that they could equal or surpass the mighty works of by-gone ages, it must be acknowledged that they were successful. Sacsahuaman is, according to Mr. Markham, "without comparison the grandest monument of an ancient civilization in the New World. Like the Pyramids and the Coliseum, it is imperishable."¹

If this colossal building could have been erected under the later Incas, it is clearly unnecessary to suppose for the works at Tiahuanacu any intrusive agency from the Old World, or any condition of society essentially different from that into which the mother of the historian Garcilasso Inca was born. This style of building will presently furnish us with an instructive clue to the state of Peruvian society in the century preceding the arrival of the Spaniards. Meanwhile there is no occasion for supposing any serious break in the continuity of events in prehistoric Peru. It is not necessary to suppose that the semi-civilization of the Incas was preceded by some other semi-civilization distinct from it in character. As for the Pirua dynasty of sixty-five kings, covering a period of thirteen centuries, it does not seem likely that the "wise men" of Cieza's time, with their knotted strings, could

¹ Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 221. Cf. Squier's remarks, in his *Peru: Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas*, New York, 1877, p. 470:—"The heaviest works of the fortress . . . remain substantially perfect, and will remain so . . . as long as the Pyramids shall last, or Stonehenge and the Colosseum shall endure, for it is only with those works that the Fortress of the Sacsahuaman can be properly compared."

have preserved any trustworthy testimony as to such a period.

Without assuming, however, any historical knowledge of the times that preceded the rule of the Incas, we have other grounds for believing that the Peruvian culture was much older than that of the Mexicans and Mayas. In other words, the Peruvians had probably attained to the middle status of barbarism at a much earlier date than the Mexicans and Mayas, and had in many striking features approached nearer to civilization than the latter. First, we may note that the Peruvians were the only American aborigines that ever domesticated any other animal than ^{Domesticated} the dog. ^{animals.} The *llama*, developed from the same stock with the wild *huanacu*, is a very useful beast of burden, yielding also a coarse wool; and the *alpaca*, developed from the ancestral stock of the wild *vicuña*, is of great value for its fine soft fleece.¹ While the *huanacu* and *vicuña* are to-day as wild as chamois, the *llama* is as thoroughly domesticated as cows or sheep, while the *alpaca* has actually become unable to live without the care of man; and Mr. Markham argues, with much force, that such great variation in these animals implies the lapse of many centuries since men first began to tame them. A similar inference is drawn from the facts that while the ancient Peruvians produced several highly cultivated varieties of maize, that cereal in a wild state is un-

¹ Darwin, *Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication*, London, 1868, vol. ii. p. 208. These four species belong to the genus *auchenia* of the family *camelidæ*.

known in their country ; “ the Peruvian species of the cotton plant also is known only under cultivation. The potato is found wild in Chili, and probably in Peru, as a very insignificant tuber. But the Peruvians, after cultivating it for centuries, increased its size and produced a great number of edible varieties.”¹ Now the wild potato seems to be a refractory vegetable. There is a variety in Mexico, no bigger than a nut, and sedulous efforts, kept up during many years, to increase its size and improve its quality, have proved futile ; from which Mr. Markham reasonably infers that the high state of perfection to which the Peruvians brought the potato indicates a very considerable lapse of time since they began to work upon its wild ancestral form.²

¹ Markham, “ The Inca Civilization in Peru,” in Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, i. 213. As for maize, Mr. Darwin found ears of it, along with sundry species of recent sea-shells, on the coast of Peru, “ embedded in a beach which had been upraised at least eighty-five feet above the level of the sea.” Darwin, *Geological Observations on South America*, London, 1846, p. 49.

² Cieza de Leon (pt. i. cap. xl.) describes the potato as “ a kind of earth nut, which, after it has been boiled, is as tender as a cooked chestnut, but it has no more skin than a truffle, and it grows under the earth in the same way. This root produces a plant like a poppy.” Humboldt says, “ La pomme de terre n’est pas indigène au Pérou ” (*Essai sur la Nouvelle Espagne*, Paris, 1811, 8vo, tom. iii. p. 113) ; but Cuvier declares, “ il est impossible de douter qu’elle ne soit originaire de Pérou ” (*Histoire des sciences naturelles*, Paris, 1831, p. 185). Further research seems to sustain Cuvier’s view. The legitimate conclusion from Humboldt’s facts, however, does not carry the original home of the potato very far from Peru, but points to the Chilian or Bolivian Andes, whence its cultivation seems to have spread northward, until at the time of the Discovery it was found among the people of Quito and among the Chibchas. The potato was not cultivated

In cultivating such vegetables the Peruvians practised irrigation on an extensive scale, and had

anywhere north of the isthmus of Darien. The ships of Raleigh's expedition, returning from Albemarle sound in 1586, carried the first potatoes to Ireland (Beckmann, *Grundsätze der deutschen Landwirthschaft*, 1806, p. 289), and in Gerarde's *Herball*, published in 1597, these vegetables were called "Virginia potatoes;" whence it is sometimes said that Raleigh's people "found potatoes in Virginia." But that is highly improbable. As Humboldt says, potatoes were common all over the West Indies before 1580, and had even found their way into the gardens of Spain and Italy. In 1586 Lane's party of Raleigh's people, a hundred or more in number, had been staying for a year upon Roanoke island, where they had hoped to found a colony. They were terribly short of food, when all at once Sir Francis Drake arrived from the West Indies and brought them a supply of provisions, with which they prudently decided to go home to England. Evidently their potatoes, which were planted on an estate of Raleigh's in Ireland, did not come from "Virginia," but from the West Indies. The potato was very slow in coming into general use in Europe. It was not raised on an extensive scale in Lancashire until about 1684; it was first introduced into Saxony in 1717, into Scotland in 1728, into Prussia in 1738 (cf. Humboldt, *op. cit.* tom. iii. p. 120). It has been said that potatoes were first made known in France about 1600 by the celebrated botanist Charles de Lécluse (Legrand d'Aussy, *Hist. de la vie privée des Français*, tom. i. p. 143); but they certainly did not begin to come into general use among the people till just before the Revolution. A very graphic account of their introduction into Alsace from Hanover is given in that charming story of Ereckmann-Chatrion, *Histoire d'un paysan*, tom. i. pp. 54-83. They were at first received with cries of "à bas les racines du Hanovre!" and a report was spread that persons had been seized with leprosy after eating them; so for a while people kept aloof from them until it was learned that the king had them on his table; "alors tout le monde voulut en avoir." This account of the matter is strictly correct. See the works of Parmentier, *Examen chimique des pommes de terre*, Paris, 1773; *Recherches sur les végétaux nourrisants*, Paris, 1781; *Traité sur la culture des pommes de terre*, Paris, 1789. Parmentier was largely instrumental in introducing the potato. Accurate statistics are given in Arthur Young's *Travels*

from time immemorial been accustomed to use guano as manure.¹ By right of such careful and methodical agriculture, as well as by right of having domesticated animals for other purposes than hunting, the ancient Peruvians had entered upon the middle period of barbarism, and evidently at a much earlier date than any other known people of aboriginal America. At the time of the Discovery an unknown number of centuries had elapsed since the general condition of these people had begun to be that which characterized the middle period of barbarism in North America. The interval was no doubt long enough for very remarkable social changes to have taken place, and in point of fact such changes had taken place. Yet, as already observed, true civilization, in the sense in which we have agreed with Mr. Morgan to understand it, had not been attained by people who could record events only by *quipus*. Nor had Peruvian society acquired the characteristic features which in the Old World marked the upper period of barbarism, the stage reached by the Hebrew patriarchs and the conquerors of Troy. Though iron mines were at hand, the Peruvians did not know how to work the ore.² Their axes,

in France, 2d ed., Bury St. Edmunds, 1794, 2 vols. 4to, vol. i. p. 77.

For further mention of the Peruvian potato, see Ulloa, *Voyage to South America*, London, 1772, vol. i. p. 287; Tschudi, *Travels in Peru*, London, 1847, pp. 178, 368, 386. The importance of the study of cultivated plants in connection with the early history of mankind receives some illustration in Humboldt's *Essai sur la géographie des plantes*, Paris, 1805.

¹ Cieza, pt. i. cap. lxxv.; Garcilasso, lib. v. cap. iii.

² Garcilasso, lib. ii. cap. xxviii.

gimlets, chisels, and knives were of bronze ;¹ they had no tongs or bellows, and no nails, in lieu of which they fastened pieces of ^{Tools.} wood together with thongs.² Their ploughs were made of a hard wood, and were commonly pulled through the ground by men, though now and then llamas may have been employed.³

In another respect the Peruvians lacked the advantages which in the Old World gave to the upper period of barbarism some of its most profoundly important characteristics. We have seen that in the eastern hemisphere the middle period was the time when horses were tamed to men's uses and great herds of kine were kept. This was not only a vast enlargement of men's means of subsistence, affording a steady diet of meat and milk ; it not only added greatly to men's control of mechanical forces by enlisting the giant muscular strength of horses and oxen in their service ; but its political and social consequences were far-reaching.

Influence of
cattle upon
the evolution
of society.

In the absence of a pastoral life, the only possible advance out of a hunting stage, with incipient horticulture, into any higher stage, was along the line of village communities like those of Iroquois or Mandans into pueblo-houses and pueblo-towns like those of Zuñis and Aztecs. The clan must remain the permanent unit of organization, because the inchoate family could not acquire strength enough to maintain a partial independence. It

¹ Markham's *Cieza*, p. xxviii.

² Garcilasso, lib. vi. cap. iv.

³ Garcilasso, lib. v. cap. ii. ; see also above, vol. i. p. 62.

could not release itself from the compact communal organization without perishing from lack of the means of subsistence and defence. But in a pastoral society the needs of pasturage extended the peaceful occupations of the clan over a considerable territory; and the inchoate family, with its male chief, his underling warrior herdsmen and his horses and cattle, could maintain itself in a partial isolation which would have been impossible in a society of mere hunters, or of hunters and primitive corn-growers, with no helping animal but the dog. Life came to be more successfully conducted in scattered tents than in the communal household. Thus there grew up a tendency to relax or break down the compact communal organization; the primeval clan, based upon the tie of a common maternal descent, declined in authority, and the family of patriarchal type became the most important unit of society. In course of time a metamorphosis was wrought in the structure of the clan; it came to be a group of closely-related patriarchal families, and such is the sort of clan we find in Old World history, for the most part, from the days of Esau to those of Rob Roy.

One phase of the growing independence of cow-keeping patriarchal families, and of the loosening of the primitive communal clan organizations,¹ was the rapid and masterful development of the notion of private property. The earliest instance of property

¹ As a general rule social progress has been achieved through successive tightenings and loosening of sundry forms of social or political organization, the proper condition of development being neither anarchy nor despotic rigidity, but plastic mobility. See my *Cosmic Philosophy*, part II. chap. xx.

on a large scale, which was not the common possession of a clan, but the private possession of a family represented by its patriarchal head, was property in cattle. Of very little save his blanket and feathers, his tomahawk and his string of scalps, could the proudest Indian sachem say "it is mine;" of nothing that was part of the permanent stock of food could he say as much, for it all belonged to the clan; and his own official importance was simply that of a member of the clan council. But the Arab sheikh, as head of a patriarchal group, could say "this family is mine, and these are my cattle." This early preëminence of the cow as private property has been commemorated in the numerous Aryan words for money and wealth derived from the name of that animal.¹

Private property (*peculium*).

¹ For example, in Latin, *pecus* is "herd," *pecunia* is "money," *peculium* is "private property," whence we have *peculiarity*, or "that which especially pertains to an individual." Sir Henry Maine sees no reason for doubting the story "that the earliest coined money known at Rome was stamped with the figure of an ox" (*Early History of Institutions*, London, 1875, p. 49). Gothic *faihu* = Old English *feoh* = modern German *Vieh* is "cow;" in modern English the same word *fee* is "pecuniary reward." In Gaelic, *boslug* is "herd of cows," and *bosluaiged* is "riches." When you go to a tavern to dine you pay your *shot* or *scot* before leaving; or perhaps you get into a ticklish situation, but escape *scot-free*. In King Alfred's English *sceat* was "money," and the Icelandic *skattr* and Gothic *skatts* had the same meaning; while the same word in Gaelic, *skatl*, means "herd," and in Old Bulgarian, as *skotu*, it means "cow." So in Sanskrit, *rupa* is "cow," and *rupya* is "money," whence we have the modern *rupee* of Bengal. The great importance of the cow in early Aryan thought is shown not only by the multitude of synonyms for the creature, but still more strikingly by the frequency of similes, metaphors, and myths in the Vedas in which the cow plays a leading part.

Now in ancient Peru the llama and alpaca played an important part,¹ but in no wise comparable to that taken by cattle in the eastern hemisphere. Camels and sheep, the nearest Old World equivalents to the llama and alpaca, would be far from adequate to the functions that have been performed by horses and cows. The contrast, moreover, was not merely in the animals, but in the geographical conditions. The valleys and platforms of the Andes did not favour the development of true pastoral life like the vast steppes of Scythia or the plains of lower Asia. The domestication of animals in ancient Peru was a powerful help to the development of a stable agricultural community, but no really pastoral stage of society was reached there. The

No true pastoral life in ancient Peru.

¹ According to Garcilasso the llamas gave no more milk than was required for their own young, and were therefore not available for dairy purposes (lib. viii. cap. xvi.). Garcilasso has many amusing reminiscences connected with the introduction of European animals and plants into Peru, — how he came upon a litter of pigs in the square at Cuzco, how his father bought the first donkey in Cuzco in 1557, how he was sent around to his father's neighbours with dishes of the first grapes that came to Cuzco and helped himself on the way, how he saw his father regaling his friends with asparagus and carrots but got none himself (lib. ix. caps. xviii., xix., xxv., xxx.), and how he played truant to see the first bullocks at work, yoked to an iron plough: — “A whole army of Indians took me to see them, who came from all parts, astonished at a sight so wonderful and novel for them and for me. They said that the Spaniards were too idle to work, and that they forced those great animals to do their work for them. I remember all this very well, because my holiday with the bullocks cost me a flogging consisting of two dozen stripes: one dozen administered by my father, because I was not at school; and the other dozen by the schoolmaster, because I had only had one dozen” (lib. ix. cap. xvii.)

llamas were kept in large flocks on pastures maintained by sedulous irrigation, just as the maize and potato crops were made to thrive.¹ It was an agricultural scene. There was nothing in it like the old patriarchal life on the plain of Mamre or by the waters of the Punjab. Here we get a clue to a feature of Peruvian society unlike anything else in the world. That society may be said to have constituted a nation. It was, indeed, a nation of very rudimentary type, but still in a certain sense a nation. It was the only instance in ancient America in which a people attained to nationality in any sense; and so far as history knows, it was the only instance in the world in which the formation of nationality, with the evolution of a distinct governing class, took place before there had been any considerable development of the idea of private property. The result, as we shall see toward the close of this chapter, was a state organized upon the principle of communistic despotism.

Attainment of nationality without the notion of private property.

Let us first, however, observe some of the steps by which this rudimentary nationality was formed. The four tribes in which we can first catch sight of the process were the Quichuas, situated about the headwaters of the river Apurimac, the Incas of the upper Yucay val-

The four tribes.

¹ It must be borne in mind that the vapour-laden trade winds from the Atlantic ocean are robbed of their moisture by the cold peaks of the Andes, so that, while Brazil has a rainfall and consequent luxuriance of vegetation quite unequalled, on the other hand Peru is dry, in many places parched, and requires much irrigation. In this respect the conditions were not unlike those in our Rocky mountain region.

ley, and the Canas and Cauchis of the mountains between the site of Cuzco and Lake Titicaca. The first of these tribes gave the name Quichua to the common language of the Peruvian empire, the second gave the name Incas to the conquering race or upper caste in Peruvian society, while the names of the other two tribes lapsed into obscurity. These four tribes formed the nucleus of the Peruvian nationality. They were a race of mountaineers, short in stature, but strongly and lithely built, with features aquiline and refined, very soft skin, cinnamon complexion, fine black hair, and little or no beard. In the time of Manco Capac these tribes appear to have been made up of clans called *ayllus* or "lineages." His tribe, the Incas, established themselves in the elevated valley of Cuzco, and from that point began to subdue the neighbouring kindred tribes. They did not confine themselves, like the Aztecs, to extorting tribute from the conquered people, but they effected a military occupation of the country, a thing which the Aztecs never did. Manco's three successors confined their attention chiefly to building Cuzco (cir. 1280-1300) and taking measures to consolidate their government. We may perhaps refer to this period the beginnings of that very remarkable military organization of society presently to be described. By this time the Canas and Cauchis had been brought entirely under Inca rule, and the fifth king, Capac Yupanqui, completed the subjugation of the Quichuas. The two following reigns seem to have been spent in work of internal organization; and then under the eighth Inca,

Viracocha, the work of imperial expansion fairly began. It is now that, as already observed, we come out into the daylight of history.

This eighth Inca had a somewhat notable name. The title of Inca, applied alike to all the sovereigns, was simply the old tribal ^{Names of the Incas.} name, and continued to be applied to the descendants of the original tribe, who came to form a kind of patrician caste. The king was simply The Inca *par excellence*, very much as the chief of an Irish tribe was called The O'Neil. Of the epithets attached to this title, some, such as Manco and Rocca, may perhaps be true proper names, with the meaning lost, such as we do not find among any other people in ancient America;¹ others, such as Lloque, "left-handed," are nicknames of a sort familiar in European history; the most common ones are laudatory epithets, as Tupac, "splendid," Yupanqui, "illustrious," Capac, "rich." The eighth Inca alone has a name identifying him with deity. Viracocha was the name of the sun-god or sky-god. It was very much as if the Romans, instead of calling their emperor Divus Augustus, had called him Jupiter outright.

The Inca Viracocha conquered and annexed the extensive country about Lake Titicaca, ^{Conquest of the Aymaras;} inhabited by a kindred people usually called Aymaras, whose forefathers, perhaps, had built the cyclopean walls at Tiahuanacu. Vira-

¹ Markham, in Winsor's *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, i. 231. It may be, however, that they are simply archaic words to which we have lost the clue, — which is a very different thing. It is quite doubtful, therefore, whether this should be cited as a slight exception to my former statement, vol. i. p. 69.

cocha's son and successor, Urco, met with misfortunes. North of the Quichua country were two powerful groups of kindred tribes, the Chancas and Huancas, extending nearly to the equator, and beyond them were the Quitus, whose country reached to the confines of the Chibchas. While Viracocha was engaged in his conquests at the south, the Chancas overran the Quichua country, and shortly after Urco's accession they marched to the very gates of Cuzco; but in a decisive battle, fought just outside the town, the invaders were totally defeated by Urco's brother, Yupanqui.

Then Urco was deposed and his brother was elected to succeed him. Presently the Quichua country was won back, with the aid of its own people, who preferred the Inca rule to that of the Chancas. After a while this masterful Inca Yupanqui had conquered the whole Chanca country and that of the Huancas to boot. Next he turned his arms against the Chimus, a people of alien blood and speech, who occupied the Pacific coast from near the site of Lima northward to that of Tumbes.

These Chimus, whose name Humboldt thinks may have survived in that of the giant mountain Chimborazo,¹ were an interesting people, with a semi-civilization of their own, apparently quite different from that of the Incas. From Mr. Squier's archæological investigations² I am inclined to sus-

¹ Humboldt, *Ansichten der Natur*, ii. 48.

² See Squier's *Peru: Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas*, New York, 1877, pp. 135-192; see also Markham's valuable note in Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, i. 275-278; not often do we find more food for the historian packed into three pages.

pect that it may have been a semi-civilization of the Pueblo type, with huge communal houses. However this may have been, ^{Conquest of the Chimus.} the Inca Yupanqui conquered the Chimus. At his death the Inca sway extended from the basin of Lake Titicaca to the equator, and from the Andes to the coast; and when we compare the end of his reign with its beginning, it is clear that he fairly earned the epithet by which he was distinguished among the members of the Inca dynasty. He was the great hero of Peruvian history; and the name given him was Pachacutec, or "he who changes the world." The historian Garcilasso de la Vega was his grandson's grandson.

Under Tupac Yupanqui, son and successor of Pachacutec, the career of conquest was ^{Conquest of the Quitus;} further extended. It was first necessary to suppress a rebellion of the Aymaras. Then Tupac completed the conquest of the Quitus. So great a stretch of territory had been brought into subjection that it now seemed necessary to have a second imperial city from which to govern its northern portions. Accordingly Tupac founded the city of Quito, saying: "Cuzco must be the capital of one part of my empire and Quito of the other."¹ Then, returning southward, he brought all the coast valleys under his sway, including the valley of Pachacamac, "where was the very ancient and sacred temple of the Yuncas, which he wished very much to see. . . . Many Indians say that the Inca himself spoke with the Devil who was in the idol of Pachacamac, and that he

¹ Cieza, pt. ii. cap. lvi.

heard how the idol was the creator of the world, and other nonsense, which I do not put down, because it is not worth while.”¹ The Inca, says Cieza, did not molest this temple, but built a house of the Sun in the neighbourhood. After returning to Cuzco, he subjected some more barbarous tribes in the Charcas country southeast from Lake Titicaca, and then invaded Chili and penetrated as far as the river Maule, in almost 34° south latitude.

The conquest of Chili as far as this point was completed by Tupac’s son, Huayna Capac, who was then called to the northward by a rebellion of the tribes about Quito. The absorption of Inca strength in conquest at one end of this long territory was apt to offer opportunities for insurrection at the other end.

In an obstinate battle near Quito the rebels were defeated with great slaughter. Many hundreds of prisoners were taken. “Very few were able to hide themselves. Near the banks of a lake the Inca ordered them all to be beheaded in his presence, and their bodies to be thrown into the water. The blood of those who were killed was in such quantity that the water lost its colour, and nothing could be seen but a thick mass of blood. Having perpetrated this cruelty, . . . Huayna Capac ordered the sons of the dead men to be brought before him, and, looking at them, he said, *Campa manan pucula tucuy huambracuna*, which means, ‘You will not make war upon me, for you are all boys now.’ From that time the conquered people

Rebellion at
Quito sup-
pressed.

¹ Cieza, pt. ii. cap. lviii.

were called 'Huambracuna' to this day, and they were very valiant. The lake received the name it still bears, which is *Yahuarcocha*, or 'the lake of blood.'"¹ The last years of Huayna's long reign were spent in Quito. Upon his death in 1523 his eldest legitimate son, Huascar, succeeded him, and presently there broke out the civil war between Huascar and his bastard brother, the usurper Atahualpa, which lasted until the Spaniards arrived upon the scene.

The territory subject to Huayna Capac in 1523 extended from near Popayan, north of the equator, to the river Maule in Chili, Dimensions of the empire. a distance of nearly 2,700 miles. If the Spaniards had not interfered, the next enemies would have been the Chibchas on the north and the invincible Araucanians on the south. The average breadth of this Peruvian empire was from 300 to 350 miles, so that the area was more than 800,000 square miles, about equal to the united areas of Austria-Hungary, the German Empire, France, and Spain, or to the area of that part of the United States comprised between the Atlantic ocean and the Mississippi river. If we contrast with this vast territory the extent of Montezuma's so-called empire, about equivalent to the state of Massachusetts or the kingdom of Wurtemberg, we cannot but be struck with the difference. The contrast is enhanced when we remember that the

¹ Cieza, pt. ii. cap. lxxvii. One is reminded of Bajazet's wholesale massacre of French prisoners after the battle of Nicopolis in 1396, of which there is a graphic description in Barante, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne de la maison de Valois*, 7^e éd., Paris, 1854, tom. ii. p. 198.

Aztec confederacy did not effect a military occupation of the country over which its operations extended, nor did it undertake to administer the government of conquered pueblo towns; it simply extorted tribute. Now the conquests of the Incas went much farther than this; they undertook, and to some extent effected, a military occupation and a centralized administration of the whole country. In this work their success was naturally most complete among the four original tribes about Cuzco; probably less complete among the Aymaras, still less among the Chimus and other coast tribes, and least at the two extremities in Quito and Chili.

“The grand aim and glory of the Incas,” says

The Incas sought to assimilate conquered peoples.

Garcilasso, “was to reduce new tribes and to teach them the laws and customs of the children of the Sun.”¹ The

Incas imposed their language upon each conquered tribe,² until it came to be spoken in all parts of their territory, often side by side with the local tongues, somewhat as Hindustani is spoken throughout the greater part of British India, side by side with Bengali, Guzerati, Punjabi, etc. The Incas, moreover, to the best of their ability abolished cannibalism and other savage customs wherever they found them, and introduced their own religious ceremonies and festivals.³ They appointed governors (*curacas*) for all places.⁴ They established garrisons at various

¹ Garcilasso, lib. vii. cap. xviii.

² Id., lib. vii. cap. i.; Cieza, pt. ii. cap. xxiv.

³ Garcilasso, lib. vi. cap. xvii.; lib. viii. caps. iii., vii.; and *passim*.

⁴ Id., lib. v. cap. xiii.

points in order to secure their conquests ;¹ and they built military roads, with storehouses at suitable intervals where provisions and arms could be kept.² In connection with these stations were barracks where the troops could find shelter. These roads, which radiated from Cuzco to many parts of the Inca's dominions, were about twenty-five feet in width, and almost as level as railroads, which in that rugged country involved much cutting through rocks and much filling of gorges. The central highway from Quito to Cuzco, which was finished by Huayna Capac, and was connected with a similar road extending from Cuzco southward, is described with enthusiasm by Cieza de Leon, whose accuracy cannot lightly be questioned. "The great road from Quito to Cuzco, which is a greater distance than from Seville to Rome, was as much used as the road from Seville to Triana, and I cannot say more.³ . . . I believe that since the history of man has been recorded, there has been no account of such grandeur as is to be seen in this road, which passes over deep valleys and lofty mountains, by snowy heights, over falls of water, through live rocks, and along the edges of furious torrents. In all these places it is level and paved, along mountain slopes well excavated, by the mountains well terraced, through the living rock cut, along the river banks supported by walls, in the snowy heights with steps and resting places, in all parts

¹ Garcilasso, lib. vi. cap. xvi. ; Cieza, pt. ii. caps. ix., **xxii.**

² Garcilasso, lib. v. cap. viii. ; Cieza, pt. i. cap. lx.

³ Cieza, pt. ii. cap. lvii.

clean swept, clear of stones, with post- and store-houses and temples of the Sun at intervals. Oh! what greater things can be said of Alexander, or of any of the powerful kings who have ruled in the world, than that they had made such a road as this, and conceived the works which were required for it! The roads constructed by the Romans in Spain . . . are not to be compared with it.”¹ These roads facilitated the transmission of political and military intelligence. At intervals of a league and a half, says Polo de Ondegardo, there stood small relay houses, each The couriers. “adapted to hold two Indians, who served as postmen, and were relieved once a month, and they were there night and day. Their duty was to pass on the messages of the Inca from Cuzco to any other point, and to bring back those of the governors, so that all the transactions and events of the empire were known. When the Inca wished to send anything to a governor, he said it to the first *chasqui* [courier], who ran at full speed for a league and a half, and passed the message to the next as soon as he was within hearing, so that when he reached the post the other man had already started.”² The Spaniards made use of this system of couriers, and were

¹ Cieza, pt. ii. cap. lxiii.

² “Report by Polo de Ondegardo,” in Markham’s *Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas*, London, 1873, p. 169 (Hakluyt Society). The original MS. is in the National Library at Madrid, and has, I believe, not yet been published. Ondegardo was a learned lawyer who came to Peru in 1547 with Gasca, and was afterwards “corregidor” or chief magistrate of Cuzco. His brief document is of much value.

thus able to convey letters from Cuzco to Lima, a distance of nearly four hundred miles, in three days.¹ Such a system for written despatches would of course do very well; but one is inclined to wonder how a verbal message, transmitted through a dozen or fifty mouths, should have retained enough of its original shape to be recognizable. For all except the very simplest messages the *quipus* must have been indispensable.

Remarkable as were these roads, and the arrangements connected with them, the limitations under which the Peruvians worked might be seen as soon as there was a river or a broad and deep ravine to be crossed. Here the difference between civilization and middle-barbarism comes out forcibly. The Incas could command enough human brawn and muscle to build cyclopean masonry; but as they did not understand the principle of the arch,² they could not build stone bridges, nor had they sufficient knowledge of carpentry and en-

¹ Ondegardo adds that these couriers were used to bring up fresh fish from the sea to Cuzco. A similar but ruder system of couriers was used in Mexico (Bandelier, in *Peabody Museum Reports*, vol. ii. p. 696). Something similar existed in ancient Persia (Herodotus, viii. 98); only there they used horses, as well as swift dromedaries (Strabo, xv. p. 724; Diodorus, xvii. 80; Quintus Curtius, vii. 2, 11-18). Marco Polo (lib. ii. cap. 26) describes the relays of mounted couriers in China in the thirteenth century. The carrying of dainties for the table from the coast to Cuzco was nothing to what was done for the Fatimite caliph Aziz, in the tenth century, according to Makrizi, iv. 118, quoted by Colonel Yule. As the caliph craved a dish of Baalbec cherries, his vizier "caused 600 pigeons to be despatched from Baalbec to Cairo, each of which carried attached to either leg a small silk bag containing a cherry!" Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i. p. 392.

² Garcilasso, lib. v. cap. xxii.; lib. vii. cap. xxix.

gineering to make bridges of wood. Their ingenuity was therefore driven to assert itself by stretching huge osier ropes across from side to side of the river or chasm, and laying upon the ropes a flooring of transverse planks. The sides of these swaying bridges were protected by a slight rope railing. Llamas with their burdens could be driven across such bridges, as mules can be driven across them to-day; but they are not comfortable places for people with unsteady nerves, and in a high wind they are unsafe.¹

This extensive system of roads would of itself indicate a military empire that had passed beyond the mere stage of tribal confederation. A similar indication is furnished by the remarkable system of military colonies (*mitimaes*) established by the great Inca Pachacutec,² or perhaps by his father Viracocha Inca. It was a custom peculiarly incident to the imperfect rudimentary development of nationality, and reminds

Military colonies.

¹ The picture of the rope bridge over the Apurimac river, still in use, which may be seen in Squier's *Peru*, p. 545, is enough to give one a turn of vertigo. For a description of this and other bridges in the Inca period, see Garcilasso, lib. iii. cap. vii.

² "Although some Indians say that the *mitimaes* were planted from the time of Viracocha Inca, those may believe it who please to do so. For my part I took such pains to ascertain the facts, that I do not hesitate to affirm the colonizing system to have been instituted by [Pachacutec] Inca Yupanqui." Cieza de Leon, ed. Markham, pt. ii. cap. xxii. The system is more likely to have grown up gradually than to have been invented all at once. Mr. Bandelier suggests that possibly there may have been a rude germ of it in Mexico, in the occasional repeopling of an abandoned pueblo by colonists of Nahuatl race, as in the case of Alahuitzlan, related by Father Duran (cap. xlv.) and Tezozomoc (cap. lxxiv.). — *Peabody Museum Reports*, vol. ii. p. 140.

one strongly of what was formerly to be seen in Assyria. The ancient kings of Babylon and Nineveh used to transfer a considerable part of a conquered population from their old homes to a new habitat in some distant part of the empire, in order to break up local patriotism and diminish the tendency to revolts. Sometimes such a population was transferred in block, and some other population put in its place ; but more often it was broken into small bodies and scattered. It was thus that Tiglath-Pileser and Sargon of Nineveh carried off the ten tribes of Israel,¹ and that a part of the people of Judah were kept in exile by the waters of Babylon until the great Cyrus released them.² Now this same system of deportation was extensively practised by the Incas, and for the same reason. For example, Tupac Yupanqui removed from the islands of Lake Titicaca their entire population, and scattered it in different places ; he replaced it on the islands by people taken from forty-two tribes in various parts of his dominions.³ When the same Inca founded the city of Quito he peopled it with *mitimaes*, largely from the regions near Cuzco and likely to be loyal. Huayna Capac did the same sort of thing in Chili. In many cases chiefs and other important men among these transported populations received especial marks of favour from the Inca and were

¹ Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, 2d ed., London, 1871, vol. ii. p. 152 ; 2 Kings xviii. 9-11. Similar things were now and then done by the Romans ; see Dio Cassius, liv. 11 ; Florus, iv. 12.

² Ewald's *History of Israel*, vol. iv. pp. 263, 274 ; Rawlinson, *op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 385.

³ Garcilasso, lib. viii. cap. vi.

taught to regard their fortunes as dependent upon him. Strangers from all quarters, moreover, were brought to Cuzco and assigned their several quarters there, so that the city was a kind of epitome of the Inca's dominions.¹

Now the features of Peruvian polity thus far enumerated—the imposing of a new language and religion upon conquered tribes, the appointment of governors (usually if not always of the Inca blood), the maintenance of garrisons, the system of military roads, and the wholesale deportation of peoples—are all features attendant upon the incipient development of national-
Incipient na-
tionality. tional-ity through conquest and fusion of tribes and the breaking down of primitive tribal institutions. There were points of genuine analogy between this development in Peru and in Assyria. This kind of incipient nationality is of very low type. It is held together not by a national spirit of patriotism, but by the systematic coercion exercised by the ruling tribe, which has been developed into what is practically a ruling caste. Oriental history affords plenty of examples of the ease with which countries under such conditions are sometimes conquered. It is only necessary for the invader to strike down the sovereign and get control of the machinery of government, and the thing is done; the subject tribes simply exchange one master for another, or if here and there a tribe rebels, it is rather to regain its original independence than to restore the state of

¹ Instructive notices of the *mitimaes* may be found in Cieza, pt. i. cap. xciii.; pt. ii. caps. xiii., xxii., lii., lvi., lxii.

things immediately preceding the catastrophe. Sometimes it succeeds in its attempt, but often the new master, wielding the same resources as the old one, or even greater, reduces it again to submission.

In this rudimentary form of nationality, where anything like the application of representative government to nation-making is utterly above and beyond the range of men's thought, the only shape which government can assume is military despotism, exercised either by a royal family or by a caste. The despotic government of ancient Peru seems to have partaken of both these characters; it was exercised by a caste in which a particular family was preëminently sovereign. The Incas, as already observed, were originally a conquering tribe; and they remained superimposed upon the conquered peoples as an upper caste. Garcilasso tells us that "the Incas were free from the temptations which usually lead to crime, such as passion for women, envy and covetousness, or the thirst for vengeance; because if they desired beautiful women, it was lawful for them to have as many as they liked; and any pretty girl they might take a fancy to, not only was never denied to them, but was given up by her father with expressions of extreme thankfulness that an Inca should have condescended to take her as his servant. The same thing might be said of their property; for as they never could feel the want of anything, they had no reason to covet the goods of others; while as governors they had command over all the property of the Sun

The Inca
caste.

and of the Inca; and those who were in charge were bound to give them all that they required, as children of the Sun, and brethren of the Inca. They likewise had no temptation to kill or wound any one either for revenge or in passion; for no one ever offended them. On the contrary, they received adoration only second to that offered to the royal person; and if any one, how high soever his rank, had enraged any Inca, it would have been looked upon as sacrilege and very severely punished." Of course some allowances must be made in accepting these statements; such sweeping generalizations always require more or less qualification; and it is not likely that there ever existed a society of which this description of Garcilasso's would have been literally accurate. But after making due allowances, it remains quite clear that his Incas constituted a distinct caste, and were regarded by the mass of people as beings of a superior order. They were not only an upper caste, but they were a ruling caste, and furnished for every part of the empire governors allied to one another by a keen sense of kinship.

The chief of this Inca caste, called *par excellence* The Inca, was no doubt the descendant and representative of the ancient chiefs of the Inca tribe. Just how far the different attributes of royalty were united in his person and office, it is not easy to say. With regard to the highest legislative and judiciary powers, our authorities do not make it perfectly clear how far they were exercised by the

The Inca sovereign and council.

¹ Garcilasso, lib. ii. cap. xv.

Inca solely, or by the Inca in connection with a council. That there was a council is unquestionable, and that it was a development from the council of the primitive Inca tribe is in a high degree probable; but we are insufficiently informed as to the extent of its powers. From sundry statements, however, it may be inferred that these powers were considerable, and that the Inca was perhaps not quite so full-blown a despot as some of Mr. Prescott's authorities declared him to be. The statement that, if he had taken it into his head to put to death a hundred thousand Indians, his decree would have been executed without a murmur, has a strong smack of hyperbole.¹ On the other hand, we are told that before deciding upon any measure of importance, the council was always consulted; upon this point, says Cieza de Leon, all his informants were agreed.² As to the crucial question, however, how far the Inca's authority was effectively limited by the council, Cieza leaves us in the dark. Garcilasso refers to "Tupac Yupanqui and all his council" ordaining that two of the royal concubines should be legitimized and regarded as true queens, in order to provide against a possible failure in the succession, because the heir apparent, Huayna Capac, had no children by his first and legitimate queen.³ Here the consent

¹ "Su palabra era ley, i nadie osaba ir contra su palabra ni voluntad: aunque obiese de matar cient mill Indios, no havia ninguno en su reino que le osase decir que no lo hiciese." *Conquista i poblacion del Peru*, MS., apud Prescott, *Conq. of Peru*, book i. chap. i.

² Cieza, pt. ii. cap. xxvi.

³ Garcilasso, lib. viii. cap. viii.

of the council, in a measure of prime importance, is evidently assumed to be essential. Still more significant is the brief mention made by Cieza of the deposition of the Inca Urco.¹ This ruler's military conduct had been disastrous. The invading Chancas had, in spite of him, arrived within sight of Cuzco, when they were defeated with prodigious slaughter by his brother, afterward famous as Pachacutec Yupanqui. After the victory there was earnest discussion within the city. Cieza does not mention the council by name, but except the council there was no authoritative body in which such a discussion could take place. Cieza's description throughout implies that the proceedings were regular, and that the decision was at once accepted as final. It was decided that the unworthy Urco should not be allowed to enter the city, and that the fringed and feathered crimson cap, or *borla*, which served as the Inca diadem, should be taken from him and bestowed upon his victorious brother. In spite of Urco's protests this was done. It is further said that Urco's lawful queen, who had borne him no children, forthwith abandoned him, and, coming into Cuzco, became the lawful queen of Pachacutec.² All these proceedings seem to me consistent

¹ Cieza, pt. ii. cap. xlvi.

² Cieza does not tell us what became of the deposed and forsaken king. "I say no more concerning Inca Urco, because the Indians only refer to his history as a thing to laugh at."

Garcilasso tells a different story. He places the invasion of the Chancas two generations earlier, in the reign of Urco's grandfather, Yahuar-huaccac. That Inca, says Garcilasso, fled from Cuzco, and his son Viracocha Inca defeated the invaders, where-

and probable, and they clearly indicate that the power of deposing and degrading the king, and filling his place by the prince next in the customary order of succession, was retained by the Inca council at Cuzco, as it was retained by the *tlatocan* at the city of Mexico, and could be exerted in cases of emergency.

On the whole, I am inclined to the opinion that the reigning Inca had practically acquired control of judicial, administrative, and legislative affairs through his paramount influence in the council; and that this is one reason why such meagre information about the council has come down to us. The Inca was, in all probability, much more a king than Agamemnon, — more like Rameses the Great.

One is the more inclined to this opinion because of the excessive development of sacerdotal supremacy in the Inca. As already observed, in the order of historic evolution the king is primarily the military chief; next he becomes chief priest, and in virtue of this combination of exalted functions, he acquires so much influence as to appropriate to himself by degrees the other functions of government, judicial, administrative, and legisla-

upon the son dethroned the father, but allowed him to live in a comfortable palace in the pleasant Yucay valley (lib. v. cap. xviii.-xx.). But in this story also, the act which dethrones the father and enthrones the son is the act of "the court, which was the head of the kingdom, to avoid scandals and civil wars, and above all because there was no use in resisting, so that all that the prince desired was agreed to." Nothing could be more significant. The victorious prince is all-powerful in the council, but still the action, to be lawful, must be the action of the council. This preserves the reminiscence of despotism in the making, at a time when despotism was practically completed.

tive.¹ Now the Inca, originally the head war-chief of the Inca tribe, came naturally to be The Inca was a "god-king." military head of the Inca empire. As to his sacerdotal functions he came to be something more than chief priest; his position was that of vice-deity, analogous to what Herbert Spencer calls a god-king. To illustrate this properly a few words must be devoted to an account of the Inca religion.

This religion was a comparatively high form of polytheism, in which ancestor-worship coexisted with worship of the Sun; and now and then some idea crudely suggestive of monotheism found expression, as in the remark attributed by Father Blas Valera to the Inca Tupac Yupanqui, that the Sun, who goes on his unvarying round like a tethered beast, must be obeying the mandates of an unseen power.² In the mind of the Inca this unseen power was probably Pachacamac, whose name Pachacamac. means "Creator of the World." "All the theology of the Incas," says Garcilasso, "was included in the word *Pachacamac*." They believed that things must have been made somehow by somebody, but beyond that point they did not carry their speculations, for they had little science and still less theology, and "knew not how to raise their minds to invisible things."³ In all Peru there was but one temple consecrated to Pachacamac. It was on the coast, some distance south

¹ See above, vol. i. p. 112.

² The same remark was attributed by Father Acosta to Tupac's son, Huayna Capac. See Garcilasso, lib. viii. cap. viii.; lib. ix. cap. x. Cf. *Myths and Mythmakers*, pp. 169-171.

³ Garcilasso, lib. ii. cap. xxv.

of the site of Lima. It was a very old temple, standing on the top of a small hill and built of adobe brick. The interior walls were covered with figures of wild beasts. Within was an idol endowed with oracular powers, and its priests, when consulted, went off into paroxysms like the Cumæan Sibyl.¹ To the valley of Pachacamac came pilgrims with their offerings from all quarters to consult the oracle. It seems to have been a relic of the old idolatrous religion of the coast people, which the sagacious Tupac Yupanqui, instead of destroying it, converted to the uses of a more spiritual religion, somewhat as early Roman missionaries cleansed pagan temples and turned them into Christian churches.² The general policy of the Incas, however, was to suppress idolatry among the peoples annexed to their dominions.³ Garci-

¹ At Phœbi nondum patiens, immanis in antro
Bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit
Excussisse Deum. Tanto magis ille fatigat
Os rabidum, fera corda domans, fingitque premedo.
Ostia jamque domus patuere ingentia centum
Sponte sua, vatisque ferunt responsa per auras.

Virg., *Æn.*, vi. 77.

² Cieza's remarks are entertaining. He says that "the devil Pachacamac" was much pleased with the arrangement, and "showed great satisfaction in his replies, seeing that his ends were served both by the one party and the other, while the souls of the unfortunate simpletons remained in his power. Some Indians say that this accursed demon Pachacamac still talks with the aged people. As he sees that his authority and credit are gone, and that many of those who once served him have now formed a contrary opinion, he declares that he and the God of whom the Christians preach are one, and thus with other false and deceitful words induces some to refuse the water of baptism" (pt. i. cap. lxxii.). There was nothing of the comparative mythologist about Cieza!

³ Garcilasso, lib. vi. cap. x.; lib. viii. cap. iii.

lasso declares most positively that the Inca people "worshipped no other gods but the Sun, although there are not wanting persons who state the contrary."¹ The reverence for tutelar domestic deities, the spirits of deceased ancestors, Garcilasso would probably not have regarded as a real exception to his general statement, any more than, as a Catholic, he would have recognized the reverence for patron saints as an evanescent phase of polytheism. The public worship was Sun-worship. Some reverence was paid to the moon, the three brightest planets, and the Pleiades, but this was but accessory to the adoration of the orb of day. This worship was celebrated chiefly at four great festivals at the solstices and equinoxes of each year.² At these festivals there were sacrifices of "sheep," i. e. llamas or alpacas, and their lambs; of rabbits and birds used for food; of maize and other vegetables, of the strength-sustaining herb *coca*,³ of the exhilarating *chicha*, or maize beer,⁴ and of fine cloths. "They burnt

¹ Garcilasso, lib. iii. cap. xx.

² For the method in which the Peruvians measured the year and determined the solstices and equinoxes by means of the shadows cast by towers, see Garcilasso, lib. ii. cap. xxii. They used the solar year, and intercalated a period at the end of the lunar year to bring it up to the solar. This period they called "finished moon." See Markham's note, to Garcilasso, vol. i. p. 179.

³ The dietetic and medicinal uses of this valuable narcotic, especially useful to mountaineers, are described in Garcilasso, lib. viii. cap. xv.; and Cieza, pt. i. cap. xvi.; cf. Johnston, *Chemistry of Common Life*, vol. ii. pp. 116-135; Bibra, *Die Narkotischen Genussmittel und der Mensch*, pp. 151-174.

⁴ The maize beer is described in Garcilasso, lib. viii. cap. ix. The Peruvians were sturdy tipplers; the quantity of beer they

these things as a thank-offering to the Sun for having created them for the support of man.”¹ As for human sacrifices, Garcilasso assures us, and with evident knowledge of the subject, that there was nothing of the sort under ^{No human sacrifices.} the Incas. In the times before the Inca supremacy, and among many of the peoples whom the Incas conquered, there were human sacrifices accompanied by cannibalism;² but both these practices were sternly suppressed by the Incas. Their abolition he would date as far back as the time of Manco Capac,³ which was equivalent to “a time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary.” If some Spanish writers assert that there were human sacrifices in Peru, it shows that they do not exercise proper discrimination. Within the vast limits of the Inca dominion there were included a number of peoples with whom such sacrifices had long been customary, and it might well be that the Incas had not completely succeeded everywhere in stamping out the abomination. Garcilasso mentions a writer who described human sacrifices “in Peru;” but it was in a place more than twelve hundred miles north of Cuzco, i. e. in a region recently conquered and imperfectly

consumed, says our author (lib. vi. cap. iii.), “is a thing almost incredible.” After the Spaniards introduced barley, the natives made beer from it (Cieza, pt. i. cap. xl.); but the *chicha* is still in common use. See Squier’s *Peru*, p. 126 *et passim*.

¹ Garcilasso, lib. ii. cap. viii.

² Compare Dr. Haug’s remarks on the prevalence of human sacrifices in Vedic times and their abandonment by the Brahmans, in Muir’s *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i. p. 11.

³ Garcilasso, lib. i. cap. xx.

reorganized. "I am a witness," says the good Garcilasso, "to having heard my father and his contemporaries frequently compare the states of Mexico and Peru; and in speaking of these sacrifices of men, and of the practice of eating human flesh, they praised the Incas of Peru because they neither practised nor permitted such acts, while they execrated the Mexicans for doing both the one and the other in the city in so diabolical a fashion."¹ Little if any doubt is now left that Garcilasso was quite right, and that among the burnt-offerings to the Sun on his great festal days there were no human creatures.

The duties and ceremonies of this Sun-worship were in charge of quite a hierarchy of ministering priests and confessors, sacrificers, hermits, and soothsayers, at the head of all the Villac
The priest- hood. Umu, "chief soothsayer" or high priest, and above him the Inca.² The soothsayers, like the Roman augurs, divined by the flight of birds or by inspecting the entrails of animals sacrificed. The ministering priests received confessions and

¹ Garcilasso, lib. ii. cap. viii. Mr. Prescott (*Conquest of Peru*, book i. chap. iii.) was inclined to admit that human sacrifices were performed, though very rarely, under the Incas, and quoted five contemporary authorities (including Cieza) against Garcilasso. But Mr. Markham has shown that Cieza and others were misled by supposing that the words *yuyac* and *huahua* signified "men" and "children," whereas, as applied to the victims of sacrifice, these words signified "adult beasts" and "lambs." Mr. Markham also quotes seven other important contemporary authorities (not mentioned by Mr. Prescott) in support of Garcilasso; so that the question appears to be settled in his favour. See Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, i. 237, 238.

² The priesthood is described by Mr. Markham, in Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, i. 240.

served as the mouthpieces of oracles. The hermits dwelt in solitary places, and were, in some instances if not always, organized into a kind of celibate monastic brotherhood with a chief hermit at the head. To these remarkable coincidences with various customs in the Old World may be added the special coincidence with ancient Egypt in mortuary customs. In Peru as in Egypt the bodies of the dead, swathed and wrapped in complicated fashion, were preserved as mummies, and sundry treasures and utensils were buried with them.¹

Not the least interesting of these coincidences was the keeping of the sacred fire. Each year at the autumnal equinox a "new fire was kindled by collecting the sun's rays on a burnished mirror, and this fire was kept alive ^{The vestal nuns.} through the year by consecrated maidens (*allacuna*) analogous to the Roman vestal nuns. These

¹ Compare Cieza de Leon, pt. i. cap. lxiii. with Maspero's *Egyptian Archæology*, chap. iii. "Many of these ceremonies," says Cieza, "are now given up, because these people are learning that it suffices to inter the bodies in common graves, as Christians are interred, without taking anything with them other than good works. In truth, all other things but serve to please the Devil, and to send the soul down to hell the more heavily weighted." In several passages Cieza speaks of the custom of burying widows alive with their husband's mummy as if it were a common custom in Peru. It was undoubtedly common among many of the peoples conquered by the Incas, but it was not an Inca custom, and they did what they could to suppress it. A very high contemporary authority, known as "the anonymous Jesuit," declares that "in none of the burial-places opened by the Spaniards in search of treasure were any human bones found, except those of the buried lord himself." Markham, in Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, i. 237. Specimens of the mummies may be seen at the Peabody Museum in Cambridge.

vestals lived in convents presided over by matrons (*mama-cuna*). If the fire happened to go out it was an evil omen. If a nun broke her vow of chastity she was buried alive,¹ just as in Rome. But as compared with the Peruvian system of vestals, the Roman system seems either like a dwindled survival of something similar, or perhaps a parallel case of development arrested at an earlier stage. It was a much more extensive affair in Peru than in Rome, and its meaning is in many respects more obvious. In Rome there were six priestesses of Vesta, who were treated with most signal deference.² In Peru an *aclla-cuna* was treated with much deference, as a kind of superior being, but the number of them was very large. There were about 1,500 of these vestals in the *aclla-huasi*, or "nuns'-house" at Cuzco, and in all parts of the kingdom a temple of the Sun generally had such a convent attached to it. Their vow of perpetual celibacy meant that they were the Sun's wives; whence it was quite natural that the punishment for infidelity should be burial in the dark grave out of the offended husband's sight. As wives of the Sun, they had certain household duties. They baked cakes and brewed beer for the great sacrificial festivals of the winter solstice and the vernal equinox.

¹ Garcilasso, lib. iv. cap. iii. According to Zarate (*Conquista del Peru*, ii. 7), the woman's paramour was burned alive.

² "They were emancipated from the *patria potestas* and became *sui juris*; . . . a lictor cleared the way before them; a seat of honour was reserved for them at the public shows; the fasces of a prætor or consul were lowered to them; and if they met a criminal on his way to execution he was reprieved." Ramsay, *Roman Antiquities*, p. 163.

They also wove cloth of fine cotton and vicuña wool, and made clothes for their husband the Sun ; but as the celestial spouse, so abundantly cared for, could not come down from the sky to take these clothes, the Inca took and wore them. We are thus prepared for the information that the Inca, as representative of the Sun, was husband of all these consecrated women. They were concubines for the Inca. The convents were not equivalent to Eastern harems, for the Inca did not visit them. But he sent and took from them as many concubines as he wished ; those who were not thus taken remained virgins.¹ It was absolutely required that the nuns at Cuzco should be of pure Inca blood ; and as every reigning Inca had two or three hundred enumerated children,² the race seemed to be in no danger of dying out.

The theory of the Inca's person, upon which these customs were based, regarded him as the human representative or incarnation of the solar deity. He was the Sun, made flesh and dwelling among men. Such dignity was greater than that of mediæval Pope or Emperor ; it was even greater than that of the Caliph, who was a Mussulman pope and emperor combined ; and this is in har-

¹ Many interesting details concerning these vestals are given in Garcilasso, lib. iv. caps. i.-vii.

² How many more he may have had cannot be reckoned. Apparently any woman in the Inca's dominions might at any time be summoned to be his concubine, and felt honoured and exalted by the summons. According to Garcilasso, his great-grandfather Tupac Yupanqui had 200 children in his family (lib. viii. cap. viii.) ; and his great-uncle Huayna Capac had from 200 to 300 (lib. ix. cap. xv.).

mony with the view that the Inca's rule was practically absolute. As for instances of monarchs with power strictly unlimited, like the king in a fairy-tale, they are not easy to find anywhere in history.

Great pains were taken to keep the lineage of this august person as narrowly definite as possible. The Inca could have but one legitimate wife, and it was imperatively required that she should be his full sister, — the child of the same father by the same mother.¹ The children of the Inca by this incestuous marriage were thus as completely and narrowly royal in blood as possible, and the eldest son was the legitimate heir to the kingdom.² If the Inca had no children by his eldest sister, he married the second, and the third, and so on, until a legitimate heir was born to him. Only such an heir could be legitimate. The Inca's two or three hundred children by the vestals, of pure Inca blood, were counted as legitimate, but could not inherit the kingship. His children by ordinary women were mere bastards, and counted for nothing, although they were respected as nobler than common people.

Such notions of caste, of distinction between noble and ignoble blood, such extreme deification of the military head of the community, would have been inconceivable in any part of aboriginal

¹ This one legitimate wife was called *Coya*, equivalent to queen. See Garcilasso, lib. iv. cap. ix. ; Cieza, pt. ii. cap. lxix.

² In its origin this rule was probably a device for keeping the "royal succession in the male line, where otherwise succession through females prevailed." See Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, vol. ii. p. 346.

America except Peru. In purely tribal society there is no such thing as caste, no such thing as monarchy. Caste and monarchy are results of the partial fusion of tribal societies through conquest. The conquering tribe becomes the ruling caste, its head war-chief becomes the semi-divine monarch. Nowhere except in Peru had there been enough conquest and fusion to produce any such results. The Mexican *tlacatecuhtli* afforded an instance of primitive kingship developed almost as far as was possible in a purely tribal society; he was a priest-commander, almost but not quite equivalent to the early Greek *basileus*, or priest-judge-commander. If the conquering career of the Aztec confederacy had gone on unchecked until the present time, it would probably have effected a military occupation of the whole Mexican territory, with garrisons in the principal pueblo-towns; the *calpixqui*, or tax-gatherers, would probably have developed into permanent satraps or governors, like the Peruvian *curacas*; the Aztec tribe might very likely have developed into a ruling caste, supported entirely by the labour of the subjected peoples; and the Aztec "chief-of-men" might well have become exalted into a despot like Xerxes or Tupac Yupanqui; while the Aztec tribal council would have come to be an evanescent affair seldom mentioned by historians, like the council at Cuzco.

Society had undergone further development in Peru than elsewhere in America.

Thus the governmental development in ancient Peru was such as to indicate that society must, at least in some respects, have passed beyond the

tribal stage as exemplified elsewhere throughout aboriginal America. We have other indications of a similar kind. There are reasons for believ-

Breaking up
of the clan
system.

ing that the primitive clan system was to a very considerable extent broken up.

Upon such points, indeed, our information is meagre and unsatisfactory. The ethnologist and the archæologist have not done so much for us in Peru as they have done in North America. There is much need in this field for work like that of Morgan, Cushing, and Bandelier. It would be interesting to know, for example, how far the great communal house or fortress, of the pueblo type, may have been common in Peru. One would gladly see the remarkable ruins at Caxarmarquilla¹ and at Chimu,² near Truxillo, explored with especial reference to this question. If it should turn out, however, that these and other structures in the coast region are the remains of ancient pueblos, it would still be unsafe to infer too hastily that the state of society implied by them was like that which prevailed nearer to Cuzco. It is probable that before the Inca conquests the entire coast region, from the isthmus of Darien to Chili, was the seat of a semi-civilization in many respects like that of Mexico and Central America, in some respects cruder. These coast peoples were skilful irrigators and built huge structures of adobe brick; they were cannibals, they sacrificed human beings to dog-headed idols, and they buried widows alive with their dead husbands. All such heathenish practices the conquer-

¹ Squier's *Peru*, p. 93.

² *Id.*, pp. 143-164

ing Incas, to the best of their ability, suppressed. If we were to infer, from the cannibalism practised by these peoples, that the Incas were likewise cannibals, we should make a grave mistake. It would clearly, therefore, be unsafe to infer, from any vestiges of communal living in this region, that the same sort of communal living formed any part of the Inca phase of society.

In this connection a certain passage in Garcilasso de la Vega is very suggestive. Eastward of the Andes, in a part of what is now Bolivia, lived a fierce race of barbarians called Chirihuanas, — such cannibals that “if they ^{The Chirihuanas.} come upon shepherds watching sheep [alpacas], they prefer one shepherd to a whole flock of sheep.” In 1572 (i. e. in Garcilasso’s own time, when he was thirty-two years old), the viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo undertook to invade the country of the Chirihuanas and chastise them into good behaviour. But their country, situated on the rainy side of the giant mountains, was a frightful maze of swampy forests, and Don Francisco was baffled, as in earlier days the great Inca Pachacutec had been baffled in the same enterprise. “The viceroy came back as a fugitive, having left behind all he had taken with him, that the Indians might be satisfied with their captures and leave him to escape. He came out by so bad a road that, as the beasts were unable to drag the litter in which he travelled, the Spaniards and Indians had to carry him on their shoulders. The Chirihuanas followed behind, with derisive shouts, and cried out to the bearers to throw that old woman

[his highness, the viceroy!] out of the basket, that they might eat her alive."

Now of these Chirihuanas Garcilasso goes on to say that they learned from the Incas how to make dwellings, in which they lived in common. There is a possible ambiguity about this sentence if it is carelessly read. From the context I understand it to mean, not that the Incas taught them their communal style of living, in which they resembled savages and low barbarians generally; but that they copied from neighbouring peoples under Inca sway certain building arts which they applied to their own purposes. Perhaps Garcilasso is mistaken in supposing that they learned their art of building from the Incas; for on that point he speaks as an antiquary. In the next sentence he speaks as a contemporary. A Chirihuana dwelling, he says, is a very large house, divided into as many apartments as there are families; these apartments, though small, are quite sufficient for people without much encumbrance in the shape of clothes or household furniture; and each great house may be called a village (*pueblo*). Upon such a state of things Garcilasso looks with some disgust. "This is enough to say about the brutal condition and manner of life of the Chirihuanas, and it will be a great marvel if we are able to draw them out of it." ¹

¹ "Tambien aprendieron los Chirihuanas de los Incas à hazer casas para su morada, no particulares, sino en comun: porque hazen un galpon grandissimo, y dentro tantos apartadijos quantos son los vezinos, y tan pequeños que no caben mas de las personas y les basta porque no tienen axuar ni ropa de vestir, que andan en cueros. Y desta manera se podra llamar pueblo cada galpon

This is not the way in which the Inca historian would have mentioned pueblo-houses if he had been familiar with them from boyhood. He tells us, moreover, that the Peruvians of whom he had personal knowledge, in Cuzco and other cities, did not join their houses together, but each one stood by itself; on one side was usually a large living room, on the other were small chambers and closets.¹ The inference, that the normal Peruvian household was a family and not a clan, is supported by the fact that in the remarkably symmetrical and artificial organization of society, about to be described, the unit of composition was not the clan, but the family averaging five or six persons.

It is quite in harmony with such a stage of family development that marriage was ordinarily indissoluble;² that most men had but one wife, though in certain cases polygamy was ^{Monogamy.} permissible;³ and that prostitutes were treated

de aquellos. Esto es lo que ay que dezir acerca de la bruta condicion y vida de los Chirihuanas, que sera gran marauilla poderlos sacar della." Garcilasso, lib. vii. cap. xvii. (Lisbon, 1609). In his translation of this passage Mr. Markham is evidently wrong as to the meaning of that tricksome word *vezinos*; here it clearly means families, not individuals. Garcilasso surely did not mean to describe the house as "divided into as many partitions as there are inhabitants."

¹ "Advertimos que los Indios del Peru . . . no trauauan vnas pieças con otras, sino que todas las hazian sueltas cada vna de porsí: quando mucho de vna muy gran sala o quadra sacauan a vn lado, y a otro sendos aposentos pequeños que seruian de recamaras," lib. vi. cap. iv.

² Report by Cristoval de Molina, in Markham's *Rites and Laws of the Yncas*, London, 1873 (Hakluyt Soc.), p. 54.

³ "When any man had received a woman as his legitimate wife or *mamanchu*, he could not take another except through the favour

as outside the pale of society. They were obliged to live in huts in the fields, outside of the towns, and were called *pampayruna*, or "women of the fields." They were treated by men "with extreme contempt. Women could not speak to them, on pain of receiving the same name, being shorn in public, declared as infamous, and repudiated by their husbands if married."¹

Such a development of the family indicates a great advance from the primitive type of clan organization. But the extent to which the clan system had been broken up and superseded by a very peculiar and artificial system is illustrated in the industrial organization of the Peruvian people in their village communities. There everything was arranged as symmetrically as in the administration of departments, arrondissements, cantons, and communes in modern France; and such symmetry of arrangement is explicable only as the result of the action of a more or less

of the Inca, which was shown for various reasons, either to one who had special skill in any art, or to one who had shown valour in war, or had pleased the Inca in any other way." Report by Polo de Ondegardo, in Markham, *op. cit.* p. 166.

¹ Garcilasso, lib. iv. cap. xiv. There is a *double entendre* in the word *pampayruna*; inasmuch as *pampa* means not only a field, but is also sometimes used to designate a public square, open to all comers, so *pampayruna* conveys the meaning of a public woman or strumpet. They were never called by their names, says Garcilasso, but only by this scornful epithet; i. e. they lost personality and were no longer entitled to personal names, but only to a common noun. The Incas preserved the tradition of a former state of comparative promiscuity, and with this former state, as well as with the loose sexual relations among neighbouring peoples, they contrasted the higher development of the family among themselves. *Id.*, lib. i. caps. xiv., xv.

thoroughly centralized government. This industrial organization in ancient Peru was really a military organization applied to industrial purposes; it was a system of army government extended through the whole framework of society. Families and villages were organized upon a decimal system, like companies and regiments. The average monogamous family of five persons was the unit. Ten such families made a *chunca*, ten *chuncas* made one *pachaca*, ten *pachacas* one *huaranca*, and ten *huarancas* one *hunu*, so that a *hunu* was a district with a population of about 50,000 persons.¹ Each of these decimal subdivisions had its presiding officer, who was responsible directly to his immediate superior and ultimately to the Inca. "The decurion was obliged to perform two duties in relation to the men composing his division. One was to act as their caterer, to assist them with his diligence and care on all occasions when they required help, reporting their necessities to the governor or other officer, whose duty it was to supply seeds when they were required for sowing; or cloth for making clothes; or to help to rebuild a house if it fell or was burnt down; or whatever other need they had, great or small. The other duty was to act as a crown officer, reporting every offence, how slight soever it might be, committed by his people, to his superior, who either pronounced the punishment or referred it to another officer of still higher rank."²

¹ Ondegardo, in Markham, *op. cit.* p. 155; Garcilasso, lib. ii. cap. xi.

² Garcilasso, lib. ii. cap. xii.

The land was divided into little areas called *tupus*, one *tupu* being enough to support a man and his wife. As fast as children were born, "another *tupu* was granted for each boy, and half a *tupu* for each girl."¹ This land did not belong to the family or its head, but to the *chunca* or village community; and as the *chunca* was originally reckoned the equivalent of an *ayllu*, or "lineage," we have here a connecting link between this elaborate system and the earlier system of clan ownership which preceded it.² The *ayllu*, or fragment of an overgrown and disintegrated clan, was trimmed into a definite size, and thus survived as the *chunca* in the new decimal system. The *chunca* owned the land in the sense of occupying it, and at intervals of time there was a redistribution of it, in order to maintain equality, as among the ancient Germans and the modern Russians.³ The produce of the land was divided into three shares, one for the Inca, one for the priesthood, one for the people. Every man who had been present at the sowing had his equal share of the people's third; if he had not been present at the sowing, it was because he was absent in the Inca's service (as, for example, on a campaign), and thus he had his share in the Inca's

Allotment of
lands and
produce.

¹ Garcilasso, lib. v. cap. iii.

² See Bandelier's remarks on Peruvian land-tenure, in *Peabody Museum Reports*, vol. ii. p. 423.

³ Maine, *Village Communities*, London, 1871; Nasse, *The Agricultural Community in the Middle Ages*, London, 1872; Phear, *The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon*, London, 1880; MacKenzie Wallace's *Russia*, London, 1877; Laveleye, *Primitive Property*, London, 1878.

third ; or else he had been employed in work about the temples, and accordingly took his share from the priesthood's third. There was no room for idlers or for millionaires. There were special census officers, statistics were strictly kept on the *quipus*, and allotments made accordingly. Irrigation and tillage were directed by the decurion, or village overseer. If a village suffered from war, or pestilence, or earthquake, assessments were made upon more fortunate villages for repairing the damage. On the whole it was the most complete illustration of government socialism that the historian can discover by looking backward.

One is quite prepared to learn that in such a society as this there was very little division of labour. "They had no special tradesmen, as we have, such as tailors, shoemakers, or weavers ; but each man learnt all, so that he could himself make all that he required. All men knew how to weave and make clothes ; so that when the Inca gave them wool, it was as good as giving them clothes. All could till and manure the land without hiring labourers. All knew how to build houses. And the women knew all these arts also, practising them with great diligence and helping their husbands." ¹ A society in which division of labour had been considerably developed would not have lent itself so readily to such a monotonous and spiritless regimentation as that of the Incas. As already observed, this system, which seems to have been fully developed by the time that the extensive conquests began under Vira-

Little or no
division of
labour.

¹ Garcilasso, lib. v. cap. ix.

cocha Inca, and which was imposed successively upon one conquered people after another, was really an application of military organization to industrial purposes, and was incompatible with advanced progress in industrial art. As Herbert Spencer observes, in considering what constitutes a true industrial society, we are concerned, "not with the quantity of labour but with the mode of organization of the labourers. A regiment of soldiers can be set to construct earthworks; another to cut down wood; another to bring in water; but they are not thereby reduced for the time being to an industrial society. The united individuals do these things under command; and, having no private claims to the products, are, though industrially occupied, not industrially organized."¹

We are here brought back to the statement, made some time since,² that in Peru the formation of nationality, with the evolution of a distinct governing class, took place before there had been any considerable development of the idea of private property; so that the result was a state organized upon the principle of communistic despotism. It was a kind of industrial army.

If we recur now to the tripartite division of the produce of the land, we observe that it was an army in which the lion's share of this produce was consumed in the support of the administration. One third of the crop was evenly divided among the cultivators; two thirds really went to the gov-

¹ Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, vol. ii. p. 694, where the case of Peru is cited in point.

² See above, p. 319.

ernment in the shape of taxes. Members of the Inca nobility and the priesthood, as non-producers, contributed nothing to these taxes, but were supported out of that portion of them which remained after military and other administrative outlays had been made. The taxes were paid in crops, woollen or cotton cloth, shoes, weapons, coca, or in cables for moving great stones.¹

With this military organization of labour it becomes possible to understand how such buildings as the Sacsahuaman fortress could have been reared by people but slightly acquainted with the art of engineering. The marvellous and impressive feature in this cyclopean architecture is simply its massiveness. We do not ^{Cyclopean} _{works.} admire it as an expression of intellectual qualities, as we praise a Greek temple for its beauty, or a Gothic church for its sublimity. Not even as fine mason-work, in the modern sense of the term, does it appeal to us. It simply amazes us with its herculean exhibition of brute force. The Sacsahuaman fortress was built of unhewn stones, often quite irregular in shape and very unequal in size, so chosen as to fit together without mortar. The marvel of it is simply how the huge stones could have been dragged to the spot and hoisted into place. A certain Spanish priest asked Garcilasso "whether it was possible to put them in their positions without the aid of the Devil"² But the

¹ Garcilasso, lib. v. cap. vi. ; Cieza de Leon, pt. ii. cap. xviii.

² Garcilasso, lib. vii. cap. xxviii. Mr. Markham, from his own measurements, gives some of the sizes of stones in the outer wall as fourteen feet by eight, fourteen by twelve, sixteen feet six inches by six feet one inch, etc.

amautas doubtless told the truth when they said it was all done by an enormous expenditure of human brawn and sinew. Of one huge monolith, famous as the "tired stone" because "it became tired and could not reach its place," the *amautas* said that more than 20,000 Indians were employed in dragging it with stout cables. The conditions of the case were not so very unlike those under which the pyramids of Egypt were erected, though the architecture and mason-work of the latter are of far higher type and show much more range of thought than any ancient structures in the New World.¹ So far as mere command of human labour went, the communistic despotism of Peru could do things similar in kind, though lesser in degree, to the despotism of the Pharaohs.

This industrial army succeeded, as we have seen, in carrying agriculture to a considerable degree of perfection. The extent to which every available spot of ground was utilized indicates a somewhat dense population, though it must be remembered that much of the area included within the Inca's dominions was wild land unsuitable for Agriculture. cultivation. Gardens were carried up the mountain-sides on terraces, as in modern Italy.

¹ See Rawlinson's *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 182-211. According to Herodotus (ii. 124, 125) the Great Pyramid consumed the labour of 100,000 men for thirty years. Such numbers must be understood with much latitude. The Egyptians had oxen, and, according to Herodotus, made use of inclined planes in working upon the pyramids. Possibly the Peruvians may have been able here and there to utilize the principle of the inclined plane. For some remarks on early Phœnician building, see Brown's *Poseidon*, pp. 21, 27.

Mr. Markham says that the finest Sea Island cotton of our day is not superior to the best crops raised under the Incas. The potato and maize crops were also very fine. If Thorfinn Karlsefni and his men had seen Peruvian maize-fields, they would not have fancied that such corn grew wild. As for the Peruvian wools, we are beginning to learn that in comparison with the vicuña all other material for clothing seems both cumbrous and coarse.¹

The vicuña and the huanacu were the wild animals hunted by the Peruvians, but a very tame affair was this hunting as compared with galloping after the hounds in England. There was no chance for sport; everything in this industrial army must be done to order. Nobody was allowed to kill one of these animals, except at the periodical government hunts, in which whole villages, led by their overseers, took part. The people surrounded their game and closed in on it, and then it was methodically disposed of, — some of the beasts released till next time, some shorn and then released, some killed for the table. A strict record of all this was kept on the *quipus* by the census officer, — a thing, says Polo de Ondegardo, “which it would be difficult for me to believe if I had not seen it.”² The huanacu wool

¹ The Spaniards were not long in learning the merits of the vicuña's fleece. Blankets made of it were sent to Spain for the bed of Philip II.; see Garcilasso. lib. vi. cap. i.

² Markham's *Rites and Laws of the Incas*, p. 165. Mr. Darwin has pointed out how the selection of certain of these animals for slaughter and others for release and further breeding was so managed as to improve the race. *Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication*, vol. ii. p. 208.

was divided among the people, but the vicuña wool was reserved for those of Inca blood.

Of these wools, as well as of the cottons, fine cloth was woven and dyed of various hues,¹ and ornamental tapestries were wrought and embroidered. Gold was obtained with ease and in great quantity by washing the sands of the rivers in the province of Carabaya. Blast furnaces were used for smelting silver. Gold and silver were valued for their beauty, and reserved for the Inca or for use in the temples, and dishes, vases, and trinkets innumerable were made of them. But there was no currency or money of any kind.² All trade was simple barter, but in using scales and estimating certain goods by weight, the Peruvians were more advanced than the people of Mexico. In their implements of war and husbandry, which were fashioned in bronze, they were far superior to the Aztecs. In the pottery, which was made in great abundance, the superiority was perhaps less marked. In certain arts and inventions they had not advanced so far as the people of Mexico; their *balsas*, or rafts,³ for example, were rude contrivances compared to the nimble Mexican canoes.

If we compare the culture of ancient Peru, as a whole, with that of the Mexicans and Mayas, we cannot fail to be struck with the contrast. In some points it was further removed from savagery

¹ For the excellent fast vegetable dyes, see Garcilasso, vol. i. p. 319, Markham's note.

² Garcilasso, lib. v. cap. vii.; lib. vi. caps. i., ii.

³ Garcilasso, lib. iii. cap. xvi.

by nearly the full length of an ethnical period. The cardinal points of superiority were the further development of the monogamous family, the advance from tribal confederation to-
 ward rudimentary nationality, the pro-^{General sum-}
 mary.
 gress into a more spiritual form of polytheism with the abandoning of human sacrifices and cannibalism, the domestication of animals and further development of agriculture, the improvement in roads, and the prevailing use of bronze for weapons and tools. This further progress from savagery was, however, attended with some disadvantages. In becoming nationalized, the Inca government had stiffened into despotism,¹ as was sure to be the case with all nations formed before the comparatively modern development of the ideas of legal contract and political representation; and, as we have seen, the peculiar form of this despotism was communistic because it grew up among a people whose ideas of private property were still very imperfectly developed.

In point of humaneness and refinement the people of Peru were unquestionably superior to the Mayas and Mexicans. Their criminal code

¹ As contrasted with the Peruvians, the tribes of Mexico and Central America thus possessed an advantage somewhat analogous to that of the Germans whom Tacitus knew over the Romans of his own time with whom he so suggestively compared them. They retained plasticity, whereas the society governed by the Incas had become rigid. The greatest of all the inherited advantages which English-speaking people to-day enjoy is the fact that our ancestral Teutonic society retained its tribal mobility and plasticity of organization to so late a period in history that it was able to profit to the fullest extent by Roman civilization without being swamped by Roman imperialism.

was severe, and now and then we read of wholesale beheadings for treason, or of prisoners being burned alive;¹ but in civilized Europe one need go back scarcely a century to find the guillotine busy in Paris, and scarcely more than a century to witness an *auto de fe* in Spain, — not of criminals, but of useful and meritorious free-thinkers. On the whole, for a society in most respects within the middle period of barbarism, for a society less advanced intellectually than the Egyptians of the Old Empire, it would appear that the Inca society was remarkable for mildness and humanity. It was not cursed, like Mexico, with the daily spectacle of men and women torn open and cut into pieces. It looked upon such people as the Chibchas as ferocious barbarians, and it would have justly entertained a similar opinion of the people of Uxmal and Tezcuco if it had known anything about them. The pages of Cieza de Leon bear frequent testimony to the clemency and moderation of the Incas in many of their dealings with vanquished peoples; and one point, upon which he speaks emphatically, is quite startling in its unlikeness to what was common in ancient society. Soldiers were forbidden to pillage, under penalty of death, and this rule was enforced.²

With regard to intellectual culture, as exhibited in literary production, the Peruvians were at a disadvantage compared to the peoples north of the isthmus of Darien. The data for a comparison are meagre indeed. There was some written lit-

¹ Garcilasso, lib. iii. cap. iv.

² Cieza, pt. ii. cap. xxiii.

erature, as we have seen, among the Mexican and Maya-Quiché peoples, but very little of it remains in a decipherable state. Such ^{Intellectual} ^{culture.} of it as is still accessible to the modern reader is, of course, rude and primitive in thought and sentiment. The Nahuatl hymns collected by Dr. Brinton, in his "Rig-Veda Americanus," are quite childlike as compared to the hymns of the great Rig-Veda of the Aryans. Of Peruvian thought, as expressed in poetry, we know even less than of Mexican. The Incas had bardic recitals and theatrical exhibitions; and one ancient Inca drama, entitled "Ollanta," has come down to us.¹ It is a love story, with the scene laid in the time of the great Inca Pachacutec; it would make a pleasant scene upon the stage, and is undeniably a pretty poem. We have already mentioned the special class of *amautas*, or "wise men," differentiated from the priesthood, whose business it was to preserve historic traditions and literary compositions. But unfortunately the Peruvian method of recording admitted of no considerable development in such sort of work. It led nowhere. Now and then we see animals, such as starfishes, which have started on a path of development that can lead only a very little way. In that queer spiny radiated structure there are nothing like the possibilities of further evolution that there are in the soft, loosely-segmented, and mobile worm; and so the starfish stays where he is, but from the worm come

¹ *Ollanta: an Ancient Ynca Drama.* Translated from the original Quichua by Clements R. Markham, London, 1871; later editions are those of Zegarra (Paris, 1878) and Middendorf (Leipsic, 1890); the last is the most accurate.

insects and vertebrates. So with their knotted and twisted cords the Peruvians could keep rude records for a time, but in such a method there were no future possibilities. One might sooner expect to see systems of higher arithmetic and algebra developed with Roman instead of Arabic numerals, than to see a true literature developed with *quipus* instead of hieroglyphs. Until the Incas had either devised some better method or learned it from other people, their literary period would have had to wait. But the Mexicans, and still more the Mayas, with their hieroglyphics, had started on the road that leads by natural stages to that grand achievement of the human mind, supreme in its endless possibilities, the achievement which more than any other marks the boundary-line between barbarism and civilization, between the twilight of archæology and the daylight of history, — the phonetic alphabet, the A B C.

Here we may bring to a close this brief sketch of the Inca society, one of the most curious and instructive subjects to which the student of history can direct his attention. In the next chapter we shall see the elements of weakness in that primitive form of nationality, characterized by conquest with imperfect fusion, well illustrated by the ease with which a handful of Spaniards seized and kept control over the dominions of the Incas.

CHAPTER X.

THE CONQUEST OF PERU.

THE chain of circumstances that led to the discovery and conquest of Peru, like the chain that led to the conquest of Mexico, had its origin in the island of Hispaniola, and was closely connected with the calamitous work of colonizing the isthmus of Darien. In July, 1509, Diego Columbus, bringing with him his vice-queen Maria de Toledo, came out to San Domingo, to enter upon the government and colonization of such countries as had been discovered by his father, as well as of such as might be discovered by himself or his appointed captains. Such at least was his own theory of the situation, but the crown took a different view of it. As we have seen, Diego had already set on foot a law-suit against the crown to determine the extent of his rights and privileges, and matters were to come to such a pass that in four years an attempt was to be made to invalidate his father's claim to the discovery of the Pearl Coast. We have already made some mention of that attempt and its failure, in the great judicial inquiry usually known in this connection as the *Probanzas*. The result of that inquiry was entirely favourable to Columbus, but

Relations of
the Admiral
Diego Colum-
bus to the
crown.

anything like practical control over the affairs of Terra Firma had already been virtually taken out of Diego's hands. We have seen that the immediate result of the third voyage of Columbus, in which the rich Pearl Coast was discovered, was the sending of an expedition by his enemy Fonseca to the same region. This was the expedition of 1499, commanded by Alonso de Ojeda, and from that time forth Ojeda was closely associated with this coast, made further explorations there, and was appointed governor of the small island of Coquibacoa. La Cosa and Vespuceus, also, who had been Ojeda's pilots in 1499, did further work in this neighbourhood. We have seen these two great navigators, in 1505 and 1507, exploring the gulf of Darien and the Atrato river, where they had hoped to find a passage to the Moluccas. Instead of such a passage they found gold in the river-beds. After their return we have seen Vespuceus made pilot major of Spain, and La Cosa made "alguazil mayor," or high constable, of a colony about to be founded at Darien. Now if King Ferdinand had been well disposed toward Diego Columbus and his claims he would naturally have entrusted this important enterprise to his uncle Don Bartholomew, about whose ability and integrity there could be no question. But the relations of the crown to the Columbus claims made any such appointment impossible, and the governorship was given to the brave but incompetent Ojeda. About the same time Diego de Nicuesa, another court favourite like Ojeda, but better

Provinces of
Terra Firma
granted to
Ojeda and Ni-
cuesa.

educated and of finer mould, applied for the same position, and King Ferdinand arranged the matter by creating two provinces, one for each favourite. The country between the gulfs of Urabá (Darien) and Maracaibo was to be the province for Ojeda, while the Veragua and Honduras coasts, from the gulf of Urabá to Cape Gracias á Dios, were assigned to Nicuesa. The former province did not trench upon any territory discovered by Columbus, but the latter was chiefly made up of coasts first visited by him, and the appointment of Nicuesa was hardly less than an affront to the Admiral Diego.

Thus when the joint expedition was getting ready to start from Hispaniola, in the autumn of 1509, everything had been arranged as ingeniously as possible to hinder cordial coöperation. To the rivalry between the two governors was added the dislike felt for both by Diego Columbus. First, the two governors wrangled over the boundary-line between their provinces, until La Cosa persuaded them to agree upon the Atrato river. Then came the more important question of supplies. To ensure a steady supply of food, the island of Jamaica was to be placed at the disposal of Ojeda and Nicuesa; but as that was an invasion of the rights of Diego Columbus, he would not consent to it. So they started without any established base of supply, trusting themselves to luck. A sudden arrest for debt detained Nicuesa, so that Ojeda got off about a week before him. Before reaching the gulf of Urabá, at a place near the site of Cartagena, the rash Ojeda

Starting of the expeditions.

made up his mind to go ashore and catch a few slaves to be sent over to Hispaniola in payment for food. Against the advice of the veteran La Cosa he insisted upon going, with about seventy men, and La Cosa went with him to screen him from the effects of such hardihood, for he had found out that the Indians in that region used poisoned arrows. A few drops of poison sometimes quite neutralized the advantages of armour and cross-bows and gunpowder. La Cosa and

Death of La
Cosa.

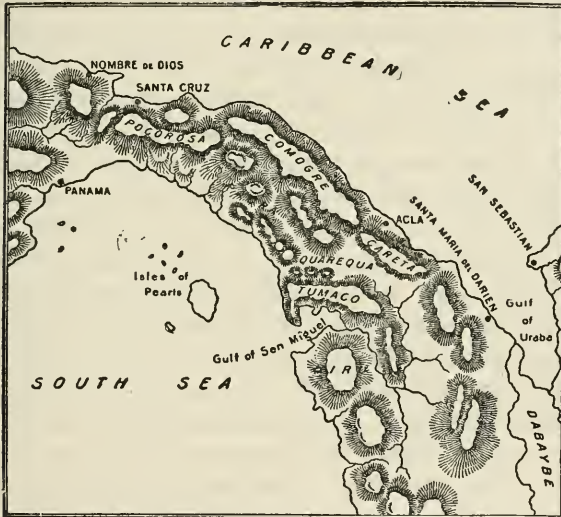
all the other Spaniards save two were slain ; one of these two was Ojeda, who was picked up four or five days later and carried aboard ship just in time to save him from death by starvation. Nicuesa now arrived upon the scene with his ships, and, forgetting past quarrels, treated his unfortunate rival with much kindness and courtesy. After he had passed by, Ojeda stopped at the entrance to the gulf of Urabá and began to build a rude town there which he called

Famine.

San Sebastian. The proceedings were soon checked by famine, and as a piratical fellow named Talavera happened to come along in a ship which he had stolen, Ojeda concluded to embark with him and hurry over to Hispaniola in quest of supplies and reinforcements. His party kept their ships, and it was agreed that if Ojeda should not return within fifty days they might break up the expedition and go wherever they liked. So Ojeda departed, leaving in temporary command an Estremaduran named Francisco Pizarro, of whom we shall have more to say.

The unfortunate commander never returned. After a voyage anything but agreeable in company with Talavera's ruffians, the stolen ship was wrecked on the coast of Cuba. In course of time Ojeda, sadly the worse for wear, got back to San Domingo, but long before that time his party had been scattered, and he had

Death of
Ojeda.



no means of making a fresh start. He died at San Domingo in abject misery, in 1515.

While the shipwrecked Ojeda was starving on the coast of Cuba, a couple of ships, with horses, food, and ammunition, started from San Domingo to go to the relief of San Sebastian. The commander was a lawyer, the Bachelor Martin Fernandez de Enciso, afterwards distinguished as a historian and geogra-

Expedition of
Enciso.

pher.¹ He was a kind of partner in Ojeda's enterprise, having invested some money in it. He was in many respects an estimable person, but hardly fitted for the work to which he had put his hand, for he was made of red tape, without a particle of tact about him. Among the barrels in Enciso's ship was one that contained neither bread nor gunpowder, but a handsome and penniless young cavalier who had contrived this way of escaping from his creditors. This was Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, who in spite of this undignified introduction is by far the most attractive figure among the Spanish adventurers of that time. After the vessel had got well out to sea Balboa showed himself, much to the disgust of Enciso, who could not abide such irregular proceedings. He scolded Vasco Nuñez roundly, and was with some difficulty dissuaded from setting him ashore on a small desert island, — which apparently would not have been in the eyes of our man of red tape an irregular proceeding! Arriving upon the site of Cartagena, Enciso met Pizarro, with the haggard remnant of Ojeda's party in a small brigantine. What business had these men here? thought this rigid and rigorous Enciso; they must be deserters and had better be seized at once and put in irons. With much ado they convinced him of the truth of their story. As the fifty days had expired without news of Ojeda, they had abandoned the enterprise. But now they

¹ His valuable work *Suma de Geografía, que trata de todas las partidas y provincias del mundo, en especial de las Indias*, was published at Seville in 1519. There were later editions in 1530 and 1546. It is now excessively rare.

were ready to follow Enciso, and all thus proceeded amicably together to the gulf of Urabá. After some mishaps Balboa, who had formerly been on that coast with Bastidas and La Cosa, advised the party to choose the western shore of the gulf for their settlement, inasmuch as the Indians on that side did not use poisoned arrows. This sound advice was adopted, and the building of the town of Santa Maria del Darien was begun. Enciso's overbearing temper soon proved too much for his followers and they resolved to depose him, but could not agree upon a successor. By crossing the gulf they had entered Nicuesa's province, and some thought that he ought therefore to become their commander, while some favoured Balboa, and a few remained loyal to Enciso. It was at length decided to elect Nicuesa, and until he should come Balboa remained the leading spirit of the little colony.

Enciso de-
posed by his
men.

It was now December, 1510. Nicuesa's story had been an appalling record of famine and mutiny. Out of more than 700 men who had left Hispaniola with him thirteen months before, not more than 70 remained alive at the little blockhouse which they had built and called Nombre de Dios. The Spanish adventurers in America need all the allowances that charity can make for them, and in rehearsing their deeds one is sometimes led to reflect that their prolonged sufferings in the wilderness must have tended to make them as savage as wolves.¹ One

Awful suffer-
ings of Nicuesa
and his party.

¹ "The more experience and insight I obtain into human na-

sees this illustrated in the melancholy fate of poor Nicuesa. That kind-hearted gentleman had become maddened by hardship until his harshness began to alarm his men. His friend Colmenares, bringing food from Hispaniola and a message of invitation from the men at Darien, found him, "of all luyunge men most infortunate, in maner dryed vppe with extreeme hunger, fylthye and horrible to beholde, with onely three score men . . . lefte alvye of seven hundreth. They al seemed to hym soo miserable, that he noo less lamented theyr case than yf he had founde them deade." ¹ As soon as they had recovered strength enough to

Cruel treatment of Nicuesa by the men of Darien.

move about, they started in two caravels for Darien. Nicuesa's unwonted harshness continued, and he was heard to utter a threat of confiscating the gold which the men of Darien had found within his territory. This foolish speech sealed his fate. The other caravel, reaching Darien before his own, warned the party there against him, and when he arrived they would not let him come ashore. With seventeen comrades left who would not desert him, the unfortunate Nicuesa put out to sea and was never heard of again.

This affair left Vasco Nuñez in undisputed com-
 ture, the more convinced do I become that the greater portion of a man is purely animal. Fully and regularly fed, he is a being capable of being coaxed or coerced to exertion of any kind, love and fear sway him easily, he is not averse to labour however severe; but when starved it is well to keep in mind the motto 'Cave Canem,' for a starving lion over a raw morsel of beef is not so ferocious or so ready to take offence." Stanley, *In Darkest Africa*, vol. i. p. 270.

¹ *Decades of the Newe Worlde*, dec. ii. lib. iii.

mand at Darien, and as he was thus the most conspicuous gainer from it, there was an opportunity for his enemies to cast upon him the blame for the cruel treatment of Nicuesa. On this grave charge, however, he was afterward tried and acquitted by an unfriendly tribunal, and it seems clear that without opposing the decision not to receive Nicuesa as commander he tried his best to save him from harm. But his conduct toward the Bachelor Enciso was the very height of folly. Doubtless he found that martinet unendurable, but what could be more unwise than first to imprison him and then to set him free on condition of leaving the colony in the first available ship? The angry Enciso went home to Spain and complained at court. Vasco Nuñez indeed tried to provide against such an adverse influence by sending his friend Zamudio to talk with King Ferdinand; but the trained advocate Enciso proved a better talker than Zamudio.

Balboa left in undisputed command.

Balboa forthwith proceeded to explore the isthmus. He made an alliance with the chief Careta, who gave him his daughter in marriage. Then he added to the alliance a powerful chief named Comogre, whose town he visited with some of his men. This, it will be observed, was in 1512, before any rumour of the existence of Mexico had reached the ears of the Spaniards, and they were agreeably surprised at the sight of the house in which Comogre received them, which was much finer than any that they had hitherto beheld, and seemed to indicate that at length they were approaching the con-

fines of Asiatic civilization. It was 150 paces in length by 80 feet in breadth, with finely wrought floors and ceiling, and, besides granaries, cellars, and living rooms, contained a kind of chapel where the bodies of deceased members of the clan were preserved as mummies.¹ The chief gave the Spaniards a large quantity of gold and seventy slaves. These Indians knew nothing of gold as a purchasing medium, but made it into trinkets, and they were sorely mystified at seeing the Spaniards melt it into bars or ingots, which they weighed with scales. A dispute, or, as Eden calls it, a "brabbling," arose among the Spaniards as they were weighing and dividing this gold. Then a son of Comogre got up and told the visitors

Speech of Comogre's son. that if they set so much value on this yellow stuff as to quarrel about it they had better go to a country where they could get more than enough for all. Over across the sierras there was a great sea, and far to the southward on the shore of this sea there was a land where gold was so plentiful that people used it instead of pottery for their bowls and cups. This was the first distinct and undoubted mention of the country of the Incas. Vasco Nuñez sent news of this speech to the Spanish court, accompanied by the king's share of the gold, one fifth of the amount; but unfortunately the vessel was wrecked in the Caribbean sea, and neither message nor gold found its way to King Ferdinand. It was not until the next spring that messengers reached the Spanish court, and then it was learned that Enciso had the

¹ Peter Martyr, *De Orbe Novo*, Alcalá, 1516, dec. ii. lib. iii.

king's ear, and legal proceedings against Vasco Nuñez were about to be begun.

Soon afterward, our adventurer received from the government in Hispaniola the appointment of captain-general over Darien. His satisfaction, however, was sadly clouded by the news from Spain, and he determined at once to cross the sierra, in the hope of finding the great sea and thus establishing a claim to favourable treatment. There was no use in waiting for reinforcements, for the same ship that brought fresh troops might bring an order for his dismissal and arrest. Early in September, 1513, accordingly, Balboa started across the isthmus with about 200 men and a small pack of bloodhounds. From Careta's territory he entered that of a cacique named Quarequa, who undertook to oppose his advance through that difficult country. But no sooner did it come to fighting than the Indians fled in wild terror from enemies who wielded thunder and lightning. Capturing some of these Indians and winning their confidence by kind treatment, Balboa used them as guides through the mountains. On the 25th of September, from one of the boldest summits in Quarequa's country, Balboa looked down upon the waste of waters which was afterwards shown to be the greatest ocean upon the globe.¹

Discovery of
the Pacific
ocean.

Four more days of arduous toil brought the Spaniards down from the mountains to the shore of the gulf which, because they reached it on

¹ Keats in his beautiful poem inadvertently puts Cortes in place of Balboa.

Michaelmas, they named San Miguel. After launching out upon this rough sea in a small flotilla of canoes, and navigating a portion of it at the imminent risk of perishing in an equinoctial gale, Vasco Nuñez effected a landing upon its northern shore in the country of the chieftain Tumaco, whom he first defeated and then by kind treatment won his friendship. Tumaco confirmed the story of a rich empire far to the south, and produced a clay figure of a llama in illustration of some of his statements.

It was now high time to return to Darien with the tidings of what had been accomplished. Vasco Nuñez arrived there early in January, 1514, but too late for his achievement to effect such a result as he had hoped for. He might not unreasonably have expected to be confirmed in his governorship of the isthmus. But stories of the golden kingdom

Affairs in
Spain.

mentioned by Comogre's son had already wrought their effect in Spain. The victories of the French in Italy under the brilliant Gaston de Foix had alarmed King Ferdinand; an army for Italy had been collected and the command given to Gonsalvo de Córdoba. But before this expedition started news came of the retreat of the French, and the king ordered Gonsalvo to disband his men.¹ Many of the gay cavaliers who had enlisted with fiery enthusiasm under the Great Captain were thus thrown out of occupation, to their intense disgust; when all at once there came

¹ *Chronica del Gran Capitan*. lib. iii. cap. 7; Mariana, *Historia de España*, lib. xxx. cap. 14.

to Spain the report of an unknown sea beyond the Terra Firma, and of a kingdom abounding in wealth. There ensued one of the bursts of excitement so common in that age of marvels, and which the reading of Don Quixote enables one to appreciate. On the word of an unknown Indian youth, before it had been even partially confirmed by Balboa's discovery of the sea, these cavaliers were at once ready to cross the Atlantic. If they were not to go to Italy they would seek adventures in the Indies. A fleet was accordingly fitted out, with accommodations for 1,200 men, but at least 1,500 contrived to embark. The admiral of the fleet and new governor of Terra Firma was a man over seventy years of age, ^{Pedrarias} ^{Dávila.} named Pedrarias Dávila, one of those two-legged tigers of whom Spain had so many at that time. He was a favourite at court, and his wife was a niece of that Marchioness of Moya who had been the friend of Queen Isabella and of Columbus. For the next sixteen years Pedrarias was a leading figure in the Indies, and when he died the historian Oviedo, in a passage of surpassing quaintness, tried to compute how many souls of his murdered victims he would be called upon to confront at the Day of Judgment.¹ Oviedo was inclined to put the figure at 2,000,000. If we were to strike off a couple of ciphers, we should have a figure quite within the limits of credibility, and

¹ Oviedo, *Historia de las Indias*, xxix. 34. This historian cherished a personal grudge against Pedrarias; but all the other best authorities — Peter Martyr, Las Casas, Andagoya, Benzoni, Remesal — are in substantial agreement as to his atrocious character.

sufficiently terrible. It is hardly necessary to add that this green-eyed, pitiless, perfidious old wretch was an especial pet of Bishop Fonseca.

The arrival of this large force in Darien was the beginning of a self-sustaining colony. The collection of rude cabins called Santa Maria del Darien was made a "cathedral city," and Juan de Quevedo was appointed bishop. Gonsalvo Hernandez de Oviedo, afterwards famous as a historian, came out as inspector-general of the new colony. Gaspar de Espinosa was chief judge, and Enciso returned to the scene as chief constable. His first business was to arrest Vasco Nuñez, who was tried on various charges before Espinosa, but was presently acquitted and set free. The news of his discovery and the arguments of admiring friends had begun to win favour for him at the Spanish court. For more than two years Vasco

Nuñez contrived to avoid a serious quarrel with the governor, whose jealousy of him was intense, and made all the more so by the comparisons which men could not help drawing between the two. The policy of Pedrarias toward the Indian tribes was the ordinary one of murder and plunder; in a few instances he chose incompetent lieutenants who were badly defeated by the Indians; once he was defeated in person; and such results could not but be contrasted with those which had attended the more humane, honest, and sagacious management of Balboa. In October, 1515, the latter wrote to the king, complaining of the governor's cruel conduct and its effect in needlessly alienating the Indians; and it is

Jealousy between Pedrarias and Balboa.

impossible to read that letter to-day¹ and not feel that Vasco Nuñez, with all his faults, was a wise and true-hearted man, with ample warrant for every word that he said. But the king could not very well read such a letter without some echoes of it finding their way back to the New World. Matters grew so stormy that Juan de Quevedo, the Bishop of Darien, who was friendly to Balboa, thought it necessary to negotiate a kind of treaty between him and the governor. Balboa was to be sent, with a proper force, to visit the golden kingdom at the South, and the bishop proposed to cement the alliance by a betrothal between Balboa and the daughter of Pedrarias. Doubtless the worthy clergyman, like most white men of his time, thought that an Indian wife counted for nothing. Vasco Nuñez did not think so. He was devotedly fond of the Indian girl and she of him, but as the other young lady was in Spain and her father in no great haste about the matter, Vasco Nuñez assented to this article in the treaty. Then he went off to Acla, a newly founded port on the Atlantic side of the isthmus, to engage in the herculean task of taking his ships piecemeal across the sierra to the point where they were to be put together and launched on the Pacific.² After many months o'

An expedition prepared to go in search of the golden kingdom.

¹ Balboa, *Carta dirigida al Rey*, 16 Octubre, 1515, in Navarrete, *Coleccion de viages*, iii. 375.

² Bishop Quevedo afterward reported to the Emperor Charles V. that "more than 500 Indians" perished under the hardships of this terrible undertaking; but Quevedo's secretary told Las Casas that the real number of deaths was not less than 2,000, a figure which the bishop refrained from stating, through fear of

toil four ships, the first European keels to plough the great "Sea of the South," were ready to weigh anchor, and 300 men were ready to embark. Nothing was wanted but a little iron and pitch, and the delay thus caused was to bring swift ruin upon Vasco Nuñez.

A rumour had just arrived that the king had superseded old Pedrarias and appointed a new governor for the Terra Firma. The rumour was not so much false as premature, for the complaints against Pedrarias had wrought some effect at court, and the appointment of Lope de Sosa was made in the course of the next year. This premature rumour had serious consequences. Now that things had advanced so far, Balboa was more disturbed than pleased, for being used to the frying pan he preferred it to the fire; a new governor might interfere and prevent his departure, and if it were not for that iron and pitch it would be prudent to sail at once. But since these articles were much wanted, let the small party sent back for them to Acla use some discretion and begin by ascertaining how much or how little truth there might be in the rumours. If the new governor should have arrived, perhaps it might be best to return as quietly and quickly as possible; but if Pedrarias should still be in power, then it were best to go in boldly and ask for the iron and pitch.

being accused of exaggeration. See Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, iv. 233. At the same time, says Las Casas, Balboa was no mere slave-driver. Whenever the hardest work was to be done he was foremost, taking hold with his own hands and everywhere aiding and cheering.

Thus Balboa talked with two friends one summer evening on the rude veranda of a cabin which he had used for headquarters while the arduous shipbuilding had been going on.

A fatal conversation.

So far as Pedrarias was concerned, there does not seem to have been a word of treason in the conversation, but while they were talking in an undertone it began to rain, and a sentinel, pacing near headquarters, came up under the eaves for shelter, and listened. From the fragments which reached his ears he concluded that Balboa was intending to throw off his allegiance to Pedrarias and set up a new government for himself; and so, translating his crude inferences into facts, this fellow contrived to send information to La Puente, the treasurer at Acla, a man with whom Vasco Nuñez had once had a little dispute about some money.

Now it happened that a man named Andres Garavito,¹ having become enamoured of Balboa's Indian wife, had made overtures which were indignantly repulsed by the woman, and called forth stern words of warning from Vasco Nuñez. The wretched Garavito thereupon set out to compass Balboa's death. Having been sent on some business to Acla, he told Pedrarias that Balboa never meant to marry his daughter, inasmuch as he cared for no one but the Indian woman; moreover he was now about to go off in his ships to the

¹ The name is often written *Garabito*. The habitual confusion of these two labials in the Spanish language long ago called forth from Julius Scaliger the epigram:—

Haud temere antiquas Vasconia voces

Cui nihil est aliud vivere quam bibere.

De Causis Linguae Latinæ, i. 14.

golden kingdom and gain wealth in his own behoof with which to withstand and ruin Pe-
drarias. While the old man was curs-
ing and raving over this story, the party coming
for iron and pitch halted on the edge of the forest,
and sent one of their number into the town after
nightfall to make inquiries. It was this man's
luck to be arrested as a spy, but he sent word to
his comrades, and they, coming into town, protested
their innocence so strongly and stated the true
object of their visit so clearly that the angry gov-
ernor was more than half convinced, when all at
once the treasurer La Puente came to see him
and told what he had heard from the sentinel.
This sealed the fate of Vasco Nuñez. The gov-
ernor sent him a crafty letter, couched in terms of
friendship, and asking him to return to Acla be-
fore sailing, as there were business matters in
which he needed advice. The unsuspecting Bal-
boa set forth at once to recross the sierra. We
are told that his horoscope had once been taken
by a Venetian astrologer, who said that if he were
ever to behold a certain planet in a certain quarter
of the heavens it would mean that he was in sore
peril, but if he should escape that danger he
would become the greatest lord in all the Indies.
And there is a legend that the star now appeared
one evening to Vasco Nuñez, whereupon he told
his attendants about the prophecy and mocked at
it. But as he drew near to Acla there came out a
company of soldiers to arrest him, and the captain
of this company was Francisco Pizarro, one of his
old comrades who had served under him ever since

Garavito's
treachery.

the time when the lawyer Enciso was deposed from command. "How is this, Francisco Pizarro?" said Balboa, "it is not thus that thou wert wont to come forth to meet me." But he offered no resistance, and when put upon his trial he simply asked why, if he had really been meditating treason and desertion, he should have come back so promptly when called. A guilty man would have staid away. But it was no use talking.¹ The governor had made up his mind, and before the sun went down Vasco Nuñez and four of his friends had been tried, condemned, and beheaded.²

Balboa put to death by Pedrarias.

Thus perished in the forty-second year of his age the man who but for that trifle of iron and pitch would probably have been the conqueror of Peru. It was a pity that such work should not

¹ "Valboa con giuramento negò, dicendo, che inquanto toccaua alla informatione che contra lui s'era fatta di solleuargli la gente che l'era à torto, e falsamente accusato, e che considerasse bene quello che faceua, e se lui havesse tal cosa tentata, non saria venuto alla presentia sua, e similmente del resto, si difese il meglio che puote; ma dove regnano le forze, poco gioua difendersi con la ragione." Benzoni, *Historia del Mondo Nuovo*, i. 51, Venice, 1572.

² In the accounts of the Garavito treachery as given by Oviedo and Herrera, there is some confusion. Oviedo represents Garavito as having been arrested by Pedrarias and telling his base story in order to turn the governor's wrath away from himself. But as Sir Arthur Helps (*Spanish Conquest*, vol. i. p. 432) has pointed out, the discrepancy seems to have arisen from confounding Andres Garavito with his brother Francisco, who was one of the company sent for the iron and pitch and was faithful to Vasco Nuñez. The man who was arrested as a spy seems to have been Luis Botello, one of the four friends who were executed with Vasco Nuñez. See Pascual de Andagoya, *Relacion*, in Navarrete, *Coleccion de viages y descubrimientos*, iii. 405.

have fallen into his hands, for when at length it was done, it was by men far inferior to him in character and calibre. One cannot but wish that he might have gone on his way like Cortes, and worked out the rest of his contemplated career in accordance with the genius that was in him. That bright attractive figure and its sad fate can never fail to arrest the attention and detain the steps of the historian as he passes by. Quite possibly the romantic character of the story may have thrown something of a glamour about the person of the victim, so that unconsciously we tend to emphasize his merits while we touch lightly upon his faults. But after all, this effect is no more than that which his personality wrought upon the minds of contemporary witnesses, who were unanimous in their expressions of esteem for Balboa and of condemnation for the manner of his taking off.

Seven years passed before the work of discovering the golden kingdom was again seriously taken up. It was work of almost insuperable difficulty in the absence of a base of operations upon the Pacific coast of the isthmus; and, as we shall see, men's attention was distracted by the question as to the Molucca islands. During this interval of seven years the conquest of Mexico was begun and completed, so far as the towns once tributary to the Aztec Confederacy were concerned. By 1524 the time had arrived when the laurels of Cortes would not allow other knights-errant to sleep, and then Balboa's enterprise was taken up by his old comrade Francisco Pizarro.

This man, like Cortes and Balboa, was a native of the province of Estremadura. He was an illegitimate son of Gonzalo Pizarro, an officer of good family, who had served in Italy under the Great Captain. As the mother of Cortes was a Pizarro, it has been supposed that there was relationship between the two families. Francisco Pizarro, whose mother was a young woman of humble station, was born somewhere between Francisco Pizarro. 1470 and 1478. Unlike Cortes, who had some scant allowance of university education, Pizarro had no schooling at all, and never learned to write his own name. His occupation in youth seems to have been that of a swineherd, though he may, according to one doubtful tradition, have accompanied his father in one or more Italian campaigns. His first distinct appearance in history was in Ojeda's expedition in 1509, when he was left in command of the starving party at San Sebastian, to await the arrival of the succours brought by Enciso. He served under Balboa for several years, was with that commander when he first saw the great South Sea, and happened — as we have seen — to be the officer sent out by Pedrarias to arrest him.

In 1515, two years before Balboa's fall, Pizarro took part in an expedition under Gaspar de Morales, sent by Pedrarias to explore the coasts of the gulf of San Miguel. The expedition, as usual, was characterized by wonderful endurance of hardship on the part of the Spaniards and by fiendish cruelty toward the Indians. They invaded the territory of a warlike chief named Birú,

on the southern shore of the gulf, and met with such a hot reception that, although victorious, they did not care to risk a second fight, but retreated to the isthmus. It was some years before the Spaniards got so far south again, and when they had occasion to refer to the unvisited territory beyond the gulf of San Miguel they fell into a habit of speaking of it as the *Birú* or *Perú* country. The golden kingdom, about which there had been so much talk, was said to be somewhere upon that coast, and in such wise it seems to have received its modern name.¹ Not long after Balboa's death Pedrarias learned that Lope de Sosa had at length been appointed governor in his place. It was unwelcome news. The old man had good reason to fear the result of an examination into his conduct. It might be held that in executing Balboa without allowing an appeal to the crown he had exceeded his powers, and the Spanish court sometimes showed itself quite jealous of such encroachments upon its royal prerogative of revision and pardon. There were, moreover, numerous instances of judicial robbery and murder that could easily be brought home to their perpetrator. Accordingly Pedrarias thought it wise to put the mountains between himself and the Atlantic coast, so that in case of necessity he might do just what he had beheaded Vasco Nuñez for doing, — quit the dangerous neighbourhood and set up somewhere for himself.

Origin of the name "Peru."

Lope de Sosa appointed to supersede Pedrarias.

¹ See Andagoya's *Narrative*, translated by Markham, London, 1865, p. 42; also Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, ii. 505.

This prudent resolve led to the founding of Panama by Pedrarias in August, 1519. Later in the same year the opposite port of Nombre de Dios was founded, and a rude road through the wilderness, connecting these two places, was begun.

When Lope de Sosa arrived at Darien in May, 1520, with 300 men, Pedrarias happened to be on the spot, but was favoured with one of those inscrutable providences that are so apt to come to the rescue of such creatures. Before setting foot on shore the new governor was suddenly taken sick and died in his cabin. This left Pedrarias in office. The newly-arrived *alcalde*, before whom his examination was to take place, published notices and summons in due form for thirty days; but no man was hardy enough to enter complaint against him so long as he still remained invested with the insignia of power. The crafty old governor could thus look on smiling while a certificate that no one accused him was despatched on its way to Spain. Then he retired to Panama, which forthwith became the base for operations along the Pacific coast.

This stroke of fortune gave Pedrarias a new lease of undisputed power for nearly seven years. Meanwhile, as the judge Espinosa was involved along with him in the risk attendant upon the case of Balboa, he had sent that pearl of magistrates to take command of Balboa's little fleet and therein seek safety in a fresh voyage of discovery. As Magellan's voyage had not yet been made and the existence of a broad ocean south and west of the

Sudden death
of Lope de
Sosa.

Espinosa's
voyage in Bal-
boa's ships.

isthmus of Darien was still unknown,¹ the Spaniards upon the isthmus still supposed themselves to be either in eastern Asia or at no great distance from that continent; and accordingly Espinosa, instead of sailing southward in search of the golden kingdom, turned his prows westward, apparently in the hope of settling the vexed question as to the Spice Islands. This would have required a voyage of nearly 11,000 English miles. After accomplishing some 500 miles, as far as Cape Blanco, in what is now the state of Costa Rica, Espinosa returned to the isthmus late in 1519.

Just at that time the controversy over the Moluccas was occupying a foremost place in the public attention. It was on the 10th of August, 1519, that Magellan started on his epoch-making voyage.

Earlier in that year one of Balboa's pilots, Andres Niño, was at the Spanish court, urging that the ships of his late commander might be sent to find the Spice Islands. On the 18th of June a royal order was issued, authorizing such an expedition and entrusting the command of it to Gil Gonzalez Dávila, a man of high reputation for ability and integrity.

How fortunate it was for Magellan that his theory of the situation led him far away to the southward, subject indeed to trials as hard as ever man encountered, but safe from the wretched intrigues and savage conflicts of authority that were raging in Central America! Had he chosen the route of Gil Gonzalez he would have begun

¹ It must be remembered that Balboa could not see across the ocean.

by encountering obstacles more vexatious, if not more insuperable, than those of the lonely and barren sea. When Gil Gonzalez arrived at Acla in the spring of 1520 and demanded the ships that had been Balboa's, Pedrarias refused to give them up. The death of Lope de Sosa confirmed the old man in this contumacy; so that nothing was left for Gil Gonzalez but to build and equip ships for himself. A flotilla, constructed with incredible toil, was destroyed by worms and weather. The dauntless Gil Gonzalez built a second, consisting of four small vessels, and early in 1522 he set sail for the coveted Moluccas. After eighteen months he returned to Panama, loaded with gold, after having discovered the coast of Nicaragua as far as the bay of Fonseca. As he crossed the isthmus, Pedrarias, in a frenzy of greed, sent officers to arrest him, but he eluded them and got safely to Hispaniola.

Troubles of
Gil Gonzalez.

There he was authorized to return and take possession of Nicaragua. This time he approached it from the north by way of the Honduras coast, in order to avoid the isthmus and its dangerous governor. But among the vices of Pedrarias listlessness and sloth were not included. He laid claim to Nicaragua by reason of the prior voyage of Espinosa, and had already despatched Francisco Hernandez de Córdova,¹ with a considerable force, to occupy that country. Córdova's second in com-

¹ He must not be confounded with his namesake Francisco Hernandez de Córdova, the discoverer of Yucatan, mentioned above, p. 240. The latter, it will be remembered, died of his wounds on returning from his ill-starred voyage in 1517.

mand was Fernando de Soto, a young man whom we shall meet again more than once in the course of our story. Gil Gonzalez, marching down from the north, encountered Soto and defeated him, but was afterwards obliged to retire before Córdoba's superior force. Retreating into Honduras, Gil Gonzalez was captured by Cristóval de Olid, whom Cortes had sent from Mexico to occupy that country. A wild scramble ensued, — every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost. Córdoba threw off his allegiance to Pedrarias, but in an incredibly short time that alert octogenarian had come to Nicaragua and the severed head of the insubordinate lieutenant, thrust aloft upon a pole, was baking in the sun. Olid threw off his allegiance to Cortes, and was presently assassinated, probably with the complicity of Gil Gonzalez, who forthwith tried to come to an understanding with the conqueror of Mexico as to the boundary between their respective provinces. At this juncture Gil Gonzalez was seized by some of Olid's friends and sent to Spain to be tried for murder. Arriving at Seville in 1526, the strength of this much-enduring man suddenly gave way, and he died of hardship and grief.

His death.

The voyage of Magellan, revealing the breadth of the ocean between America and Asia, destroyed the illusion as to the nearness of the Moluccas; and the discovery of Nicaragua convinced the Spaniards on the isthmus of Darien that there was no use in sending expeditions to the westward, inasmuch as the way was

Attention
again turned
to the golden
kingdom.

closed and the ground preoccupied by the conquerors of Mexico. Their attention was thus turned decisively to the southward, whence fresh rumours of the wealth of the Incas had lately reached their ears. In 1522 Pascual de Andagoya crossed the gulf of San Miguel and gathered much information concerning the golden kingdom. A voyage of discovery to the southward was projected, and as Andagoya was completely disabled by an attack of acute rheumatism, Pizarro formed a partnership with a couple of his friends, Almagro and Luque, and Pedrarias entrusted to them the enterprise. Diego Almagro, a man of unknown parentage, was probably not less than fifty years old. Of fiery but generous disposition, he had the gift of attaching men to his fortunes, but there is little to be said in praise of his intelligence or his character. As compared with Cortes and Balboa, or with the humane and virtuous Andagoya, both Pizarro and Almagro were men of low type. The third partner, Fernando de Luque, a clergyman, at Panama, was associated in the enterprise as a kind of financial agent, contributing funds on his own account and also on that of the judge Espinosa.

The distance to the land of the Incas was much greater than had been supposed, and the first expedition, which started in 1524, returned in a very dilapidated state, having proceeded as far as the mouth of the river San Juan, scarcely one third of the way to Tumbez. On the second expedition, in 1526, Pizarro landed most of his men at the San Juan,

Pizarro and Almagro start in search of the golden kingdom.

while he sent his pilot Bartholomew Ruiz forward in one of the two ships, and Almagro in the other went back to Panama for reinforcements and provisions. Ruiz, after crossing the equator¹ and coming within sight of the snow-clad summit of Chimborazo, returned to Pizarro with some native Peruvians whom he had captured on a sailing-raft. The story of the grandeur of the Inca kingdom was confirmed afresh by these men.

These things were going on while Pedrarias was wielding his headsman's axe in Nicaragua.

Death of
Pedrarias. About this time he was really deposed from his government at Panama, but by dint of skilful chicanery he succeeded in keeping possession of Nicaragua for four years more, committing cruelties worthy of Nero, until his baleful career was ended by a natural death in 1530.

Having obtained from the new governor, Pedro de los Rios, fresh men and supplies, Almagro returned to the San Juan, where he found his comrades nearly dead with hunger. Explorers and military men will all agree that it is not easy to carry on operations at a distance of a thousand miles from one's base. In those dreary expeditions each step in advance necessitated a step backward, and the discouragement must have been hard to endure. On the third start the adventurers coasted nearly down to the equator and

¹ In Mr. Markham's chapter on the Conquest of Peru in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. ii. p. 507, Ruiz is said to have been "the first European to cross the equator on the Pacific Ocean." Magellan had crossed it five years before from south to north. *Aliquando dormitat bonus Homerus.*

were finding more frequent symptoms of civilization upon the shores they passed, when at length it became necessary to send back again to Panama. Again Pizarro halted, this time upon the little island of Gallo, until his partner should return. After many weeks of misery spent under the drenching tropical rain, the starving men descried a white sail in the offing; but it was not Almagro. The governor, disgusted at such a prolonged wild-goose chase, had detained that commander, and sent a ship with strict orders to bring back Pizarro and all his men. For the most part the weary creatures had lost heart for their work, and were eager to go. But the dogged Pizarro, whose resolution had kept stiffening with each breath of adversity, refused to budge. Drawing an east-and-west line upon the sandy beach with the point of his long sword, he briefly observed that to the south of that line lay danger and glory, to the north of it ease and safety; and, calling upon his men to choose each for himself, he stepped across. Sixteen staunch men followed their commander;¹ the rest embarked and went

The scene at
Gallo.

¹ The names of the sixteen have been preserved, and may be found, with brief biographical notices, in Winsor, *op. cit.* ii. 510. Among them, fortunately, was the daring and skilful pilot Ruiz. A second was the Cretan artillery officer, Pedro de Candia, whose son was afterwards, at Cuzco, a schoolmate of Garcilasso de la Vega, the historian. Garcilasso relates the incident with much precision of detail, Sir Arthur Helps is inclined to dismiss it as theatrical and improbable. Perhaps he would regard Pedro de Candia's testimony as worthless anyway, in view of the old adage *Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεύδονται*. Seriously, however, the evidence (including that of Pizarro's secretary Xeres) seems to be very good indeed, and as for the melodramatic character of the story, it must be

on their way. After they had gone Pizarro and his comrades made a raft and paddled to the island of Gorgona, where they lived on such shellfish as they could find upon the shore, and now and then shot a passing bird.

When the ship arrived at Panama without them, Los Rios declared that he would leave such foolhardy creatures to their fate ; but he was presently persuaded to send another ship, which found Pizarro and his party after they had staid seven months upon Gorgona. The skill of the pilot Ruiz now came into play, and in this little ship the party made a voyage of discovery, landed at Tumbez, and admired the arts and wealth of one of the most important of the Inca's cities. Thence they continued coasting beyond the site of Trujillo, more than 600 miles south of the equator, when, having seen enough to convince them that they had actually found the golden kingdom, they returned to Panama, carrying with them live llamas, fine garments of vicuña wool, curiously wrought vases of gold and silver, and two or three young Peruvians to be taught to speak Spanish and serve as interpreters.

Enough had now been ascertained to make it desirable for Pizarro to go to Spain and put the

borne in mind that the sixteenth century was a theatrical age, i. e. the sober realities of that time are theatrical material for our own. It is interesting and curious to see how differently Mr. Prescott regards Pizarro's act : — "He announced his own purpose in a laconic but decided manner, characteristic of a man more accustomed to act than to talk, and well calculated to make an impression on his rough followers." — *Conquest of Peru*, Book II. chap. iv.

enterprise upon a more independent footing. On his arrival at Seville in the summer of 1528, it was his luck to encounter the lawyer Enciso, who straightway clapped him into jail for a small debt which dated from the founding of Darien some eighteen years before. But the discoverer of Peru was now in high favour at court; so the man of red tape was snubbed, and Pizarro went on to Toledo to pay his respects to the emperor. The story of his romantic adventures made him the hero of the hour. He was ennobled by letters patent, and so were the comrades who had crossed the line with him at Gallo. He was appointed captain-general and *adelantado* of Peru, titles which he was to make good by conquering that country for thrifty Charles V.; and so in 1530 he returned to Panama, taking with him his four brothers and a small party of enthusiastic followers.

Of all the brothers Fernando was the eldest and the only legitimate son of his father. His character has perhaps suffered somewhat at the hands of historians through the sympathy that has been generally felt for the misfortunes of his enemy, the "under dog," Almagro. Fernando Pizarro was surely the ablest and most intelligent of the family. He had received a good education. To say that he was not more harsh or unscrupulous than his brethren is faint commendation; but there were times when he showed signal clemency. Gonzalo and Juan Pizarro were full brothers of Francisco, but much younger; Martinez de Alcántara was son of the same frail

Pizarro's visit
to Spain.

The Pizarro
brothers.

mother by a different father. As soldiers all were conspicuous for bull-dog tenacity and ranked among the bravest of the brave.

It was with an ill grace that Almagro saw so many of his partner's family coming to share in the anticipated glory and booty. He instantly recognized Fernando's commanding influence and felt himself in a measure thrust into the background. Thus the seeds of a deadly feud were not long in sowing themselves.

In December, 1531, the Pizarros started in advance, with about 200 men and 50 horses. When they arrived at Tumbez in the following spring, they learned that a civil war was raging. The conquering Inca, Huayna Capac, had died in 1523 and was succeeded by his lawful heir Huascar, son of his Coya, or only legitimate wife. The next in succession, according to Peruvian rules, seems

to have been Manco, of whom we shall have more to say presently. But the late Inca had a son by one of his concubines, the daughter of a vanquished chief or tribal king of the Quitus; and this son Atahualpa had been a favourite with his father. When Huascar came to the throne, Atahualpa was made ruler of Quito, apparently in accordance with his father's wishes. Under no circumstances was Atahualpa eligible for the position of reigning Inca. He was neither the child of a Coya nor of a woman of pure Inca blood, but of a foreign woman, and was therefore an out and out bastard. About three years before the arrival of the Spaniards, however, Atahualpa, with the aid of two powerful chief

Seeds of
strife.

Civil war in
Peru and usur-
pation of
Atahualpa.



A. H. Woodman Del.

tains, Quizquiz and Chalcuchima, left his own territory and marched upon Cuzco. The war which ensued was characterized by wholesale barbarity. At length Atahualpa's chieftains defeated and captured the Inca, and, entering Cuzco in triumph, massacred his family and friends as far as they could be found. But the Inca Huascar himself they did not put to death, for they realized that it might be necessary to use him as an instrument for governing the country.¹ Atahualpa put on the tasselled crimson cap, or Inca diadem, and proceeding on his way to Cuzco had arrived at Caxamarca, when couriers brought him news of the

Arrival of the
Spaniards. white and bearded strangers coming up from the sea, clad in shining panoply, riding upon unearthly monsters, and wielding deadly thunderbolts. The new-comers were everywhere regarded with extreme wonder and dread, but their demeanour toward the natives had been in the main friendly, as the Pizarros understood the necessity of enforcing strict discipline.

Plainly it was worth while to court the favour of these mysterious beings, and Atahualpa sent as an envoy his brother Titu Atauchi with presents and words of welcome. Pizarro had been reinforced by Fernando de Soto with 100 men and a fresh supply of horses; he had built a small fortress near the mouth of the Piura river, to serve as a base of operations; and late in September, 1532, he had started on his march into the interior, with about two thirds of his little force. Titu found

¹ Somewhat as Cortes used Montezuma; see Garcilasso, *Commentarios reales*, pt. i. lib. ix. cap. xxxvi.

him at Zaran, a village among the foothills of the Andes. When Garcilasso¹ tells us that the envoy humbled himself before Pizarro and addressed him as "son of Viracocha," he reveals the theory which the Peruvians doubtless held concerning the new-comers.

They were supposed to be "sons of Viracocha."

Viracocha was the counterpart of Zeus, the sky-god, arising from the sea-foam, the power that gathers the clouds and delights in thunder. Like Apollo and other Greek solar deities he was conceived as fair in complexion with bright or golden hair. After the conquest of Peru the name *viracocha* passed into a common noun meaning "white man," and it is still used in this sense at the present day.² For the red man to call the white stranger a child of Viracocha might under some circumstances be regarded as a form of ceremonious politeness, or the phrase might even be a mere descriptive epithet; but under the circumstances of Titu's visit to Pizarro we can hardly doubt that the new-comers were really invested with supernatural terrors, that the feeling of the Peruvians was like that which had led the Mexicans at first to take it for granted that their visitors must be children of Quetzalcoatl. Upon any other supposition it does not seem possible to understand the events that followed.

After receiving and dismissing the envoy with assurances of friendship, Pizarro pushed on through the mountains and entered Caxamarca on the 15th of November. It was a town of about 2,000 in-

¹ *Comentarios reales*, pt. ii. lib. i. cap. xix.

² Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 180.

habitants.¹ The houses were chiefly of adobe brick with thatched roofs, but some were built of hewn stones laid together without cement. Around the great open square, which might serve as market-place or mustering ground, were what the Spaniards called capacious barracks. Hard by was a temple of the Sun, with a convent of vestals charged with the care of the sacred fire. The town was overlooked by a circular tower of defence, girt with a rampart ascending spirally, somewhat, I fancy, as in old pictures of the tower of Babel. On a rising ground some two miles distant was encamped Atahualpa's army, — some thousands of Indians in quilted cotton doublets, with bucklers of stiff hide, long bronze-pointed lances and copper-headed clubs, as well as bows, slings, and lassos, in the use of which these warriors were expert. Toward nightfall Fernando Pizarro and Fernando de Soto, with five-and-thirty horsemen, went to visit the self-styled Inca in his quarters, and found him surrounded with chieftains and bedizened female slaves. After introducing themselves and inviting Atahualpa to a conference with their commander next day in the market-place, the cavaliers withdrew. On both sides the extreme of ceremonious politeness had been observed.² Surely so strange an interview was never

¹ It is well described in "A True Account of the Province of Cuzco," by Pizarro's secretary, Francisco de Xeres, in Markham's *Reports on the Discovery of Peru*, London, 1872 (Hakluyt Society).

² Except for a moment when Soto's steed, at the malicious and prudent touch of his rider's spur, pranced and curvetted, to the intense dismay of half-a-dozen dusky warriors, whom Atahualpa, after the departure of the visitors, promptly beheaded for show-

seen save when Montezuma ushered Cortes into the city of Mexico. Between the two cases there was an essential likeness. It is clear that Atahualpa and his men were paralyzed with superstitious dread, while the Spaniards on their part were well aware that according to all military principles they had thrust themselves into a very dangerous position. As they looked out that anxious night upon the mountain-slope before them, gleaming with innumerable watch-fires, we are told that many were profoundly dejected. The leaders saw that there must not be a moment's delay in taking advantage of the superstitious fears of the Indians. They must at once get possession of this Inca's person. Here, of course, the Pizarros took their cue from Cortes. In repeating the experiment they showed less subtlety and more brutality than the conqueror of Mexico; and while some allowance must be made for differences in the situation, one feels nevertheless that the native wit of Cortes had a much keener edge than that of his imitators.

Atahualpa must have passed the night in quite as much uneasiness as the Spaniards. When he came next day strongly escorted into the market-place he found no one to receive him, for Pizarro had skillfully concealed his men in the neighbouring houses. Presently a solitary white man, the priest Valverde, came forth to greet the Inca, and proceeded — through one of the interpreters hereing fright (Zarate, *Conquista del Peru*, ii. 4); an interesting touch of human nature! Garcilasso (pt. i. lib. ix. cap. xvi.) gives a vivid account of the uncontrollable agonies of terror with which the Peruvians regarded horses.

tofore mentioned — to read him a long-winded disquisition on dogmatic theology and church history, beginning with the creation of Adam and passing stage by stage to the calling of St. Peter, and so on to the bull by which Alexander VI. had given the kingdom of the Incas (along with other realms too numerous to mention) to the Most Catholic King. In conclusion Atahualpa was summoned, under penalty of fire and sword, to acknowledge the papal supremacy and pay tribute to Charles V.¹ Of this precious rigmarole the would-be Inca probably fathomed just enough to be convinced that the mysterious strangers, instead of being likely to lend him aid, were an obstacle of unknown strength to be reckoned with; and in a fit of petulant disappointment he threw upon the ground the Bible which the priest had handed him. As soon as this was reported to Pizarro the war-cry “Santiago!” resounded, the ambushed Spaniards rushed forth and seized Atahualpa, and for two hours a butchery went on in which some hundreds of his bewildered followers perished.

The success of this blow was such as the wildest imagination could not have foreseen. Here at the crisis of the war the superhuman “sons of Viracocha” had come upon the scene and taken matters into their own hands. They held the person of the sacrilegious usurper Atahualpa, and men

¹ There is a good abstract of this speech, with some eminently sound critical remarks, in Helps’s *Spanish Conquest*, vol. iii. pp. 533–541. Compare the famous *Requerimiento* of Dr. Palacios Rubios, *id.*, vol. i. pp. 379–384.

who had rashly come too near them had been slain with unearthly weapons, struck down as if by lightning. The people were dumb and helpless. The strangers treated Atahualpa politely, and such edicts as they issued through him were obeyed in some parts of the country.

His first thought was naturally for his liberation. Confined in a room twenty-two feet in length by seventeen in width, he made a mark upon the wall as high as he could reach with his hand, and offered as ransom gold enough to fill the room up to that height. Pizarro accepted the offer, and the gold began to be collected, largely Ransom collected for Atahualpa. in the shape of vases and other ornaments of temples. But it came in more slowly than Atahualpa had expected, and in June, 1533, the stipulated quantity was not yet complete. In some towns the priests dismantled the sacred edifices and hid their treasures, waiting apparently for the crisis to pass. The utter paralysis of the people in presence of the white men was scarcely matched by anything in the story of Cortes. While the treasure was collecting, Fernando Pizarro, with twenty horsemen and half-a-dozen arquebusiers, made a journey of four hundred miles through the heart of the country to the famous temple of Pachacamac, and although they boldly desecrated the sacred shrine they went and came unmolested!¹

¹ The people believed that no one but the consecrated priests of Pachacamac could enter the shrine of the wooden idol without instantly perishing. So when Fernando Pizarro coolly walked in and smashed the "graven image," and had the shrine demolished, and made the sign of the cross as "an invincible weapon against the Devil," they concluded that he must be a god who knew

Soon after Fernando's return to Caxamarca, in April, Almagro arrived at that town, with his party of 150 soldiers and 84 horses. In June the enormous spoil of gold, equivalent to more than \$15,000,000 in modern reckoning, besides a vast amount of silver, was divided among the children of the sky-god. Almagro's newly arrived men wished to share equally with the others, and as they were obliged to content themselves with a much smaller portion, there was fresh occasion for ill-feeling between Almagro and the Pizarros.

Fernando Pizarro was now sent to Spain with the emperor's share of the plunder. Atahualpa placed more trust in him than in the others, and gave expression to a fear that his own safety was imperilled by his departure. The atmosphere

seems to have been heavy with intrigue. From Cuzco the imprisoned Inca Huascar offered the Spaniards a treasure still larger than they had as yet received, on condition that they would set him free and support him against Atahualpa. The latter heard of this, and soon afterward Huascar was secretly murdered. At the same time the Spaniards, still uneasy and suspicious, as was natural, had reason to believe that Atahualpa was privately sending forth instructions to his chieftains to arouse their parts of the country. When one is driven to despair, one is ready to fight even against sky-gods. Pizarro saw that it would not do for

what he was about, and with whom it would be unsafe to interfere. See Squier's *Peru*, p. 65; Markham, *Reports on the Discovery of Peru*, London, 1872, p. 83.

Murder of
the captive
Inca Huascar
by Atahualpa.

a moment to allow such proceedings. A savage display of power seemed necessary ; and so Atahualpa, having been brought to trial for conspiracy against the white men, for the murder of his brother, and for divers other crimes, even including idolatry and polygamy, was duly convicted and sentenced to be burned at the stake. On his consenting to accept baptism the sentence was commuted for a milder one, and on the 29th of August, in the public square at Caxamarca, Atahualpa, was strangled with a bow-string. At this time Fernando de Soto was absent ; on his return he denounced the execution as both shameful and rash. As to the shameful of the transaction modern historians can have but one opinion. Personal sympathy, of course, would be wasted upon such a bloodthirsty wretch as Atahualpa ; but as for the Spaniards, it would seem that perfidy could no farther go than to accept an enormous ransom from a captive and then put him to death. As a question of military policy, divorced from considerations of morality, the case is not so clear. The Spaniards were taking possession of Peru by the same sort of right as that by which the lion springs upon his prey ; there was nothing that was moral about it, and their consciences were at no time scrupulous as to keeping faith with heretics or with heathen. They were guided purely by considerations of their own safety and success, and they slew Atahualpa in the same spirit that Napoleon murdered the Duke d'Enghien, because they deemed it good policy to do so. In this Pizarro and Almagro

Atahualpa
put to death
by the Spaniards.

were agreed ; Soto and a few others were on a different opinion, and it is not easy now to tell which side conceived the military situation most correctly.

In order to control the country Pizarro must control the person of the Inca, and that sovereign must understand that to conspire against the "sons of Viracocha" was simply to bring down sure and swift destruction upon himself. There was reason for believing that Atahualpa's usurped authority was not so willingly recognized by the country as that of the genuine Inca ; and Pizarro had expressed an intention of bringing Huascar to Caxamarca and deciding between his claims and those of Atahualpa, when his purpose was frustrated by the assassination of the former. It thus appears that there was a valid political reason for holding Atahualpa responsible for the murder.

For the present Pizarro proclaimed Toparca, one of Atahualpa's sons, but the lad fell sick and died within a few weeks. Symptoms of anarchy were here and there manifested ; in some towns there were riots, and distant chieftains prepared to throw off their allegiance. On the march to Cuzco, which began late in September, the Spaniards, now about 500 in number, were for the first time attacked. The assailants were 6,000 Indians, led by Atahualpa's brother, Titu Atauchi, but the Spaniards beat them off without serious loss. Pizarro laid the blame of this attack upon the chieftain Chalcuchima, whom he had with him, and the Indian was accordingly burned at the stake for

an example. A few days afterward, Manco, already mentioned as next to Huascar in the customary line of succession, came to the Spanish camp and made his submission in due form. It was a great and decisive triumph for Pizarro. He lost no time in proclaiming the new Inca under the style of Manco Capac Yupanqui, and on the 15th of November, 1533, the sovereign and his supernatural guardians made a solemn entry into Cuzco, where the usual inaugural ceremonies and festivities took place. It was the anniversary of Pizarro's entry into Caxamarca. In that one eventful year he had overthrown the usurper, and now, as he placed the crimson cap upon the head of the legitimate Inca, might it not seem that he had completed the conquest of the golden kingdom? Relying upon the superstitious awe which had helped him to such an astounding result, he ventured in the course of the next four months to set up a Spanish municipal government in Cuzco, to seize upon divers houses and public buildings for his followers, and to convert the Temple of the Sun into a Dominican monastery.

The true Inca, Manco, makes his submission, and is inaugurated at Cuzco by Pizarro.

The chieftain Quizquiz, with a portion of Atahualpa's forces, held out against the new Inca, whereupon Almagro in a brief campaign drove him into the Quito territory and overpowered him. Meanwhile the news of all these wonderful events had reached the ears of Pedro de Alvarado in Guatemala, and not yet satiated with adventure, that cavalier, with 500 followers, sailed for the South American coast, landed in

Pedro de Alvarado.

the bay of Caragues, and after a terrible march through the wilderness, in which one fourth of the number perished, he came up with Almagro at Riobamba. After some parley, as his men showed symptoms of deserting to Almagro, Alvarado came to the conclusion that it would be wiser not to interfere in this part of the world. He consented to be bought off for a good round sum, and went back to Guatemala, leaving most of his men to recruit the Spanish forces in Peru.

The arrival of Fernando Pizarro in Spain, with his load of gold and his tale of adventure, aroused such excitement as had hardly been felt since the return of Columbus from his first voyage across the Sea of Darkñess. Again Spaniards began flocking to the New World, and ships plied frequently between Panama and the shores of the Inca's country. For commercial purposes a seat of government on the coast was preferable to Cuzco, and accordingly on the 6th of January, 1535, Francisco Pizarro founded the city of Lima. While he was busy in laying out streets and putting up houses his brother Fernando returned from Spain. Francisco had been created a marquis and the territory subject to his government had been described in the royal patent as extending southward 270 leagues from the river Santiago, in latitude $1^{\circ} 20'$ north. Provision had also been made for Almagro, but in such wise as to get him as far out of the way as possible. He was appointed governor of the country to the south of Pizarro's, with the title of marshal. Pizarro's province was to be called New Castile;

Effect of the
news in Spain.

Almagro's, which covered Chili, or the greater part of it, was to be called New Toledo.

Thus with fair phrases Almagro was virtually set aside; he was told that he might go and conquer a new and unknown country for himself, while the rich country already won was

to be monopolized by the Pizarros.

Almagro's disgust; he starts for Chili.

Theirs was the bird in the hand, his the bird in the bush; and no wonder that his wrath waxed hot against Fernando. In this mood he insisted that at any rate the city of Cuzco fell south of the boundary-line, and therefore within his jurisdiction. This was not really the case, though its nearness to the line afforded ground for doubt, and something might depend upon the way in which the distance from the river Santiago was measured. Almagro was a weak man, apt to be swayed by the kind of argument that happened to be poured into his ears for the moment. At first he was persuaded to abandon his claim to Cuzco, and in the autumn of 1535 he started on his march for Chili, with 200 Spaniards and a large force of Indians led by the Inca's brother Paullu, and accompanied by the high priest or Villac Umu. There were to be stirring times before his return.

Three years had now elapsed since the seizure of Atahualpa, and two since the coronation of Manco, and quiet seems to have been generally maintained. But the Inca's opinion as to the character and business of the white strangers must needs have been modified by what was going on. **If at first he may have welcomed their aid in**

overthrowing the rival party and helping him to his throne, he could now see unmistakable signs that they had come to stay. Spaniards were arriving by the ship-load; they were building towns, seizing estates and enslaving the people, despoiling temples, and otherwise comporting themselves as odious masters. Mere familiarity must have done something toward dispelling the glamour which had at first surrounded and protected them. Æsop's fox nearly died of fright on first seeing a lion, but by and by made bold to go up to him and ask him how he did. In an emergency it might be worth while to test the power of the new tyrants and see if they were really the sacred children of Viracocha. The departure of Almagro for Chili offered a favourable moment for an insurrection, and there is no doubt that the plans of the Inca and his friends were deliberately concerted. Almagro had not proceeded many days' march when Paullu and the Villac Umu deserted him with their Indians and hurried back toward Cuzco, while at the same time the Inca succeeded in escaping from the city. Now ensued the only serious warfare between Spaniard and Indian which the conquest of Peru involved. With astonishing suddenness and vehemence the rebellion broke out in many parts of the country, so that the communication between Cuzco and Lima was cut, and for some months the Spaniards in the one town did not know whether their friends in the other were alive or dead. Francisco Pizarro at Lima was fain to call for succour from Panama, Guatemala,

Manco plans
an insurrec-
tion.

and Mexico. The Inca occupied the great Sacsahuaman fortress overlooking Cuzco, and laid siege to the city, where Fernando was in command, with his brothers Gonzalo and Juan. For six months, from February to August, 1536, the siege was closely pressed. There were frequent and vigorous assaults, and how the little band of Spaniards contrived to maintain themselves against such terrible odds is one of the marvels of history. They not only held their own within the walls, but made effective sorties. Such prodigies of valour have rarely been seen except in those books of chivalry that turned Don Quixote's brain. Juan Pizarro was slain in an assault upon the fortress, but Fernando at length succeeded in taking it by storm. After a while the Inca began to find it difficult to feed so many mouths. As September approached, it was necessary, in order to avoid a famine, for large numbers to go home and attend to their planting. With his force thus reduced the Inca retired into the valley of Yucay, where he encountered Almagro returning from Chili. A battle ensued, and Manco was defeated with great slaughter.

The Spaniards
besieged in
Cuzco.

Total defeat
of the Inca.

Almagro's men, after penetrating more than three hundred miles into Chili, and enduring the extremes of cold and hunger, without finding wealthy towns or such occasions for pillage as they expected, had at length begun to murmur, and finally they persuaded their leader to return and renew his claim to Cuzco. He arrived in time to complete the dis-

Almagro re-
turns and
seizes Cuzco.

comfiture of the Inca, and then appeared before that city. He was refused admission, and an agreement was made by which he promised to remain encamped outside until the vexed question of jurisdiction could be peaceably determined. Some months of inaction passed, but at length, in April, 1537, Almagro was led to believe, perhaps correctly, that Fernando Pizarro was secretly strengthening the works, with the intention of holding the city against him. Almagro thereupon treated the agreement as broken, seized the city by surprise, and took Fernando and Gonzalo prisoners.

This act was the beginning of a period of eleven years of civil disturbance, in the course of which all the principal actors were swept off the stage, as in some cheap blood-and-thunder tragedy. For our purposes it is not worth while to recount the petty incidents of the struggle, — how Almagro was at one moment ready to submit to arbitration and the next moment refused to abide by the decision ; how Fernando was set at liberty and Gonzalo escaped ; how Almagro's able lieutenant, Rodrigo de Orgoñez, won a victory over Pizarro's men at Abançay, but was totally defeated by Fernando Pizarro at Las Salinas and perished on the field ; how at last Fernando had Almagro tried for sedition and summarily executed. On which side was the more violence and treachery it would be hard to say. Indeed, as Sir Arthur Helps observes, "in this melancholy story it is difficult to find anybody whom the reader can sympathize much with." So far as our story of the conquest

Civil war ; execution of Almagro ; and final defeat of the Inca.

of Peru is concerned, we may observe the Spaniards once, in a leisure interval among their own squabbles, turning their attention to it! After his victory at Abançay in July, 1537, Orgoñez completed the overthrow of the Inca Manco, scattered his army, and drove him to an inaccessible fastness in the mountains.

Almagro's execution was in July, 1538, and the next year Fernando Pizarro thought it prudent to return to Castile, with an enormous quantity of gold, and give his own account of the late troubles. But, as already observed, the Spanish government was liable to resent too summary measures on the part of its servants in the Indies, and much depended upon the kind of information it obtained in the first place. On this occasion it got its first impressions from friends of Almagro, and it fared ill with the other side. Fernando was kept under surveillance at Medina del Campo for more than twenty years, and was then allowed to go home to his estate in Estremadura, where he died in 1578, at the age, it is said, of one hundred and four years.

How Fernando Pizarro was received in Spain.

After his brother's departure the Marquis Pizarro had some further trouble with the Inca, who from time to time renewed a desultory warfare among the mountains. It was but a slight annoyance, however. Peru was really conquered, and Pizarro was able to send out expeditions to great distances. In March, 1540, Pedro de Valdivia set out for Chili and remained there seven years, in the course of which he founded Valparaiso (September 3, 1544) and other towns, and

for the moment seemed to have conquered the country. Nevertheless it was here that the Spaniards encountered more formidable opposition than anywhere else in America. On Valdivia's return to his colony in 1549 its very existence was imperilled by the assaults of the Araucanians. These valiant Indians, led by their illustrious chieftains, Caupolican and Lautaro, maintained a warfare which has been celebrated in the famous epic poem of Alonso de Ercilla, who was one of the Spanish officers engaged.¹ In this struggle Valdivia perished. Other governors until the end of the century found the Araucanians unconquerable; and, indeed, even to the present day this aboriginal American people may boast, with the Montenegrins of the Balkan peninsula, that they have never bent their necks to the yoke of the foreigner.

To return to the Marquis Pizarro: in 1539 he put his brother Gonzalo in command over the province of Quito, which had been conquered by Benalcazar, and on Christmas of that year Gonzalo started to explore the cinnamon forests to the eastward. A memorable affair it was, and placed this Pizarro in a conspicuous place among men of incredible endurance. His little army of 350 Spaniards (attended at the outset by 4,000 Indians) crossed the Andes and plunged deeper and deeper into the wilderness, until food grew scarce. Then, lured

Valdivia's conquest of Chili.
 Expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro in search of El Dorado.

¹ Ercilla, *La Araucana*, Madrid, 1776, 2 vols. 12°. Lope de Vega wrote a play on the same subject, "Arauco Domado," in his *Comedias*, tom. xx., Madrid, 1629.

on by false reports of a rich and fruitful country ahead (mayhap, another golden kingdom! why not?) they pressed onward, with great exertion built a small vessel capable of carrying part of their company and their baggage, and so, partly on water, partly on land, made their way down the Napo river, one of the tributaries of the Amazon. Hearing now that the rich country was to be found at the confluence of the Napo with the greater river, Gonzalo sent Francisco de Orellana ahead with fifty men in the brigantine to gather supplies, and return. When Orellana reached the region in question he found scant sustenance there, and decided that it would be impossible to force his vessel back against the powerful current. It was easier to keep on down stream and see if some golden kingdom might not be found upon its banks. So Orellana basely left his comrades in the lurch, and sailed down the Amazon 4,000 miles to its mouth, a most astounding exploit in the navigation of an unknown and very dangerous river. Escaping the perils of starvation, shipwreck, and savages, Orellana came out upon the ocean and made his way to the island of Cubagua, whence he went soon afterward to Spain, and succeeded in raising an expedition to return and make conquests in the Amazon country,¹ but his death and the remonstrances of Portugal frustrated this attempt.

Orellana's descent of the Amazon.

¹ "The name of river of the Amazons was given to it because Orellana and his people beheld the women on its banks fighting as valiantly as the men. . . . It is not that there are Amazons on that river, but that they said there were, by reason of the valour of the women." Garcilasso (Markham's transl.), lib. viii. cap. **xxii.**

One of Orellana's companions, who had boldly denounced as cowardly and treacherous his intention of deserting Pizarro, was left behind to starve in the forest, but contrived to keep himself alive till Gonzalo arrived at the mouth of the Napo, and found him, a mere skeleton. On learning his story it became evident that there was nothing to do but make the best of their way back to Quito. After

Gonzalo's return to Quito. one of the most terrible marches recorded in history, a march in which more than two thirds of the company perished, Gonzalo brought the famished survivors into Quito in June, 1542, and there he was met by unwelcome news. During the two and a half years of his absence great changes had taken place.

For a time everything had gone prosperously with Francisco Pizarro. The rage for silver and gold had brought thousands of Spaniards into the country, and by taking advantage of the system of military roads and posts already existing, they were soon better able than the Incas had ever been to hold all that territory in complete subjection. Pizarro was fond of building and gardening, and took much interest in introducing European cereals and other vegetables into Peru. While he was engaged in such occupations his enemies were laying plots. His brother Fernando, on leaving the country, had warned him against the "men of Chili," as Almagro's partisans were called. But the marquis did not profit by the warning. A man of tact, like Cortes, would have won over these malcontents by extending to them judicious favours and making

The Marquis Pizarro and the "men of Chili."

them feel it to be for their interest to come to his support. But Pizarro had neither the generosity nor the sagacity to adopt such a course, nor had he the prudence of his brother Fernando. He treated the men of Chili with rudeness and severity, and still was careless about guarding himself. To such straits, it is said, were some of these men reduced through persecutions that could be traced to Pizarro, that a dozen cavaliers, who happened to have their quarters in the same house, had only one cloak among them, which they used to take their turns in wearing, the cloaked man going out while the others staid at home.¹ After a while some of these ill-used men conspired to murder Pizarro, and on Sunday, June 26, 1541, nineteen of them, led by a very able officer named Juan de Rada, boldly made their way into the governor's palace at Lima just as he was finishing his mid-day dinner, and in a desperate assault, in which several of the conspirators fell under Pizarro's sword, they succeeded in killing the Assassination of Pizarro. sturdy old man, along with his half-brother Alcántara and other friends.² Almagro's illegitimate half-breed son, commonly called "Almagro the lad," was now proclaimed governor of Peru by the conspirators. But his day was a short one. It happened that Charles V. had sent out a learned judge, Vaca de Castro, to advise with Pizarro concerning the government of his province, and with characteristic prudence had authorized him in case

¹ Herrera, dec. vi. lib. viii. cap. vi.

² The scene is most graphically described by Prescott, in his *Conquest of Peru*, bk. iv. chap. v.

of Pizarro's death to assume the government himself. Castro had just arrived at Popayan when he was met there by the news of the assassination. Finding himself sure of the allegiance of some of Pizarro's principal captains, as Benalcazar and Alonso de Alvarado, he proclaimed himself governor, and in the battle of Chupas, September 16, 1542, he defeated young Almagro, who was forthwith tried for treason and beheaded in the great square at Cuzco.

Gonzalo Pizarro loyally gave in his allegiance to the new governor, and retired to his private estate in Charcas, south of Lake Titicaca. The troubles, however, were not yet over. In the next chapter we shall see how Indian slavery grew up in the New World, and how through

The "bloody plains of Chupas."
The New Laws, and the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro.

the devoted labours of Las Casas measures were taken for its abolition. It was in 1542 that Las Casas, after a quarter of a century of heroic effort, won his decisive victory in the promulgation of the edicts known as the "New Laws." These edicts, as we shall see, resulted in the gradual abolition of Indian slavery. If they had been put into operation according to their first intent they would have worked an immediate abolition, and the act of confiscation would have applied to nearly all the Spaniards in Peru. The New Laws therefore aroused furious opposition, and the matter was made still worse by the violent temper of the new viceroy, Blasco Nuñez Vela, who arrived in Lima early in 1544, charged with the duty of enforcing them. From arbitrary imprisonment Vela's vio-

lence extended to open and shameless murder, until at length the people rose in rebellion, and Gonzalo Pizarro came forth from his retirement to lead them. After a year of turbulence a battle was fought near Quito, January 18, 1546, in which poor, half-crazed Vela was defeated and slain, and Gonzalo became master of Peru.

But his triumph was short-lived. The Spanish government sent out a wily and smooth-tongued ecclesiastic, a military priest and member of the Council of the Inquisition, Pedro de la ^{Pedro de la} Gasca, armed with extensive powers for ^{Gasca.} settling all the vexed questions. Gasca's most effective weapon was the repeal of those clauses of the New Laws which demanded the immediate abolition of slavery. These clauses were repealed, and preparations were made for the compromise hereafter to be described. But for these preliminaries Gasca would probably have accomplished little. As it was, his honeyed tongue found no difficulty in winning over the captains of Pizarro's fleet at Panama. They had been sent there to watch the situation, and, if necessary, to prevent Gasca from proceeding farther, or to bribe him to join Pizarro, or perhaps to seize him and carry him to Peru as a prisoner. But this crafty man, "this Cortes in priestly garments," as Sir Arthur Helps calls him, talked so well that the captains put the fleet at his disposal and conveyed him to Tumbez, where he landed June 13, 1547. It was still open to Pizarro to maintain that he had not taken up arms against the crown, but only against a tyrannical viceroy and in defence of the emperor's loyal

subjects. It was rather a difficult position, but Vela's conduct had been such as to lend it strong support, and had Gonzalo Pizarro been richer in mental resources he might have carried it off successfully. As it was, he had great and not unmerited confidence in his own military ability, and unwisely decided to hold out against Gasca.

For a moment events seemed to favour Pizarro. An able captain, Diego de Centeno, who through all these vicissitudes had remained loyal to the crown, now captured Cuzco for Gasca; whereupon a campaign ensued which ended in the total overthrow of Centeno in the bloody battle of Huarina, near Lake Titicaca, October 20, 1547. This gleam of success was but momentary. Nowhere was the sword to be found that could prevail against Gasca's tongue. Such wholesale defection as suddenly ruined Gonzalo Pizarro has seldom been seen. When he encountered Gasca in person, on the plain of Sacsahuana, April 9, 1548, his soldiers began deserting by scores. As one company after another contrived to slip away and flee into the arms of the royalists, Gonzalo's quaint lieutenant, Carvajal, a weather-beaten veteran of the wars in Italy, kept humming with grim facetiousness the words of an old Spanish ditty:—

Defeat and
execution of
Gonzalo Pi-
zarro.

Estos mis cabellos, madre,
Dos á dos me los lleva el ayre.¹

¹ As Helps renders it, "These my hairs, mother, two by two the breeze carries them away." *Spanish Conquest*, vol. iv. p. 258. The best description of Gonzalo's rebellion is the one given by Helps.

After a faint pretence of fighting, in which fifteen men were killed, Pizarro, finding himself without an army, quietly rode over to Gasca's camp and surrendered himself. On the following day he was beheaded, while old Carvajal, in his eighty-fifth year, was hanged and quartered, and this was the end of the sway of the Pizarros in the land of the Incas. All except Fernando died by violence. The victorious Gasca proved himself an adept in hanging and beheading, but accomplished little else. After his bloody assizes he returned to Spain in 1550, and was rewarded with a bishopric. In 1553 there was a brief epilogue of rebellion in Peru, under the lead of Hernandez Giron, who was beheaded in 1554.

A new era began under the able administration of Andrea Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, who came out in 1556. The conquest of Peru may with his viceroyalty ^{Arrival of Mendoza.} be pronounced complete; in other words, not only had the Indians been conquered, but their unruly conquerors were at last overcome, and into the country, thus reduced to order, more than 8,000 Spaniards had come to stay.

Considering the story of the conquest of Peru as a whole, we cannot but be struck with the slighthness of the resistance made by the people. Except for the spirited siege of Cuzco by the Inca Manco, there was no resistance worthy of the name. The conquerors turned temples into churches and enslaved the people, and yet in the midst of this large population a handful of Spaniards were able

to squabble among themselves and kill each other with as little concern as if they had been in an empty country. Evidently this society in which governmental control had been so far developed at the expense of individualism was a society where it did not make much difference to the people what master they served. To conquer such a country it was only necessary to get control of the machinery of administration. I think it may have been a perception of this state of things that encouraged Atahualpa to make his attempt to overthrow the legitimate line of Incas. He doubtless hoped, with the aid of the men of Quito and other imperfectly conquered provinces, to get control of Cuzco and the system of military posts and roads radiating therefrom, believing that thus he could maintain himself in power in spite of the fact that his birth disqualified him for the position of supreme Inca. His success would have been a revolution; and it is instructive to see him trying to provide against the opposition of the Inca caste by keeping the genuine Inca a captive in his hands instead of putting him to death. By thus controlling all the machinery of government, the captive Inca included, Atahualpa evidently had no occasion to fear anything like popular insurrection. Whether his scheme would have succeeded must, of course, remain doubtful; but it is extremely curious to see the Spaniards at the critical moment step in and beat him at his own game, without more than half understanding what they were doing. In capturing Atahualpa there is no doubt

Some reasons why the conquest was so easily accomplished.

that Pizarro took his cue from Cortes, but between the seizure of Atahualpa and that of Montezuma the points of difference were more important than the points of likeness. It is customary to speak of Atahualpa as "the last Inca," and I suppose the fact is commonly forgotten that he was really only governor of Quito, a victorious usurper who had just begun to call himself the Inca, but had not been formally invested with that supreme dignity. Garcilasso expressly declares that the people — by whom he means the members of his own Inca caste and their loyal dependents — were grateful to the white man for overthrowing the usurper who had first captured and finally murdered their true Inca Huascar. "They said that the Spaniards had put the tyrant to death as a punishment and to avenge the Incas; and that the god Viracocha, the father of the Spaniards, had ordered them to do it. This is the reason they called the first Spaniards by the name of Viracocha, and believing they were sons of their god, they respected them so much that they almost worshipped them, and scarcely made any resistance to the conquest."¹

This explanation, from so high an authority as Garcilasso Inca, shows us clearly why resistance to the Spaniards did not fairly begin until three years after the seizure of Atahualpa; and then, when the legitimate Inca Manco headed the attack upon the Spaniards, not only had their numbers greatly increased, but they had already secured control of a great part of the governmental

¹ Garcilasso, pt. i. lib. v. cap. xxi., Markham's translation.

machinery, and to the mass of the people a mere change of masters was not a matter of vital importance.

After the decisive defeat of Manco Capac by Orgoñez in 1537, that Inca retired to an almost inaccessible fastness in the great fork of the Andes where the river Marañon takes its rise, and there he kept up a kind of court. From that point he now and then made a sudden descent and attacked the Spaniards, but accomplished little or nothing. His end was a strange one, with a touch of the comical. When Juan de Rada and his party were crossing the great square at Lima, on their way to assassinate the Marquis Pizarro, one of the company, a certain Gomez Perez, was observed to step out of the way to avoid wetting his shoes in a puddle. "What!" cried the fierce Rada, "here are we about to wade up to our knees in blood, and you are afraid of a pool of water! Go home, you silly fop, you are no fit company for the like of us!" After the overthrow of young Almagro at Chupas, this Gomez Perez, with others of that faction, took refuge at the Inca's little court in the mountains, where they were hospitably received. On the arrival of Blasco Nuñez Vela in 1544 there were negotiations between that viceroy and the Inca, which resulted in Manco's giving in his allegiance to the Emperor Charles V. Gomez Perez served as the Inca's messenger in these negotiations. He was an ill-mannered fellow, who took no pains to veil his contempt for "coloured men," and he was often rude to the Inca, who usually

Fate of the
Inca Manco.

received his coarse words with quiet dignity. But one day, as the two were playing at ninepins some dispute arose, and the Spaniard became so abusive that Manco gave him a push, exclaiming, "Go away, you forget with whom you are speaking." Without another word Gomez, who had one of the big balls in his hand, hurled it at the Inca's head and killed him on the spot.¹ At the sight of this outrage the Indians who were present, watching the game, fell upon Gomez and slew him. The other Spaniards fled to their quarters, but the enraged Indians set fire to the building, and butchered them all as fast as they were driven out by the flames. Thus ignominiously perished the wretched remnant of the Almagro faction.

Manco was succeeded by his son Sayri Tupac, who for fourteen years continued to hold his court among the mountains. On the arrival of the Marquis of Cañete, negotiations were opened with this Inca, who consented to become a pensioner of the Spaniards. The valley of Yucay was given him, and there he lived from 1558 until his death in 1560. His brother and successor, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, returned to Manco's mountain lair, and held court there for eleven years, resuming his practical independence. When

¹ Garcilasso, *Comentarios reales*, pt. ii. lib. iv. cap. vii. Mr. Prescott's account of this affair (*Conquest of Peru*, bk. iv. chap. iii.) is slightly misleading. Mr. Markham (in Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 546) makes a strange mistake in the date, and the context shows that it is not a misprint; he says that Manco "met his death in 1553, after a disastrous reign of twenty years." Manco was crowned in 1533, and his death occurred in 1544, and in the eleventh year of his reign.

the viceroy Francisco de Toledo arrived, in 1571, he determined to put a stop to this sort of thing, and events soon furnished him with a pretext. A missionary friar having gone to visit Titu Cusi at his court, the Inca suddenly fell sick and died, whereupon the friar was seized and put to death for sorcery. Titu Cusi was succeeded by his brother Tupac Amaru, a mere lad. Now the viceroy Toledo sent an army into the mountains, which broke up the Inca's court, slew many chieftains, and captured the Inca Tupac Amaru. The unfortunate youth was taken to Cuzco, and beheaded in revenge for the friar's death, and this was the end of the Inca dynasty.

CHAPTER XI.

LAS CASAS.

IT is curious to reflect that with the first arrival of civilized Europeans in this New World there should have come that plague of slavery The plague of slavery. which was so long to pollute and curse it, and from the complicated effects of which we shall not for long years yet succeed in fully recovering. Nor is it less curious to reflect how the fates of the continents America and Africa, with their red men and black men, became linked together, from the early time when Prince Henry of Portugal was making those exploring expeditions that prepared the way for the great discovery of Columbus. It was those expeditions upon the African coast that introduced slavery into the world in what we may distinguish as its modern form. For in the history of slavery there have been two quite distinct periods. The ancient slave was the prisoner captured in war, the *αιχμάλωτος*, in the picturesque phrase of the Greeks, which has been somewhat freely rendered as "fruit of the spear." We have observed that in the lower stage of barbarism captives Ancient slavery. are tortured to death; in the middle stage they are sacrificed to the gods, but as agriculture develops and society becomes settled they

are more and more used as slaves; and in the upper stage of barbarism a complete system of slave-labour is developed. Doubtless this course of things was attended with some advantages in its day. Ancient slavery was a help in the coalescence of tribes into nations, and to enslave the captive was not quite so cruel as to roast him alive or cut him to pieces. With the advance of civilization ancient slavery slowly grew milder in type. The slaves of a Greek or a Roman were white men like himself, so that the element of race antipathy was absent. By slow degrees European slaves acquired customary rights and privileges and often became freemen.¹ In general, after

¹ For a brief characterization of Roman slavery see Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, chap. ii., with Guizot's and Milman's notes. The cruelties inflicted upon slaves in the days of the Roman republic were frightful, but in the general and remarkable improvement of Roman law in point of humanity under the emperors, the condition of the slaves was notably ameliorated. One among countless testimonies to the mildness of slavery in the fifth century of the Christian era is furnished by an interesting conversation which took place in the year 448 between the Roman historian Priscus and a certain versatile Greek who had become enamoured of wild life and was engaged in the service of the terrible Attila. Priscus says the Romans treat their slaves much more kindly than the Hunnish king treats the free warriors that follow his banner and divide the spoils of war. They deal with them as friends or brothers, teach them the Scriptures, nurse them tenderly in sickness, and are not allowed to inflict upon them cruel punishment; moreover, it is a common and highly esteemed practice to give them freedom either by last will and testament, or by deed during the master's lifetime. See Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, vol. i. p. 219. On the general subject, see Wallon, *Histoire de l'esclavage dans l'antiquité*, Paris, 1847, 3 vols.; Denis, *Histoire des théories et des idées morales dans l'antiquité*, Paris, 1856, tom. ii. pp. 55-218; Friedländer, *Mœurs romaines du règne d'Auguste à la fin des Antonins*, Paris,

making all due allowances, the face of the Christian Church was resolutely set against slavery, so that later wars and conquests created only such modified forms of it as serfdom and villenage. By the fifteenth century ancient slavery was dead in England, and moribund on the continent of Europe, when all at once and most unexpectedly modern slavery came into existence. In this modern system slavery ^{Modern slavery.} became an extensive branch of commerce. Men of weaker race, despised as heathen with red or black skins, were hunted and caught by thousands, and sold in places where there was a demand for cheap labour. There were features in this modern system as hideous as the worst features of the ancient system. And curiously enough, just as the progress of discovery in Africa had originated this wholesale traffic in men, the discovery of America opened up an immense field where there was soon to be a great and growing demand for cheap labour.

In 1441 Prince Henry's master of the robes, Antonio Gonçalvez, in a voyage along the Morocco coast, captured a few Moors and carried them to Portugal.¹ The next year these Moors ^{Its beginnings.} begged Gonçalvez to take them back to Morocco, and offered him a ransom in the shape of negro slaves. On hearing of this, Prince Henry told Gonçalvez by all means to exchange the Moors for negroes, because the former were obstinate

1865, tom. i. pp. 288-292; Ozanam, *History of Civilization in the Fifth Century*, London, 1868, vol. ii. pp. 36-43.

¹ See above, vol. i. p. 323.

infidels who would not give up their Mahometan faith, whereas the black men, being simply heathen, might more easily be persuaded to espouse Christianity.¹ Gonçalvez accordingly sailed, set free his Moors, and returned to Portugal with a small cargo of negro slaves. This transaction, in the year 1442, seems to have been the beginning of slavery in its especially modern form. After this many ship-loads of negroes were brought to Lisbon, and Prince Henry, in receiving his royal fifth of the proceeds of these expeditions, was known to take slaves along with buffalo hides and gold dust.

A graphic description of the arrival of a company of these poor creatures, brought by Lançarote in the year 1444, is given by an eye-witness, the kind-hearted Portuguese chronicler Azurara. "The other day," he says, "which was the eighth of August, very early in the morning by reason of the heat, the mariners began to bring to their vessels, and . . . to draw forth those captives . . . : whom, placed together on that plain, it was a marvellous sight to behold, for amongst them there were some of a reasonable degree of whiteness, handsome and well made; others less white, resembling leopards in their colour; others as black as Ethiopians, and so ill-formed, as well in their faces as in their bodies, that it seemed to the beholders as if they saw the forms of a lower world. But what heart was that, how hard soever, which was not pierced with sorrow,

Azurara's narrative.

¹ To doubt the sincerity of such an argument is to misunderstand Prince Henry and the age in which he lived.

seeing that company: for some had sunken cheeks, and their faces bathed in tears, looking at each other; others were groaning very dolorously, looking at the heights of the heavens . . . and crying out loudly, as if asking succour from the Father of nature; others struck their faces with their hands, throwing themselves on the earth; others made their lamentations in songs, according to the customs of their country, which, although we could not understand their language, we saw corresponded well to the height of their sorrow. But now . . . came those who had the charge of the distribution, and they began to put them apart one from the other, in order to equalize the portions; wherefore it was necessary to part children and parents, husbands and wives, and brethren from each other. Neither in the partition of friends and relations was any law kept, only each fell where the lot took him. . . . And while they were placing in one part the children that saw their parents in another, the children sprang up perseveringly and fled unto them; the mothers enclosed their children in their arms and threw themselves with them upon the ground, receiving wounds with little pity for their own flesh, so that their offspring might not be torn from them! And so, with labour and difficulty, they concluded the partition, for, besides the trouble they had with the captives, the plain was full of people, as well of the town as of the villages and neighbourhood around, who on that day gave rest to their hands the mainstay of their livelihood, only to see this novelty.”¹

¹ I quote from the version given by Sir Arthur Helps, in his

There we have the infernal picture, very much as it was to be seen four hundred years later in our own country, as so many of us can still remember. But for the discovery of America this traffic in human beings would doubtless have been greatly limited in extent and duration. The conditions of European agriculture and mining were not such as to create a market for them. Natural economic laws would have prevented slavery from thriving in Europe, as they prevented it in New England. But in the subtropical regions of the New World slavery grew up quickly and sturdily, as foul weeds sprout in a congenial soil. At first it was a slavery of red men, and Columbus himself played an important part in establishing it. When Columbus came to Hispaniola on his second voyage, with 17 ships and 1,500 followers, he found

the relations between red men and white men already hostile, and in order to get food for so many Spaniards, foraging expeditions were undertaken, which made

Beginnings of
Indian slavery
under Colum-
bus.

Spanish Conquest, vol. i. pp. 37-39, since it would be impossible to improve upon it. The original text is in Azurara, *Chronica do descobrimento e conquista de Guiné*, Paris, 1841, pp. 132-134. This chronicle was completed in 1453. Azurara goes on to give another side to the picture, for being much interested in the poor creatures he made careful inquiries and found that in general they were treated with marked kindness. They became Christians, and were taught trades or engaged in domestic service; they were also allowed to acquire property and were often set free. This, however, was in the early days of modern slavery and in the period of Prince Henry and his ideas. At a later date, when Portuguese cruisers caught negroes by the hundred and sold them at Seville, whence they were shipped to Hispaniola to work in the mines, there was very little to relieve the blackness of the transaction.

matters worse. This state of things led Columbus to devise a notable expedient. In some of the neighbouring islands lived the voracious Caribs. In fleets of canoes they would swoop upon the coasts of Hispaniola, capture men and women by the score, and carry them off to be cooked and eaten. Now Columbus wished to win the friendship of the Indians about him by defending them against these enemies, and so he made raids against the Caribs, took some of them captive, and sent them as slaves to Spain, to be taught Spanish and converted to Christianity, so that they might come back to the islands as interpreters, and thus be useful aids in missionary work. It was really, said Columbus, a kindness to these cannibals to enslave them and send them where they could be baptized and rescued from everlasting perdition; and then again they could be received in payment for the cargoes of cattle, seeds, wine, and other provisions which must be sent from Spain for the support of the colony. Thus quaintly did the great discoverer, like so many other good men before and since, mingle considerations of religion with those of domestic economy. It is apt to prove an unwholesome mixture. Columbus proposed such an arrangement to Ferdinand and Isabella, and it is to their credit that, straitened as they were for money, they for some time refused to accept it.

Slavery, however, sprang up in Hispaniola before any one could have fully realized the meaning of what was going on. As the Indians were unfriendly and food must be had, while foraging

expeditions were apt to end in plunder and bloodshed, Columbus tried to regulate matters by prohibiting such expeditions and in lieu thereof im-

Tribute. posing a light tribute or tax upon the entire population of Hispaniola above fourteen years of age. As this population was dense, a little from each person meant a good deal in the lump. The tribute might be a small piece of gold or of cotton, and was to be paid four times a year. Every time that an Indian paid this tax, a small brass token duly stamped was to be given him to hang about his neck as a voucher. If there were Indians who felt unable to pay the tribute, they might as an alternative render a certain amount of personal service in helping to plant seeds or tend cattle for the Spaniards.

No doubt these regulations were well meant, and if the two races had been more evenly matched, perhaps they might not so speedily have developed into tyranny. As it was, they were like rules for regulating the depredations of wolves upon sheep. Two years had not elapsed before the alternative of personal service was demanded from whole villages of Indians at once. By 1499 the island had

Repartimientos. begun to be divided into *repartimientos*, or shares. One or more villages would be ordered, under the direction of their native chiefs, to till the soil for the benefit of some specified Spaniard or partnership of Spaniards; and such a village or villages constituted the *repartimiento* of the person or persons to whom it was assigned. This arrangement put the Indians into a state somewhat resembling that of feudal villen-

age; and this was as far as things had gone when the administration of Columbus came abruptly to an end.

It will be remembered that in 1502 the Spanish sovereigns sent to Hispaniola a governor selected with especial care, a knight of the religious order of Alcántara, named Nicolas de Ovando. He was a small, fair-haired man of mild and courteous manners, and had an excellent reputation for ability and integrity. We are assured on the most unimpeachable authority that he was a good governor for white men. As to what was most needed in that turbulent colony, he was a strict disciplinarian, and had his own summary way of dealing with insubordinate characters. When he wished to dispose of some such incipient Roldan he would choose a time to invite him to dinner, and then, after some polite and interested talk, whereby the guest was apt to feel highly flattered, Ovando would all at once point down to the harbour and blandly inquire, "In which of those ships, now ready to weigh anchor, would you like to go back to Spain?" Then the dumbfounded man would stammer, "My Lord, my Lord," and would perhaps plead that he had not money enough to pay his passage. "Pray do not let that trouble you," said this well-bred little governor, "it shall be my care to provide for that." And so without further ceremony the guest was escorted straight from dinner-table to ship.¹

Ovando's
treatment of
white men.

But this mild-spoken Ovando was capable of

¹ Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, tom. iii. p. 204.

strange deeds, and the seven years of his administration in Hispaniola were so full of horror that I never can read his name without a shudder. His methods with Indians may be illustrated by his treatment of Anacaona, wife of that chieftain Canabó who had been sent to Spain.¹ Ovando heard that the tribe, in which this woman exercised great authority, was meditating another attack upon the Spaniards, and he believed that an ounce of prevention was worth a pound of cure. His seat of government was at the town of San Domingo, and Anacaona's territory at Xaragua was 200 miles distant. Ovando started at once with 300 foot soldiers and 70 horse. On reaching Xaragua he was received in a friendly manner by the Indians, who probably had no wish to offend so strong a force. Games were played, and Ovando proposed to show the Indians a tournament, at which they were much pleased, as their intense fear of the horse was beginning to wear off. All the chieftains of the neighbourhood were invited to assemble in a large wooden house, while Ovando explained to them the nature of the tournament that was about to take place. Meanwhile the Spanish soldiers surrounded the house. Ovando wore upon his breast the badge of his order, a small image of God the Father,² and as he stood talking with the chiefs, when he knew the preparations to be complete, he raised his hand and touched the image. At this concerted signal

Ovando's
treatment of
red men.

¹ See above, vol. i. p. 482.

² "Un Dios Padre en abito blanco." Marquez, *Tesoro militar de Cavallería*, p. 24, apud Helps, vol. i. p. 207.

the soldiers rushed in and seized the chiefs, and bound them hand and foot. Then they went out and set fire to the house, and the chiefs were all burnt alive. Anacaona was hanged to a tree, several hundred Indians were put to the sword, and their country was laid waste. Ovando then founded a town in Xaragua, and called it the City of Peace, and gave it a seal on which was a dove with an olive-branch.¹

But this was nothing to what happened in Ovando's time. There were such atrocities as would seem incredible were they not recounted by a most intelligent and faithful witness who saw with his own eyes many of the things of which he tells us. Bartolomé de Las Casas was born in Seville in 1474.² His family, one of the noblest

¹ An account of the affair is given in Herrera, dec. i. lib. vi. cap. iv., and with a pictorial illustration in Las Casas, *Indiarum devastationis et excidii narratio*, Heidelberg, 1664, p. 11. Herrera observes that the queen did not approve of Ovando's proceedings, and expressed an intention of investigating the affair, but the investigation was never made. Very likely Ovando's patron Fonseca, who cynically avowed that he cared not how many Indians perished, may have contrived to prevent it.

² The life of Las Casas is beautifully and faithfully told by Sir Arthur Helps, in his *History of the Spanish Conquest in America*, London, 1855-61, in 4 vols., a book which it does one's soul good to read. The most recent and elaborate biography is by Don Antonio Fabié, *Vida y escritos de Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas*, Madrid, 1879, in 2 vols. See also Llorente, *Vie de Las Casas*, prefixed to his *Œuvres de Las Casas*, Paris, 1822, tom. i. pp. ix.-cx.; Remesal, *Historia de Chyapa y de Guatemala*, Madrid, 1619. References may also be found in Oviedo, Gomara, Herrera, Torquemada, and other historians. One should above all read the works of Las Casas himself, concerning which much information may be obtained from Sabin's *List of the Printed Editions of the Works of Fray Bartholomé de Las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa*, New

in Spain, was of French origin, descended from the viscounts of Limoges.¹ They were already in Spain before the thirteenth century, and played a distinguished part in the conquest of Seville from the Moors by Ferdinand III. of Castile, in 1252. From that time forward, members of the family were to be found in positions of trust, and among their marked traits of character were invincible courage and spotless integrity. By birth and training Bartholomew was an aristocrat to the very tips of his fingers. For the earlier part of his life dates can hardly be assigned, but the news of the triumphant return of Columbus from his first voyage across the Sea of Darkness may probably have found him at the university of Salamanca, where for several years he studied philosophy, theology, and jurisprudence, and obtained a licentiate's degree. His father, Don Francisco de Las Casas, accompanied Columbus on the second voyage, and re-

Birth and
family of Las
Casas.

York, 1870. The book contains also a notice of the MSS. — *The Life of Las Casas*, by Sir Arthur Helps, London, 1868, consists of passages extracted from his larger work, and suffers seriously from the removal of the context.

¹ Argote, *Nobleza de Andalucia*, fol. 210. According to Llorente (*Vie de Las Casas*, p. xviii.) a branch of the Seville family returned to France. Don Carlos de Las Casas was one of the grandees who accompanied Blanche of Castile when she went to France in the year 1200, to marry the prince, afterward Louis VIII. From this nobleman was descended Napoleon's faithful chamberlain the Marquis de Las Cases. The migration of the French family to Spain probably antedated the custom of giving surnames, which was growing up in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The name Las Casas was of course acquired in Spain, and afterward the branch of the family which had returned to France changed the spelling to Las Cases.

turned to Seville in 1497 with a young Indian slave whom Columbus had given him. It was on this occasion that Isabella asked, with some indignation, "Who has empowered my admiral thus to dispose of my subjects?" The elder Las Casas gave the Indian to his son, who soon became warmly interested in him and in his race; and as the father retained an estate in Hispaniola, the son came out with Ovando in 1502 and settled in that island.¹ He was then twenty-eight years old. Little is known of his first occupations there, except that he seems to have been more or less concerned in money-making, like all the other settlers. But about 1510 he was ordained as a priest. He seems to have been the first Christian clergyman ordained in the New World. He was a person of such immense ability and strength of character that in whatever age of the world he had lived he would undoubtedly have been one of its foremost men. As a man of business he had rare executive power; he was a great diplomatist and an eloquent preacher, a man of Titanic energy, ardent but self-controlled, of unconquerable tenacity, warm-hearted and tender, calm in his judgments, shrewdly humorous, absolutely fearless, and absolutely true. He made many and bitter enemies, and some of them were unscrupulous enough; but I believe no one has ever accused him of any worse sin than extreme fervour of

His character
and writings.

¹ According to Llorente, the elder Las Casas accompanied Columbus on his first voyage in 1492, and Bartholomew was with him on his third voyage in 1498, but this has been disproved. See Humboldt, *Examen critique*, tom. iii. p. 286.

temperament. His wrath could rise to a white heat, and indeed there was occasion enough for it. He was also very apt to call a spade a spade and to proclaim unpleasant truths with pungent emphasis. But his justice is conspicuously displayed in his voluminous writings. He was one of the best historians of his time, and wrote a most attractive Spanish style, quaint, pithy, and nervous, — a style which goes straight to the mark and rings like true metal.¹ It is impossible to doubt the accuracy of his statements about the matters of fact which were within the range of his personal knowledge. His larger statistics, as to the numbers of the Indian populations exterminated, have been doubted with good reason ; statistics are a complicated af-

¹ I do not mean to be understood as calling it a *literary* style. It is not graceful like that of great masters of expression such as Pascal or Voltaire. It is not seldom cumbrous and awkward, usually through trying to say too much at once. But in spite of this it is far more attractive than many a truly artistic literary style. There is a great charm in reading what comes from a man brimful of knowledge and utterly unselfish and honest. The crisp shrewdness, the gleams of gentle humour and occasional sharp flashes of wit, and the fervid earnestness in the books of Las Casas, combine to make them very delightful. It was the unfailing sense of humour, which is so often wanting in reformers, that kept Las Casas from developing into a fanatic. The judicious words of Humboldt in another connection will apply very well to the style of Las Casas: — in speaking of it, “il ne s'agit pas de discuter ce qu'on appelle vaguement le mérite littéraire d'un écrivain. Il s'agit de quelque chose de plus grave et de plus historique. Nous avons considéré le style comme expression du caractère, comme reflet de l'intérieur de l'homme. . . . C'est chez les hommes plus disposés à agir qu' à soigner leur diction, chez ceux qui demeurent étrangers à tout artifice propre à produire des émotions par le charme du langage, que la liaison si long-temps signalée entre le caractère et le style se fait sentir de préférence.” *Examen critique*, tom. iii. p. 240.

fair, in which it is easy to let feelings make havoc with figures.¹ But with regard to particular statements of fact one cannot help believing Las Casas, because his perfect sincerity is allied with a judgment so sane and a charity so broad as to constrain our assent. He is almost always ready to make allowances, and very rarely lets his hatred of sin blind him to any redeeming qualities there may be in the sinner. It was he that said, in his crisp way, of Ovando, that he was a good governor, but not for Indians. What Las Casas witnessed under the administration of Ovando and other governors, he published in 1552, in his "Brief Relation of the Destruction of the Indies," a book of which there are copies in several languages, all more or less rare now.² It is one of the most grewsome books ever printed.

We have seen how by the year 1499 communities of Indians were assigned in *repartimiento* to sundry Spaniards, and were thus reduced to a kind of villenage. Queen Isabella had disapproved of this, but she was persuaded to sanction it, and presently in 1503 she and Ferdinand issued a most disastrous order. They gave discretionary power to Ovando to compel Indians to work, but it must be for wages. They ordered

¹ The arithmetic of Las Casas is, however, no worse than that of all the Spanish historians of that age. With every one of them the nine digits seem to have gone on a glorious spree.

² I have never seen any of the English versions. Sabin mentions four, published in London in 1583, 1656, 1687, and 1699. *List of the Printed Editions*, etc., pp. 22-24. The edition which I use is the Latin one published at Heidelberg, 1664, small quarto.

him, moreover, to see that Indians were duly instructed in the Christian faith, provided that they must come to mass "as free persons, for so they are." It was further allowed that the cannibal Caribs, if taken in actual warfare, might be sold into slavery. Little did the sovereigns know what a legion of devils they were letting loose. Of course the doings in Hispaniola always went the full length of the authority granted from Spain, and generally went far beyond. Of course the Indians were compelled to work, and it was not for wages; and of course, so long as there was no legal machinery for protecting the natives, any Indian might be called a cannibal and sold into slavery. The way in which Ovando carried out the order about missionary work was characteristic. As a member of a religious order of knights, he was familiar with the practice of *encomienda*, by which groups of novices were assigned to certain preceptors to be disciplined and instructed in the mysteries of the order.

Encomiendas. The word *encomienda* means "commandery" or "preceptory," and so it came to be a nice euphemism for a hateful thing. Ovando distributed Indians among the Spaniards in lots of 50 or 100 or 500, with a deed worded thus: "To you, such a one, is given an *encomienda* of so many Indians, and you are to teach them the things of our holy Catholic Faith." In practice the last clause was disregarded as a mere formality, and the effect of the deed was simply to consign a parcel of Indians to the tender mercies of some Spaniard to do as he pleased with them. If the system of

repartimientos was in effect serfdom or villenage, the system of *encomiendas* was unmitigated slavery.

Such a cruel and destructive slavery has seldom, if ever, been known. The work of the Indians was at first largely agricultural, but as many mines of gold were soon discovered they were driven in gangs to work in the mines. There was a rush of Spaniards to Hispaniola, like the rush of all sorts and conditions of white men in recent times to California and Australia, and we know well what kind of a population is gathered together under such circumstances. For a graphic description of it we may go to Charles Reade's "Never too Late to Mend." And here we must take care not to identify too indiscriminately the Spaniards, as such, with the horrors perpetrated in Hispaniola. It was not in the character of Spaniards so much as in the character of ruffians that the perpetrators behaved, and there have been ruffians enough among people who speak English. If the worst of these slave-drivers was a Spaniard, so too was Las Casas. Many of the wretches were the offscourings of camps, the vile refuse of European wars; some of them were criminals, sent out here to disencumber Spanish jails. Of course they had no notion of working with their own hands, or of wielding any implement of industry except the lash. With such an abundant supply of cheap labour an Indian's life was counted of no value. It was cheaper to work an Indian to death and get another than to take care of him, and accordingly the slaves

Effects of the
discovery of
gold.

were worked to death without mercy. From time to time the Indians rose in rebellion, but these attempts were savagely suppressed, and a policy of terror was adopted. Indians were slaughtered by the hundred, burned alive, impaled on sharp stakes, torn to pieces by blood-hounds. In retaliation for the murder of a Spaniard it was thought proper to call up fifty or sixty Indians and chop off their hands. Little children were flung into the water to drown, with less concern than if they had been puppies. In the mingling of sacred ideas with the sheerest devilry there was a grotesqueness fit for the pencil of Doré. Once, "in honour and reverence of Christ and his twelve Apostles," they hanged thirteen Indians in a row at such a height that their toes could just touch the ground, and then pricked them to death with their sword-points, taking care not to kill them quickly. At another time, when some old reprobate was broiling half-a-dozen Indians in a kind of cradle suspended over a slow fire, their shrieks awoke the Spanish captain who in a neighbouring hut was taking his afternoon nap, and he called out testily to the man to despatch those wretches at once, and stop their noise. But this demon, determined not to be balked of his enjoyment, only gagged the poor creatures. Can it be, says Las Casas, that I really saw such things, or are they hideous dreams? Alas, they are no dreams; "all this did I behold with my bodily mortal eyes."¹

This tyranny went on until the effect was like

¹ "Todo esto yo lo vide con mis ojos corporales mortales" *Hist. de las Indias*, tom. iii. p. 96.

that of a pestilence. The native population rapidly diminished until labour grew scarce, and it was found necessary in Hispaniola to send and kidnap Indians from other islands, and to import from Seville negroes that had been caught by the Portuguese in Africa. The first slave-hunters that went to the Lucayan islands beguiled the simple natives with pretty stories and promises, and thus enticed them on board their ships. Some thousands of Lucayans were taken to Hispaniola, and there is a touching story of one of these poor fellows, who cut down and hollowed out a pithy tree, and lashed to it smaller stems till he had made a good staunch raft. He stuffed it with corn and calabashes of fresh water, and then with two friends, a man and a woman, he put to sea one dark night, and they paddled toward the north star.¹ After many anxious days and nights they had gone more than 200 miles and were coming near to their own land, when all at once their hearts were sickened at the sight of a Spanish cruiser in the offing, and presently they were stowed beneath its deck and carried back in black despair to the land of bondage. No less pathetic is the story of the cacique Hatuey in Cuba, who had heard that the Spaniards were coming over from Hispaniola and hit upon an ingenious expedient for protecting his people. Taking a big lump of gold he called his

¹ Herrera, *Historia de las Indias*, Madrid, 1601, tom. i. p. 228. As Sir Arthur Helps observes, "there is somewhat of immortality in a stout-hearted action, and though long past it seems still young and full of life: one feels quite anxious now, as if those Indians were yet upon that sea, to know what becomes of them." *Spanish Conquest*, vol. i. p. 226.

clan-chiefs together, and said : — Behold, this is the god of the white men ; wherefore let us dance to it and reverence it, that if peradventure they come hither, it may tell them to do us no harm ; and so these simple barbarians adored the piece of yellow metal and danced around it, and sought to win its favour.¹

In 1509 Ovando was recalled, and went home, a poor man, leaving as his last act the larger part of his property to found a hospital for needy Spaniards. Under his successor, Diego Columbus, there was little improvement. The case had become a hard one to deal with. There were now what are called “vested rights,” the rights of property in slaves, to be respected. But in 1510

Antonio Montesino. there came a dozen Dominican monks, and they soon decided, in defiance of vested rights, to denounce the wickedness they saw about them. So one Sunday in the year 1511 Father Antonio Montesino preached a great sermon in the church at San Domingo, from the text, “I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness.” His words, says the chronicler, were “very piercing and terrible.” He told his dismayed hearers that they were living in mortal sin, and their greed and cruelty

¹ Herrera, *op. cit.* tom. i. p. 293. This propitiation of the white man's yellow god did not avail to save the unfortunate cacique. Soon after their arrival in Cuba the Spaniards caught him, and he was burned alive at the stake. As he was writhing amid the flames, a priest held up a cross before him and begged him to “become a Christian” so that he might go to heaven. The half-roasted Indian replied that if there were Christians in heaven he had no desire to go to any such place. See Las Casas, *Indiarum devastationis et excidii narratio*, p. 16.

were such that for any chance they had of going to heaven they might as well be Moors or Turks!

Startling words, indeed, to Spanish ears,—to be told that they were no better than Mahometans! The town was in an uproar, and after the noon dinner a deputation of the principal citizens went to the shed which served temporarily as a monastery, and angrily demanded an apology from Father Antonio. The prior's quiet reply was that Father Antonio's sentiments were those of the Dominican community and would on no account be retracted. The infuriated citizens then said that unless a different tone was taken in the pulpit next Sunday the monks had better pack up their goods for a sea voyage. That would be easily done, quoth the prior, and verily, says Las Casas, with his sly humour, it was so, for all they had on earth would have gone into two small trunks.¹

Next Sunday the church was thronged with Spaniards from far and near, for the excitement was fierce. Mass was performed, and then, amid breathless silence, Father Antonio stepped into the pulpit and preached a still more terrible sermon; threatened his hearers with eternal torments, and declared that the monks would refuse confession to any man who should maltreat his Indians or engage in the slave-trade. Glorious Antonio Montesino! first of preachers on American soil to declare war to the knife against this gravest of American sins!

Loyalty to the church was too strong among

¹ These events are related with full details by Las Casas, *Hist. de las Indias*, tom. iii. pp. 365-380.,

Spaniards for any violence to be offered to these monks, but the citizens made complaint to King Ferdinand. His wife Isabella, dying six years before these events, had left to him in her will one half of the income to be got from the Indies during his lifetime. After Isabella's death the crown of Castile had passed to their daughter Joanna, and Ferdinand for a while, restricted to his own kingdom of Aragon, had little to do with American affairs. But after a couple of years, Joanna having become insane, Ferdinand had become regent of Castile, and was thus lord over America, and as half the American revenue, which was chiefly gold from the mines, was to come to him, the colonists in Hispaniola looked to him to defend their vested interests. The citizens of San Domingo got hold of an unworthy member of the Franciscan order, and sent him to Spain to complain against the Dominicans; and Antonio Montesino went over himself to forestall the Franciscan monk. Antonio saw the king and made a deep impression upon him, so that a conclave of learned priests was assembled, and various plans of relief and reform were discussed. Nothing was really accomplished, except that some seeds of reform were sown, to bear fruit at a later season.

Meanwhile the good Montesino had gained an ally upon the scene of action worth a dozen kings. Las Casas was by natural endowment a many-sided man, who looked at human affairs from various points of view. Under other circumstances he need not necessarily have developed into a phi-

lanthropist, though any career into which he might have been drawn could not have failed to be honourable and noble. At first he seems to have been what one might call worldly-minded.

But the most interesting thing about him we shall find to be his steady intellectual and spiritual development; from year to year he rose to higher and higher planes of thought and feeling. He was at first a slave-owner like the rest, and had seen no harm in it. But from the first his kindly sympathetic nature asserted itself, and his treatment of his slaves was such that they loved him. He was a man of striking and easily distinguishable aspect, and the Indians in general, who fled from the sight of white men, came soon to recognize him as a friend who could always be trusted. At the same time, however, as a good man of business he was disposed to make money, and, as he tells us, "he took no more heed than the other Spaniards to bethink himself that his Indians were unbelievers, and of the duty that there was on his part to give them instruction, and to bring them to the bosom of the Church of Christ." He sympathized with much that was said by Montesino, but thought at first that in his unqualified condemnation of the whole system of slavery that great preacher was going too far. We must not be wanting in charity toward slaveholders. It is hard for a man to extricate himself from the entanglements of ideas and situations prepared for him before he was born. The heart of Las Casas, however, was deeply stirred by Montesino, and he pondered much upon his words.

Las Casas at first a slave-owner.

In the same year that those memorable sermons were preached, Diego Columbus made up his mind to conquer and colonize Cuba, and he sent Velasquez for that purpose. Las Casas presently followed. The usual tale of horrors had begun, but he succeeded in doing much to improve the situation. For the time he was the only priest on the island. The tremendous power of the church was personified in him, and he used it unflinchingly in defence of the Indians. When the island was regarded as conquered, Velasquez proceeded to give *encomiendas* of Indians to his friends, and a large village was given as an *encomienda* to two partners, of whom one was Las Casas. It was the duty of Las Casas to say mass and now and then to preach, and in thinking of his sermon for Pentecost, 1514, he opened his Bible, and his eye alighted upon these verses in the 34th chapter of Ecclesiasticus: —

Conversion of
Las Casas.

“The Most High is not pleased with the offerings of the wicked: neither is he pacified for sin by the multitude of sacrifices.

“The bread of the needy is their life; he that defraudeth him thereof is a man of blood.

“He that taketh away his neighbour’s living slayeth him; and he that defraudeth the labourer of his hire is a shedder of blood.”

As he read these words a light from heaven seemed to shine upon Las Casas. The scales fell from his eyes. He saw that the system of slavery was wrong in principle. The question whether you treated your slaves harshly or kindly did not go to the root of the matter. As soon as you took

from the labourer his wages the deadly sin was committed, the monstrous evil was inaugurated. There must be a stop put to this, said Las Casas. We have started wrong. Here are vast countries which Holy Church has given to the Spaniards in trust, that the heathen may be civilized and brought into the fold of Christ; and we have begun by making Hispaniola a hell. This thing must not be suffered to grow with the growth of Spanish conquest. There was but one remedy. The axe must be put to the root of the tree. Slavery must be abolished.

Las Casas began by giving up his own slaves. He had reason enough to know that others might not treat them so well as he, but he was not the man to preach what he did not practise. His partner, Pedro de Renteria, was a man of noble nature and much under his influence, so that there was no difficulty there. Then Las Casas went into the pulpit and preached to his congregation that their souls were in dan- His first proceedings. ger so long as they continued to hold their *encomiendas* of Indians. "All were amazed," he says; "some were struck with compunction; others were as much surprised to hear it called a sin to make use of the Indians, as if they had been told it were sinful to make use of the beasts of the field."

Too many were of this latter mood, and finding his people incorrigible, Las Casas sold what worldly goods he had left, and went to Spain to lay the case before King Ferdinand. First he visited Bishop Fonseca, as the most important member of

the Council for the Indies. From this coarse man, with his cynical contempt for philanthropists, Las Casas got such a reception as might have been expected. It will be remembered that Ovando was one of Fonseca's creatures. When Las Casas told how 7,000 children had cruelly perished in Hispaniola within three months, he doubtless overstated the case, and clearly Fonseca did not believe him. He answered roughly, "Look here, you droll fool, what is all this to me, and what is it to the king?" This fairly took our poor priest's breath away. He only exclaimed, "O great and eternal God! to whom, then, is it of any concern?" and so he turned upon his heel and left the room.

On arriving at Seville, he learned that the king had just died, January 23, 1516. Ferdinand's daughter Joanna, queen of Castile and heiress to the throne of Aragon, was still insane, and both thrones descended practically to her illustrious son Charles, a boy of sixteen, who was then in Flanders. For the present the great cardinal Ximenes was regent of Spain, and to him went Las Casas with his tale of woe. From the cardinal he obtained ready and cordial sympathy. It was a fortunate circumstance that at this juncture brought two such men together. Las Casas knew well that the enslavement of Indians was not contemplated in the royal orders of 1503, except so far as concerned cannibals taken in war; but the evil had become so firmly established that at first he hesitated about the policy of using this line of argument. He

His reception
by Fonseca;

and by Cardinal
Ximenes.

prudently shaped his question in this wise: "With what justice can such things be done, whether the Indians are free or not?" Here, to his joy, the cardinal caught him up vehemently. "With no justice whatever: what, are not the Indians free? who doubts about their being free?" This was a great point gained at the start, for it put the official theory of the Spanish government on the side of Las Casas, and made the Spaniards in America appear in the light of transgressors. The matter was thoroughly discussed with Ximenes and that amiable Dutchman, Cardinal First attempts at reform. Adrian, who was afterwards pope. A commission of Hieronymite friars was appointed to accompany Las Casas to the West Indies, with minute instructions and ample powers for making investigations and enforcing the laws. Ximenes appointed Las Casas Protector of the Indians, and clothed him with authority to impeach delinquent judges or other public officials. The new regulations, could they have been carried out, would have done much to mitigate the sufferings of the Indians. They must be paid wages, they must be humanely treated and taught the Christian religion. But as the Spanish government needed revenue, the provision that Indians might be compelled to work in the mines was not repealed. The Indians must work, and the Spaniards must pay them. Las Casas argued correctly that so long as this provision was retained the work of reform would go but little way. Somebody, however, must work the mines; and so the talk turned to the question of sending out white labourers or negroes.

Here we come to the statement, often repeated, that it was Las Casas who first introduced negro slavery and the African slave-trade into the New World. The statement is a good specimen of the headlong, helter-skelter way in which things get said and believed in this superficial world. As first repeated, there was probably an agreeable tinge of paradox in representing the greatest of philanthropists as the founder of one of the vilest systems of bondage known to modern times. At length it has come to pass that people who know nothing about Las Casas, and have absolutely no other idea associated with his name, still vaguely think of him as the man who brought negro slaves to America as substitutes for Indians, — the man who sacrificed one race of his fellow-creatures to another, and thus paid Peter by robbing Paul.

The popular notion about Las Casas and negro slavery.

There could not be a grosser historical blunder than this notion, and yet, like most such blunders, it has arisen from a perversion of things that really were said if not done. In order to arrive at historical truth, it is not enough to obtain correct items of fact; it is necessary to group the items in their causal relations and to estimate the precise weight that must be accorded to each in the total result. To do this is often so difficult that half-truths are very commonly offered us in place of whole truths; and it sometimes happens that of all forms of falsehood none is so misleading as the half-truth.

The statement about Las Casas, with which we are here concerned, properly divides itself into a

pair of statements. It is alleged, in the first place, that it was Las Casas who first suggested the employment of negroes as substitutes for Indians; and in the second place, that the origin, or at any rate the steady development, of negro slavery in America was due to this suggestion. These are two different propositions and call for different comments.

With regard to the first, it is undoubtedly true that Las Casas at one time expressed the opinion that if there must be slave labour, the enslavement of blacks might perhaps be tolerated as the smaller of two evils, inasmuch as the negroes were regarded as a hardier race What Las Casas said. than the Indians and better able to support continuous labour. At one time the leading colonists of Hispaniola had told Las Casas that if they might have license to import each a dozen negroes, they would coöperate with him in his plans for setting free the Indians and improving their condition. When Las Casas at the Spanish court was confronted with the argument that there must be somebody to work the mines, he recalled this suggestion of the colonists, and proposed it as perhaps the least odious way out of the difficulty. It is therefore evident that at that period in his life he did not realize the wickedness of slavery so distinctly in the case of black men as in the case of red men. In other words, he had not yet outgrown that mediæval habit of mind which regarded the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and other rights, not as common to all mankind, but as parcelled out among groups

and classes of men in a complicated way that to our minds, on the eve of the twentieth century, has become wellnigh unintelligible. It was the great French writers of the eighteenth century who first gave distinct expression to the notion of "unalienable rights," with which mankind has been endowed by the Creator. This notion has become so familiar to our minds that we sometimes see the generalizations of Rousseau and Diderot, or whatever remains sound in them, derided as mere platitudes, as if it had never been necessary to preach such self-evident truths. But these "platitudes" about universal rights were far enough from being self-evident in the sixteenth century. On the contrary, they were extremely unfamiliar and abstruse conceptions, toward which the most enlightened minds could only grope their way by slow degrees.¹ In Las Casas it is interesting to trace such a development. He had gradually risen to the perception of the full wickedness of slavery in the form in which he had become familiar with it; but he had not yet extended his generalizations, as a modern thinker would do, to remote cases, and in order to gain a point, the supreme importance of which he keenly felt, he was ready to make concessions. In later years he blamed himself roundly for making

Mediæval and modern conceptions of rights.

Gradual development of the modern conception in Las Casas.

¹ As Mr. John Morley observes, "the doctrine of moral obligations toward the lower races had not yet taken its place in Europe." *Diderot and the Encyclopædists*, London, 1880, p. 386. Mr. Morley's remarks on the influence of Raynal's famous book, *Histoire des deux Indes* in this connection, are admirable.

any such concessions. Had he "sufficiently considered the matter," he would not for all the world have entertained such a suggestion for a moment; for, said he, the negroes "had been made slaves unjustly and tyrannically, and the same reason holds good of them as of the Indians."¹

With regard to the second of the statements we are considering, the question arises how far did this suggestion, for which Las Casas afterward so freely blamed himself, have any material effect in setting on foot the African slave-trade or in enlarging its dimensions? The reply is that it had no such effect whatever. As for the beginnings, negroes had been carried to Hispaniola in small numbers as early as 1501; and in the royal instructions drawn up at that time for Ovando, he was forbidden to take to the colony Moors, Jews, new converts from Islam or Judaism, monks not Spanish, and the children of persons burned at the stake for heresy, but he might take negro slaves.² Official documents prove that at various times between 1500 and 1510 negroes were sent over to work in the mines, but not in large numbers.³ As for the extensive development of negro slavery in the West Indies, it did not begin for many years after that period in the career of Las Casas with which we are now dealing, and there is nothing to show that his suggestion or concession was in any way concerned in bringing it about. If, on

His momentary suggestion had no traceable effect upon negro slavery.

¹ Las Casas, *Hist. de las Indias*, tom. iv. p. 380.

² Navarrete, *Coleccion de viages*, tom. ii. doc. 175.

³ Herrera, *Hist. de las Indias*, tom. i. pp. 274-276.

the other hand, instead of confining our attention to this single incident in his life, the importance of which has been egregiously exaggerated, we consider the general effect of his life-work, that effect was clearly adverse to the development of the African slave-trade. For if the depopulation of the New World had continued, which Las Casas did so much to check, it cannot be doubted that

His life-work did much to diminish the volume of negro slavery and the spiritual corruption attendant upon it.

the importation of negroes to Spanish America would have been immeasurably greater than it has been. The African slave-trade would have assumed much larger proportions than it has ever known, and its widely ramifying influence for evil, its poisonous effects upon the character of European society in the New World, whether Spanish or English, would probably have surpassed anything that we can now realize. When the work of Las Casas is deeply considered, we cannot make him anything else but an antagonist of human slavery in all its forms, and the mightiest and most effective antagonist, withal, that has ever lived. Subtract his glorious life from the history of the past, and we might still be waiting, sick with hope deferred, for a Wilberforce, a Garrison, and a Lincoln.

In all the work at the Spanish court the Bishop of Burgos tried by every means in his power to impede and thwart Las Casas, and agents of the colonists gained the ears of the Hieronymite friars, so that matters were very imperfectly mended, and the next year, after a stout fight, Las Casas re-

turned to Spain to find the great cardinal on his death-bed. The loss of this powerful ally was a serious misfortune for Las Casas. He was not long, however, in winning the esteem of ^{Charles V. and} Charles V. The young king greatly ^{Las Casas.} liked him, and his grave face always lighted up with pleasure whenever he happened to meet "Master Bartholomew," as he used to call him. Las Casas now tried to enlist white emigrants for the West Indies, to labour there; but the task of getting Spaniards to work, instead of making slaves work for them, was not an encouraging one. At length, however, he devised a scheme which seemed likely to work. He undertook to select fifty Spaniards for whose characters he could vouch, to subscribe 200 ducats each and go with him to found a colony upon the mainland. That the Indians might distinguish between these men and any other Spaniards they had ever seen, they were to wear a peculiar uniform, white with a coloured cross. If their work should prosper he intended to ask the Pope to recognize them as a religious ^{A noble} fraternity, like those of the Middle ^{scheme.} Ages, which had been of such inestimable value as civilizing agencies. He promised to make it an enterprise which should justify itself by paying its own way and yielding a steady revenue to the crown. If he could not cure the evils in the islands, he could at least set the example of a new colony founded on sound principles, and might hope that it would serve as a centre for the diffusion of a higher civilization in the New World.

In pursuance of this scheme Las Casas obtained

from Charles V. a grant of territory about Cumaná on the Pearl Coast. There were three years of hard work in these preliminaries, hindered at every step by the malignant intrigues of Bishop Fonseca. At length, in 1520, the Protector of the Indians returned to Hispaniola, and in 1521 he was ready for the Pearl Coast. Some Dominicans had already founded a small monastery there, and from them Las Casas could always look for cordial assistance. But Satan had not been asleep while these things were going on. In the neighbouring island of Cubagua, fishing for pearls, was a young man named Alonso de Ojeda,¹ concerning whom Las Casas says, with truth, "that if he had not been born, the world would have lost nothing." Ojeda wanted slaves, and thought it a bright idea to catch a few on the mainland and pretend they were cannibals. He took a notary with his party in order to catechise some chiefs and have such answers taken down as could be made to convict them of cannibalism.² But having no paper about him he stopped at the Dominican monastery and asked for a sheet, which was given him. Ojeda presently changed his mind, abandoned his cate-

The mischief that one miserable sinner can do.

¹ Llorente (*Œuvres de Las Casas*, tom. i. p. 139) confounds him with the Alonso de Ojeda whose career we have already traced down to his death in 1515, five years before the time of the events we are now narrating. Curiously enough, on another page of the same volume (p. xlv.) Llorente warns the reader not to confound the two, but thinks that this younger sinner may perhaps have been the son of the other. I suspect this is a mere guess.

² The reader will observe that some slight progress seems to have been made, since these legal formalities were deemed necessary.

chising project as uncertain and tedious, and adopted some other device. A few miles down the coast he fell in with some Indians, attacked them under circumstances of foulest treachery, slew a great many, and carried off the rest in his vessel. Now the Indians were always deeply impressed with the way in which white people communicated intelligence to one another by means of mysterious bits of paper. Some Indians had seen the innocent monk give the piece of paper to Ojeda, and so, as the news of his evil deeds flew along the coast, they naturally concluded that the Dominicans must be his accomplices. So they not only contrived to kill the worthless Ojeda the next time he touched upon the coast, but they set fire to the monastery and massacred the monks. And so fiercely was their wrath now kindled against all Spaniards that soon after the founding of the colony of Las Casas at Cumaná, on an occasion when — fortunately for him — some business had called him back to Hispaniola, they attacked the little colony in overwhelming numbers, and destroyed it. Those who escaped their javelins were fain to flee to the neighbouring islands and thence to San Domingo. Their incipient village was burned to the ground, and not a white man was left on the Pearl-Coast.

Destruction of
the little col-
ony.

Seven years had now elapsed since that memorable Pentecost of 1514, seven years of ceaseless toil and sore perplexity, and now, just as the way was beginning to seem clear toward some tangible result, everything was ruined by the villainy of one scurvy knave. There is reason to suppose that

Las Casas may have somewhat overtaxed his strength. His nerves were strained beyond endurance, and when he heard the news of this terrible blow, he fell, for the first and only time in his life, into a fit of profound despondency. Perhaps, said he, in prophetic language, "the Spaniards are not to be saved from the commission of great wickedness and from decay of their power." Perhaps God had for some inscrutable purpose decreed that the Indians must be destroyed. Perhaps there was in his own soul some lurking sin which made him unworthy to be God's instrument for righting these grievous wrongs.¹ The Dominican monastery at San Domingo was no longer a mere shed. In its pleasant garden would Las Casas sit motionless hour after hour, absorbed in meditation upon these heart-rending mysteries of the Divine Providence. The good monks improved the situation by persuading Las Casas to join their order. He became a Dominican in 1522, and remained there at the monastery for eight years, leading the life of a close student, acquiring a profound knowledge of patristic and mediæval theology, becoming expert in the sinuosities of scholastic logic, and writing history such as the world could ill afford to spare.

During these eight years the Spanish empire in

¹ "The dignity and greatness of his cause were so predominant in the mind of Las Casas as to leave no room for influences merely personal. It does not appear that he ever expected gratitude from the Indians; nor did the terrible disaster which he suffered at Cumaná leave, apparently, the slightest rancour in his mind." Helps, *Spanish Conquest*, vol. iv. p. 334.

Grief of Las Casas; he becomes a Dominican monk.

America was rapidly expanding. When Las Casas entered the monastery, Cortes had lately captured the great Mexican pueblo and overthrown the Aztec confederacy. Then Pedro de Alvarado conquered Guatemala, while Pedrarias and his captains devastated Nicaragua like a typhoon or a plague. Now in 1530 the Pizarros and Almagro were just starting on their final and decisive expedition for the conquest of Peru. Old Pedrarias had just died at somewhere about his ninetieth year. The horrors of Hispaniola had been repeated in Nicaragua. We may suppose that this had much to do with arousing the Dominicans of Hispaniola to renewed activity. Las Casas tells us very little about himself at this conjuncture. Indeed, his history of the Indies brings us down no farther than 1522. But we learn from Antonio de Remesal — an excellent authority for this part of his career — that he emerged from his seclusion in 1530, went over to Spain, and obtained from Charles V. a decree prohibiting the enslavement of Indians in the countries which Pizarro and Almagro were expected to conquer.¹ On returning to Hispaniola, Las Casas was sent to the new Dominican monastery in Mexico, there to take companions and proceed to Peru, for the purpose of proclaiming the imperial decree and founding a monastery there. For some reason the latter purpose was not carried out. The decree was proclaimed, but it proved impossible to enforce it. For three or four years Las Casas was kept busy in Nicaragua, putting a

Spanish conquests, and resulting movements.

¹ Remesal, *Historia de Chiapa*, Madrid, 1619, p. 103.

curb upon the rapacity and cruelty of the new governor. Meanwhile a friend of his was appointed Bishop of Guatemala, and thither Las Casas repaired early in 1536. A Dominican monastery, founded there somewhat prematurely, had been unoccupied for six or seven years, and Las Casas and three of his companions now took possession of it. There the first thing they did was to acquire a knowledge of the Quiché language spoken by the natives of Guatemala, a language not without some interesting native literature which modern scholarship has discovered and edited.¹ So zealously did these four monks work that it was not long before they could talk quite fluently in Quiché, and they soon found occasion to put this rare accomplishment to a practical use.

While in the monastery at San Domingo, Las Casas had written his famous Latin treatise *De unico vocationis modo*, or the only proper method of calling men to Christianity. In these years of trial his mind had been growing in clearness and grasp. He had got beyond all sophistical distinctions between men of one colour and faith and men of another,—a wonderful progress for a Spaniard born eight years before the Moor was driven from Granada. He had come to see what was really involved in the Christian assumption of the brotherhood of men; and accordingly he main-

¹ See Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Bibliothèque Mexico-Guatemalienne*; *Popol Vuh, le Livre Sacré des Quichés*; and for the literature of a neighbouring people in Guatemala, see Brinton's *Annals of the Cakchiquels*, Philadelphia, 1885.

tained that to make war upon infidels or heathen, merely because they are infidels or heathen, is sinful; and that the only right and lawful way of bringing men to Christ is the way of reason and persuasion. To set forth such a doctrine at that time and still keep clear of the Inquisition required consummate skillfulness in statement. This little book was never printed, but manuscript copies of the original Latin and of a Spanish translation were circulated, and called forth much comment. The illustrations drawn from American affairs exasperated the Spanish colonists, and they taunted Las Casas. He was only a vain theorizer, they said; the gospel of peace would be all very well in a world already perfect, but in our world the only practicable gospel is the gospel of kicks and blows. Go to, let this apostle try himself to convert a tribe of Indians and make them keep the peace; he will soon find that something more is needed than words of love. So said the scoffers, as they wagged their heads.

Las Casas presently took them at their word. The province of Tuzulutlan, just to the north of Guatemala and bordering upon the peninsula of Yucatan, was called by the Spaniards the "Land of War." It was an inaccessible country of beetling crags, abysmal gorges, raging torrents, and impenetrable forest. In their grade of culture the inhabitants seem to have resembled the Aztecs. They had idols and human sacrifices, and were desperate fighters. The Spaniards had three times invaded this country, and

The only right way to bring men to Christ.

A challenge.

The Land of War.

three times had been hurled back in a very dilapidated condition. It could hardly be called a promising field, but this it was that Las Casas chose for his experiment.¹



Tuzulutlan, or the "Land of War."

Let us note well his manner of proceeding, for there are those to-day who maintain that the type of character which Victor Hugo has sketched in Monseigneur Bienvenu is not calculated to achieve success in the world. The example of Las Casas, however, tends to confirm us in the opinion that when combined

The highest
type of man-
hood.

¹ A full account of the work of Las Casas in Tuzulutlan is given in Remesal's *Historia de Chiapa*, lib. iii. cap. ix.-xi, xv.-xviii.

with sufficient intelligence, that type of character is the most indomitable and masterful of all. And in this I seem to see good promise for the future of humanity. The wisdom of the serpent, when wedded to the innocence of the dove, is of all things the most winning and irresistible, as Las Casas now proceeded to prove.

Alvarado, the fierce governor of Guatemala, was absent in Spain. Las Casas talked with the temporary governor, Alonzo de Maldonado, and the result of their talk was the following agreement, signed May 2, 1537. It was agreed that "if Las Casas, or any of his monks, Diplomacy of Las Casas. can bring these Indians into conditions of peace, so that they should recognize the Spanish monarch for their lord paramount, and pay him any moderate tribute, he, the governor, would place those provinces under his majesty in chief, and would not give them to any private Spaniard in *encomienda*. Moreover, no lay Spaniard, under heavy penalties, except the governor himself in person, should be allowed for five years to enter into that territory."¹ Ojedas and other such sinners were now, if possible, to be kept at a distance. No doubt Maldonado smiled in his sleeve when he signed his name to this agreement. Of course it could never come to anything.

Thus guaranteed against interference, the good monks went to work, and after a due amount of preliminary fasting and prayer they began by putting into Quiché verses an epitome of Christian doctrine simple enough for children to apprehend,

¹ Helps, *Spanish Conquest*, iii. 337.

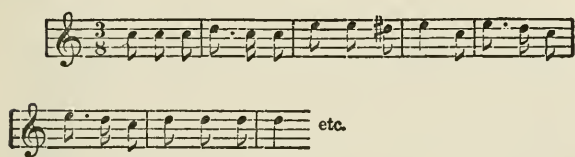
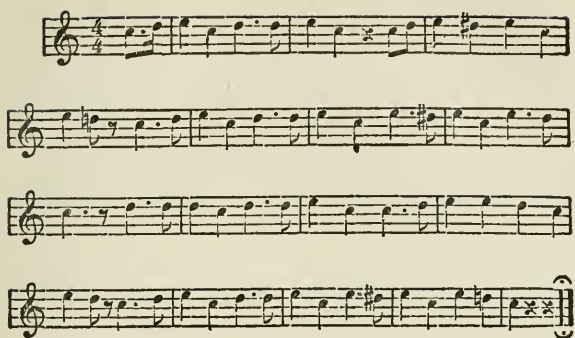
— the story of the fall of man, the life and death of Christ, the resurrection of the dead, and the final judgment. It is a pity that these verses have not been preserved, but no doubt Las Casas, whose great heart knew so well how to touch the secret springs of the Indian mind, knew how to make the story as attractive and as moving as possible. The verses were nicely balanced in couplets, so as to aid the memory, and were set to music so that they might be chanted to the accompaniment of the rude Indian instruments. Then the monks found four Indian traders, who were in the habit of travelling now and then through the “Land of War” with goods to barter. They spent many weeks in winning the affection of these Indians and teaching them their sacred poem, explaining everything with endless patience, until the new converts knew it all by heart and felt able to answer simple questions about it. When the monks felt sure that the work was thoroughly done, they despatched the four traders on their missionary errand to the pueblo of the most powerful cacique in that country, taking care to provide them with an ample store of mirrors, bells, Spanish knives, and other stuff attractive to barbarians.

When the traders arrived at their destination they were hospitably received, and, according to custom, were lodged in the tecpan.¹ They were zealous in their work, and obeyed their instructions faithfully. After vending their wares as usual, they called for

Preparations
for a peaceful
invasion of the
Land of War.

How an en-
trance was
effected.

¹ See Bandelier, in *Peabody Museum Reports*, vol. ii. p. 673.



Ancient Nahuatl Flute Melodies.

some Mexican drums or timbrels, and proceeded to chant their sacred couplets.¹ They were well received. Indians uttering such strange sweet words must have seemed miraculously inspired, and so the audience thought. For several days the performance was repeated, and the traders were beset with questions. After a while they drew pictures of the tonsured monks, and said that they learned these mysteries from these holy men, who, although white men, were not like other Spaniards, for they spent their lives in doing good, they had no wives, they treated all women with respect, they

¹ As a specimen of the kind of music likely to have been employed on this occasion, I give a page of ancient Nahuatl flute melodies, taken from Dr. Brinton's *The Güegüence; a Comedy Ballet in the Nahuatl-Spanish Dialect of Nicaragua*, Philadelphia, 1883. In the introduction to that interesting work there is a section on the music and musical instruments of the natives of Nicaragua, who were and are an outlying branch of the great Nahua people. From statements of Oviedo, Father Duran, Benzoni, and other old writers, further illustrated by the investigations of modern travellers, Dr. Brinton has made a learned and valuable essay. If the reader who is familiar with the history of music will take the trouble to compare the melodies here cited from page xxxiv. of Dr. Brinton's work with the melodies from the *Güegüence* itself, given by Dr. Brinton on page xl., he will recognize at once that the latter have been produced under Spanish influences, while the former show no trace of such influence and are undoubtedly genuine aboriginal music. The reader will observe the monotony and the limited range of the melodies here cited, and can imagine the lugubrious but perhaps not wholly unpleasant effect of such tunes when chanted in the open air to the accompaniment of the *teponaztli* or old Mexican timbrels. For some account of the ancient Peruvian music, see Garcilasso, *Comentarios reales*, pt. i. lib. ii. cap. xxvi. An interesting collection of Zuni melodies, recorded upon phonographic cylinders by Dr. Fewkes, of the Hemenway Archæological Expedition, may be found in the *Journal of American Ethnology and Archæology*, vol. i. pp. 63-92.

caired nothing for gold, and they taught that the time had come for abolishing human sacrifices. The cacique became so interested as to send his younger brother back to Guatemala with the Indian traders, charging him to watch the Dominicans narrowly, and if he should find them answering to the description that had been given of them he might invite them to visit Tuzulutlan.

Thus the ice was broken. It is needless to say that the young chieftain was well received, or that he was satisfied with what he saw. The invitation was given, and one of the Dominicans, the noble Luis de Barbastro, who was the most fluent of the four in the Quiché The first positions carried. language, now made his way into the inaccessible fastnesses of Tuzulutlan, escorted by the young chief and the Indian traders. By the first of November, six months after the beginning of the enterprise, Father Luis had converted the cacique and several clan chiefs, a rude church had been built, and human sacrifices prohibited by vote of the tribal council.¹ Then Las Casas, with another monk, arrived upon the scene. There was much excitement among the tawny people of Tuzulutlan. The hideous priests of the war-god were wild with rage. They reminded the people, says Remesal, that the flesh of these white men, dressed with chile sauce, would make a dainty dish. Some secret incendiary burned the church, but as the cacique

¹ As already observed, there are many indications in the history of the conquest of Mexico and Central America that a considerable portion of the people were by no means unwilling to bid farewell to their cruel religions.

and so many clan chiefs had been gained, there was no open rebellion. Before another year had elapsed the Indians had voluntarily destroyed their idols, renounced cannibalism, and promised to desist from warfare unless actually invaded. And now were to be seen the fruits of the masterly diplomacy of Las Casas. Though the cacique had thrice defeated the Spaniards, he knew well how formidable they were. By acknowledging the supremacy of Charles V. — a sovereign as far off as the sky — and paying a merely nominal tribute, he had the word of Las Casas, which no Indian ever doubted, that not a Spaniard, without the express permission of the Dominicans, should set foot upon his territory. This arrangement was made, the peaceful victory was won, and Las Casas returned to Guatemala, taking with him the cacique, to visit Alvarado, who had just returned from Spain.

This rough soldier, it will be remembered, was the man who by his ill-judged brutality had precipitated the catastrophe of the Spaniards in the city of Mexico on the May festival of 1520. In his hard heart there was, however, a gallant spot. He knew a hero when he saw him, and he well knew that, with all his military qualities, he could never have done what Las Casas had just done. So when the stern conqueror and lord of Guatemala, coming forth to greet Las Casas and the Indian king, took off his plumed and jewelled cap, and bent his head in reverence, it seems to me one of the beautiful moments in history, one of the moments that comfort us with the thought of

what may yet be done with frail humanity when the spirit of Christ shall have come to be better understood. Of course Alvarado confirmed the agreement that no lay Spaniard should be allowed to enter Tuzulutlan; was he not glad enough thus to secure peace on this difficult and dangerous frontier?

Las Casas now, in 1539, went to Spain and had the agreement confirmed in a most solemn and peremptory order from Charles V. The order was obeyed. The "Land of War" was left unmo-
 lested and became thenceforth a land of The "Land of True Peace."
 peace.¹ Not only did it cease to trouble the Spaniards, but it became a potent centre for missionary work and a valuable means of diffusing Christian influences among other Indian communities. The work was permanent. Las Casas had come, he had seen, and he had conquered; and not a drop of human blood had been shed!

Meanwhile he had not been idle in other directions, and at length had gained the most powerful of allies. That reformation within the Papacy, which was one of the consequences of Luther's revolt, was beginning. Paul III. was a pope of different type from either the wretched Borgia or the elegant and worldly Medici. In the summer of 1537, while Las Casas and his monks were preparing their mission to the Enslavement of Indians forbidden by the Pope.
 "Land of War," the Pope issued a brief forbidding the further enslavement of Indians, under penalty of excommunication. Henceforth

¹ A part of this region has ever since borne the name Vera Paz, or "True Peace," and thus upon every map is this noblest of conquests recorded.

any governor who should give, or any settler who should receive, a new *encomienda* of Indians, or who should forcibly deprive them of their goods, was to be refused the sacraments of the Church. Thus the further spread of slavery was to be stopped. Before leaving Guatemala for Spain, Las Casas had the pleasure of translating this decree into Spanish and sending it to all parts of the Indies.¹ He was detained five years in Spain, as the emperor needed his advice, and it was during this period that he wrote his "Destruction of the Indies" and other famous books. In 1542 he won his grand and decisive triumph in the promul-

The New
Laws.

gation of the New Laws by Charles V. The decisive clause was as follows:—
"Item. We order and command that henceforward for no cause whatever, whether of war, rebellion, ransom, or in any other manner, can any Indian be made a slave." This clause was never repealed, and it stopped the spread of slavery. Other clauses went further, and made such sweeping provisions for immediate abolition that it proved to be impossible to enforce them.² The rebellion

¹ A copy of the text of this papal brief is given in Remesal, lib. iii. cap. xvii.

² "It is well known that the liberation of the Indians from personal servitude was a measure, not only of humanity and justice, but also of policy, on the part of the Spanish government, to weaken the growing power of the conquerors and early colonists. The troubles in Peru give a good example of the state of affairs." Bandelier, in *Peabody Museum Reports*, vol. ii. p. 445. There is some reason for believing that at the time of Gasca's arrival in Peru, Gonzalo Pizarro was intending to throw off his allegiance to Spain entirely and make himself king, in which he would doubtless have been upheld by the settlers had not Gasca

in Peru, which ended in bringing Gonzalo Pizarro's head to the block, was chiefly a rebellion against the New Laws, and as will be inferred from our account of Gasca's proceedings, it was suppressed chiefly by repealing those clauses that operated as a confiscation of property in slaves already existing. The matter was at last compromised by an arrangement that *encomiendas* should be inheritable during two lives, and should then escheat to the crown. This reversion to the crown The final compromise. meant the emancipation of the slaves.

Meanwhile such provisions were made, and by degrees more and more stringently enforced, as to protect the lives of the Indians and keep them together in their own communities, so that the dreadful *encomienda* reverted to the milder form of the *repartimiento*. Absolute slavery was transformed into villenage. In this ameliorated form the system continued. As generations passed from the scene, the Spanish crown was persuaded to extend the inheritance of the *encomienda* to a third and a fourth life, but without surrendering the reversion. Moreover, there were always some reversions falling in for want of heirs, so that there was gradual emancipation from the first. In this way Indian slavery was tethered and restricted

been able to bring the news of the modification in the New Laws. See the letter from Carvajal to Pizarro, dated March 17, 1547: — “Y esto suplico á vuestra Señoría, que se hierre por mi cabeça; porque para la corona de Rey, con que, en tan breves dias, emos de coronar á vuestra Señoría, avra muy gran concurso de gente. Y para entonces, yo quiero tener cargo de aderecerlas, y tenerlas como conviene.” Fernandez, *Historia del Peru*, pt. i. lib. ii. cap. xlix.

until, after the middle of the eighteenth century, under the enlightened administration of Count Florida Blanca, it was annulled.

Though it took so long to reap the full result of the heroic labours of Las Casas, the triumph was none the less his triumph. It was he that, in despite of all harrowing rebuffs and disappointments, brought pope and emperor to his side in the unconquerable determination that the enslavement of Indians must be stopped. He arrested the evil, and though he did not live to see it eradicated, he gave such a direction to things that their further course was upward and not downward. Before he died there was in every part of Spanish America a staff of crown officers charged with the duty of protecting the interests of the crown in the reversion of the *encomiendas*.¹ Then it was no longer possible with impunity to repeat the horrors of Hispaniola and of Nicaragua. It was Las Casas that saved the greater part of Spanish America from such a fate.²

¹ The contemporary testimony of one of the greatest and noblest of Spanish historians to the improvement already wrought in Peru through the work of Las Casas is worth citing: — "In the audiences there are learned men of great piety, who punish those Spaniards that oppress the Indians in any way; so that now there is no one who can ill treat them, and, in the greater part of these kingdoms, they are as much masters of their own estates and persons as are the Spaniards themselves. Each village is moderately assessed with the amount to be paid as tribute. I remember that, when I was in the province of Xauxa a few years ago, the Indians said to me with much satisfaction: 'This is a happy time, like the days of Tupac Inca Yupanqui;' a king of ancient times, whose memory they hold in great veneration." Cieza de Leon, ed. Markham, vol. i. p. 13.

² The words of Sir Arthur Helps are strictly just and true: —

The remaining years of this noble life, full as they are of interest, must be passed over briefly. After refusing the bishopric of Cuzco, Las Casas was persuaded to accept the humbler position of bishop of Chiapa near Guatemala. He never could be prevailed upon to accept a reward or present of any sort, but he took the see of Chiapa, as a soldier would undertake to storm a redoubt. He knew there was hard work in store for him there in enforcing the New Laws. When he arrived upon the scene in 1544, it was much as if Garrison in 1860 had secured from the United States government a decree of emancipation, and then had gone to Charleston with authority to enforce it. The new bishop was greeted with howls of rage. In any other than a Spanish community it might have gone hard with him, but the fiercest Spaniard would always be pretty sure to stop short of laying violent hands upon a prince of the church.¹

Las Casas
made Bishop
of Chiapa.

“His was one of those few lives that are beyond biography, and require a history to be written in order to illustrate them. His career affords perhaps a solitary instance of a man who, being neither a conqueror, a discoverer, nor an inventor, has by the pure force of benevolence become so notable a figure that large portions of history cannot be written, or at least cannot be understood, without the narrative of his deeds and efforts being made one of the principal threads upon which the history is strung.” *Spanish Conquest*, vol. iv. p. 350.

¹ “For such is the reverence they bear to the Church here, and so holy a conceit they have of all ecclesiastics, that the greatest Don in Spain will tremble to offer the meanest of them any outrage or affront.” Letter of August 15, 1623, referring to the death of Thomas Washington, page to Prince Charles on his visit with Buckingham to Spain, discovered by Mr. Henry FitzGilbert Waters, in the British Museum. See *The Visitor*, Salem, Mass., February 11, 1891.

The dignity, the commanding tact, of Las Casas was moreover such that a terrible mob at Ciudad Real ended in the rioters throwing themselves in tears at his feet, kissing the hem of his robe, and begging his forgiveness.¹ After three years Las Casas resigned his bishopric and returned to Spain. It was a time when the New Laws were imperilled, and he felt that his steadying hand was needed at the Spanish court, while he had now in the New World so many Dominicans devoted to the good work that he could afford to leave it to the care of these faithful lieutenants.² During the vicissitudes of his long struggle he had crossed the Atlantic not less than fourteen times; he had once, His final re-
turn to Spain. it appears, sailed down the Pacific to Peru; he had four times travelled far into Germany to get the emperor's ear at some critical moment. Now his journeyings were to cease. After leaving America in 1547 he returned no more, but lived for the remaining nineteen years of his life at the Dominican college of San Gregorio at Valladolid.

In 1550 he took part in a great controversy with Juan de Sepulveda, one of the most celebrated scholars of that time. Sepulveda wrote a book in which he maintained the right of the pope and the king of Spain to make His controver-
sy with Se-
pulveda. war upon the heathen people of the New World and bring them forcibly into the fold

¹ See the thrilling accounts in Remesal, lib. vii. cap. viii.-x.; Helps, iv. 303-312.

² I would by no means be understood as wanting in appreciation of the glorious work of Motolinia and other noble Franciscans, but our subject has its limitations.

of Christ. This was contrary to the doctrine which Las Casas had set forth fifteen years before in the Latin treatise above mentioned. He felt that it was dangerous, and determined to answer Sepulveda. After the fashion of those days, Charles V. convoked at Valladolid a council of learned theologians, and the cause was argued before them at great length by Las Casas and Sepulveda. The doughty champions assailed each other with texts from the Bible and Aquinas, scholastic logic and patristic history, and every other weapon known in the mediæval armory. For a man of such fervour as Las Casas it was a delicate situation. In maintaining his ground that persuasion is the only lawful method for making men Christians, extreme nicety of statement was required, for the least slip might bring him within the purview of the Inquisition. Men were burning at the stake for heresy while this discussion was going on, and the controversy more than once came terribly near home. But as Sepulveda said afterwards, with unfeigned admiration of his antagonist, he was "the most crafty and vigilant of mortals, and so ready with his tongue that in comparison with him Homer's Ulysses was a thick-witted stammerer."¹ When it came to a judgment the council did not dare to occupy the position of Las Casas, and so they gave a hesitating judgment in favour of Sepulveda; but the emperor, doubt-

¹ "Longum esset præstigijs, artes et machinamenta commemorare, quibus me deprimere, et veritatem atque justitiam obscurare conatus est artifex ille versutissimus, et idem vigilantissimus et loquacissimus, cui Ulysses Homericus collatus iners erat et balbus." Sepulveda, *Opera*, Madrid, 1780, tom. iii. p. 241.

less with a pleasant smile for Master Bartholomew, proceeded forthwith to suppress Sepulveda's book, and sent stringent orders to America to have any copies of it found there seized and burned.

In 1555 Charles V. retired to the monastery of Yuste, and his son Philip II. became king of Spain.

Las Casas and Philip II. Philip's plans, as all know, were so vast and so impossible that he wrecked himself and Spain with them. At the outset he was short of money, and there were advisers at hand to remind him that the colonists in America would jump at the chance of buying in the reversion of their *encomiendas* at a handsome price in hard cash. This would at once put a very large sum of money into Philip's hands, and it would put the Indians back into absolute slavery, as in the old days in Hispaniola. The temptation was great, and against such a frightful disaster Las Casas, now in his eighty-second year, came forth to contend. Fortunately the power of the Church, reinforced by political considerations already mentioned, was firmly enlisted on his side, and he prevailed. This was the last of his triumphs, and it is worth remembering that pretty much the only praiseworthy thing Philip II. ever did was done under his influence.

In his eighty-seventh year, in the peaceful seclusion of the college at Valladolid, Las Casas brought to a close the great "History of the Indies," which he seems to have begun in the monastery at San Domingo more than thirty years before. The History of the Indies. A remark of Remesal's makes it probable that the book was begun, per-

haps in so far as the sketching of its general outline was concerned, as early as 1527, but its knowledge of contemporary writers and events proves that it was for the most part written between 1552 and 1561. In a formal note dated November, 1559, Las Casas consigned the book in trust to the College of San Gregorio, expressing his wish that it should not be made public before the end of that century. Partly from the inertia attendant upon all human things, partly because of the plainness with which it told such terrible truths, the book was allowed to lie in manuscript for more than three hundred years. During the present century such writers as Irving, Helps, and a few others, read it to good purpose in the manuscript, and at length in 1875 it was published. In a far truer sense than any other book, it may be called the corner-stone of the history of the American continent. It stops at 1522, when Las Casas became a Dominican monk. One wishes that it might have been continued to 1547, when he took his last leave of the New World. But there are limits even to what the longest and strongest life can do. After finishing his work upon this book, and in his ninetieth year, Las Casas wrote a valuable treatise on the affairs of Peru. His last act was to go to Madrid and secure a royal decree promoting in certain ways the welfare of the natives of Guatemala. Having accomplished this, he died at Madrid, after a few days' illness, at the age of ninety-two. In all this long and arduous life — except for a moment, perhaps, on the crushing news of the destruction of his

Death of Las
Casas.

colony upon the Pearl Coast — we find no record of work interrupted by sickness, and to the very last his sight was not dim nor his natural force abated.

In contemplating such a life as that of Las Casas, all words of eulogy seem weak and frivolous. The historian can only bow in reverent awe before a figure which is in some respects the most beautiful and sublime in the annals of Christianity since the Apostolic age. When now and then in the course of the centuries God's providence brings such a life into this world, the memory of it must be cherished by mankind as one of its most precious and sacred possessions. For the thoughts, the words, the deeds of such a man, there is no death. The sphere of their influence goes on widening forever. They bud, they blossom, they bear fruit, from age to age.

CHAPTER XII.

THE WORK OF TWO CENTURIES.

THE wreck of the Admiral's flagship on the Christmas of 1492 determined the site of the first European colony in the New World, and perhaps it is not too much to say that by this accident the fortunes of Columbus were from that day forth linked to the island of Hispaniola. There the Spanish colonial society assumed its earliest type. From that island we have seen the lines of discovery and conquest radiating westward with Velasquez and Cortes, and southward with Balboa and the Pizarros. To Hispaniola we returned in order to trace the beginnings of Indian slavery and the marvellous career of Las Casas. From Hispaniola we must now again take our start, but to return no more. We have to follow the lines of discovery northward with Ponce de Leon and Pineda, and far beyond them, until we have obtained a sketch of the development of the knowledge of the huge continental mass of North America. This development was the Work of Two Centuries, and during that period much other work of cardinal importance was going on in the world, which had resulted before its close in the transfer of maritime supremacy and the lead in colonial enterprise

Hispaniola
the centre of
Spanish colo-
nization.

from Spain and Portugal to France and England. In completing our geographical story, therefore, we shall return no more to Hispaniola, but shall be led farther and farther away from that earliest centre, under the guidance of various leaders with various aims, until the epilogue will take us into the frozen zone which was visited in our prologue, and once more we shall see a stout Scandinavian captain land upon the shores of North America, coming this time, however, from the Siberian coast with Russian ships, to sever the last link that in men's minds continued to connect the New World with the continent of Asia. In covering so much ground in a single chapter, we must be content with a mere sketch of the outlines ; for that will be most conducive to clearness and will best harmonize with the general plan upon which this work has been from the outset conceived.

As we have already seen, it is in a high degree probable that the peninsula of Florida was circumnavigated, and a portion of the Atlantic coast to the northward visited, in the spring and summer of 1498, by an expedition in which Pinzon and Solis were the commanders, with Vespuccius and Ledesma assisting as pilots. Reasons have also been given why that voyage was not followed up and came to be wellnigh forgotten, as was also the case, though to a less extent, with the voyages of John Cabot and the Cortereals. The Indian ocean, with its spices, being the region toward which men's eager eyes were turned, the

A change of scene.

First voyage of Vespuccius.

wild coasts of North America were hastily glanced at and abandoned, very much as your dog sniffs at an unpromising bone, and turns away. As already observed, the only probable effect of a voyage around Florida at that moment would be to throw more or less discredit upon Marco Polo.

Stories from eastern Asia had not, however, lost their charm for adventurers. In Mandeville's multifarious ragout there is mention of a Fountain of Youth at a place called Polombe. The author cribbed it from a spurious letter purporting to come from Prester John, which made its way through Europe in the latter part of the twelfth century. Those that drink The Fountain of Youth. of this fountain, says the old rogue, seem always young, as he knows because he has tried it himself! ¹ Now this Fons Juventutis had its remote

¹ "At the heued of þis ilk forest es þe citee of Polombe; and besyde þat citee es a mountayne, wharoff þe citee takeþ þe name, for men calleþ þe mountayne Polombe. And at þe fote of þis mountayne es a well, noble and faire; and þe water þeroff has a swete sauour and reffaire, as it ware of diuerse maner of spicery. And ilke houre of þe day þe water changeþ, dinersely his sauour and his smell. And wha so drinkes fastand thryes of þat well, he sall be hale of what maner of malady þat he hase. And forþi þat wonneþ nere þat well drynkeþ þeroff ofter, and þerfore þai hafe neuermore sekeness, bot euermore þai seme yung. I, John Maundeuill, sawe þis well and drank þeroff thrys and all my felawes, and euermore sen þat tyme I fele me þe better and þe haler and suppose; for to do till þe tyme þat Godd of his grace will make me to passe oute of þis dedly lyf. Sum men calleþ þat well *Fons iuuentutis*, þat es for to say, þe well of yowthehede; for þai þat drinkeþ þeroff seme; all way yung. And þai say þis well commeþ fra Paradys terrestre, for it es so vertuous. Thurghe oute all þis cuntree þer growes þe best gynger þat es ower whare; and marchaundes commeþ þider fra ferre cuntree; for to bye it." Roxburgh Club's *Buke of Mandeuill*, p. 84.

origin in folk-lore, and there is nothing strange in the Spaniards hearing things said by the Indians that reminded them of it. From something thus said by the Indians they got the idea that upon an island called Bimini, northward from Hispaniola, this famous fountain was situated ;¹ and in 1512 the brave Juan Ponce de Leon, who had come out with Columbus in his second voyage, obtained King Ferdinand's permission to go and conquer Bimini. He sailed with three caravels from Porto Rico in March, 1513, and on the 27th of that month, being Easter Sunday, which in Spanish is called Pascua Florida, he came within sight of the coast ever since known as that of Florida. On the 2d of April Ponce de Leon landed a little north of the site of St. Augustine, and then turned back and followed the coast of the peninsula around to its west side in latitude 27° 30'. Further exploration was prevented at that time by the breaking out of war with the Caribs. It was not until 1521 that Ponce de Leon was able to take a colony to the Land of Easter. His party was attacked with great fury by the Indians, and instead of finding his fountain of youth he received a wound in the thigh from a flint arrow, which caused him to abandon the enterprise and retreat to Cuba, where he died after prolonged suffering.

Proof was already at hand that Florida was not an island, for in 1519 Alvarez de Pineda had followed that coast as far as the site of Tampico

¹ Peter Martyr, dec. ii. lib. x. ; of. Oviedo, pt. i. lib. xix. cap. xv.

in Mexico, where he found Cortes and his men in the course of their preliminary wanderings before founding Vera Cruz. Pineda then turned back, and after a while entered the mouth of the Mississippi, which he called Rio de Santo Espiritu. He seems to have been the first European to sail upon this great river. How far he ascended it is not clear, but he spent six weeks upon its waters and its banks, trading with the Indians, who seemed friendly and doubtless laboured under the usual first impression as to the supernatural character of the white men. Pineda said that he saw one considerable Indian town and no less than forty hamlets, and that the Indians wore gold ornaments.¹

Pineda's discovery of the Mississippi, 1519.

This voyage increased the interest in exploration to the northward, and another cause now began to operate in the same direction. When the remnant of Magellan's expedition returned to Spain in 1522, after its three years' voyage, it first began to be dimly realized in Europe that there was an immense ocean between *Mundus Novus* and Asia. It now became an object to find ways of getting past or through this barrier of land which we now call America, in order to make the voyage to Asia. In 1525 Garcia de Loaysa was sent by the Spanish government to the strait of Magellan, and arrived there. Early in 1526 one of Loaysa's ships was caught by a storm in the

¹ See Navarrete, *Coleccion*, tom. iii. pp. 147-153; Herrera, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xviii.; Peter Martyr, dec. v. cap. i. In his visit to Tampico, Pineda was preceded by Diego de Camargo, who sailed thither in 1518. See Las Casas, *Hist. de las Indias*, tom. iv. p. 466.

Atlantic, near the strait, and driven southward as far as Cape Horn, but this fact did not attract general attention. The voyage of Magellan did not end the controversy between Spain and Portugal as to the ownership of the Moluccas, for their longitude was variously reckoned. Did they lie west or east of the meridian antipodal to Pope Alexander's dividing line on the Atlantic? With the best of intentions, the problem of longitude was in those days very difficult, and a discrepancy of a thousand miles or more between the Spanish and Portuguese reckonings was likely enough to occur, even had there been no bias on the part of the reckoners. As it was, there was no hope of agreement between the two powers, except through some political compromise. In 1524 the question was submitted to what is known as the Congress of Badajos, an assembly of cosmographers, pilots, and lawyers, including such famous names as Ferdinand Columbus and Sebastian Cabot, with Estevan Gomez, Sebastian Elcano, Diego Ribeiro, and others. "They were empowered to send for persons and papers, and did in reality have before them pilots, papal bulls, treaties, royal grants and patents, log books, maps, charts, globes, itineraries, astronomical tables, the fathers of the church, ancient geographies and modern geographers, navigators with their compasses, quadrants, astrolabes, etc. For two months they fenced, ciphered, debated, argued, protested, discussed, grumbled, quarrelled, and almost fought, yet they

could agree upon nothing.”¹ The congress broke up without any definite result, and Spain retained her hold upon the Spiceries. The Philippine archipelago, which equally with the Moluccas lies on the Portuguese side of the dividing line, remains in Spanish hands to this day. But in 1529 Charles V. ceded his claim upon the Moluccas to Portugal for 350,000 gold ducats. His original intention was merely to grant a long lease, but by some oversight no precise period was mentioned, and the lease was suffered to become perpetual. In 1548 the emperor was urged by his legal advisers to recall the lease, but would not; whereat “some marvelled and others grieved, but all held their peace.”²

Now since the Portuguese used their own route across the Indian ocean to the Spiceries, many years elapsed before much attention was paid to the southern extremity of South America. The next person to see Cape Horn was Sir Francis Drake in 1578, and the first person to sail around it was the Dutch navigator Schouten van Horn, after whom it was named. This was not until 1616.

It was the excessive length of the voyage from Europe to Asia by this southwestern route that prevented activity in this direction. Sailors began trying to find shorter routes. As it was now

¹ Stevens, *Historical and Geographical Notes*, p. 42. “Estuvieron muchos dias mirando globos, cartas y relaciones, y alegando cada qual de su derecho, y porfiando terribilissimamente.” Gomara, *Historia general de las Indias*, Autwerp, 1554, fol. 131 verso.

² Guillemard's *Magellan*, p. 16.

proved that there was a continuous coast-line all the way from the strait of Magellan to the St. John's river in Florida, one immediate effect of Magellan's voyage was to turn people's attention to the northward in the hope of finding a northwest passage from Europe to Asia. A most pathetic and thrilling story is that of the persistent search for the Northwest Passage, kept up for 330 years, and gradually pushed farther and farther up among Arctic ice-floes, until at length in 1854 the passage was made from Bering strait to Davis strait by Sir Robert McClure. For more than a century after Magellan did navigators anxiously scan the North American coast and sail into the mouths of great rivers, hoping to find them straits or channels leading into the western ocean; for it began to be plain that this coast was not Asia, but a barrier in the way thither, and until long inland expeditions had been made, how was anybody to know anything about the mass of the northern continent, or that it was so many times wider than Central America?

The first of these navigators was Lucas Vasquez d' Ayllon, who came up in 1524 from Hispaniola and tried the James river and Chesapeake bay. Not finding a northwest passage, but liking the country, he obtained a grant of it from Charles V., and in 1526 began to build a town called San Miguel, about where the English founded Jamestown eighty-one years afterward. Negro slaves were employed by the Spaniards in this work, and this would seem

Search for a
Northwest
Passage, 1524-
1354.

Spanish col-
ony on James
river, 1526.

to be the first instance of slave labour on the part of negroes within the territory since covered by the United States. Ayllon had 600 people with him, both men and women, besides 100 horses; and Antonio Montesino accompanied him as missionary preacher. If this enterprise had succeeded, the future course of American history might have been strangely modified. But Ayllon died of a fever, and under the combined effects of hunger and sickness, internecine quarrels, negro insurrection, and attacks from the Indians, the little colony soon succumbed; and of the survivors the greater part were shipwrecked on the way back to Hispaniola. Antonio Montesino was sent in 1528 to Venezuela, where he disappears from history. When or where he died we do not know, save that in the register of the Dominican monastery of San Estevan, in Salamanca, against the honoured name of Antonio Montesino there is written in some unknown hand this marginal note, *Obiit martyr in Indiis*, "died a martyr in the Indies," which must probably mean that he was somewhere slain by poor stupid red men unable to recognize their best friends.

While Ayllon was losing his own life and those of his people on the bank of the James river, another navigator was searching for a new route for the ships of Charles V. to the Moluccas. In the course of the year 1525 Estevan Gomez, Voyage of Gomez, 1525. the pilot who had so basely deserted Magellan, coasted from Labrador to Florida, taking notice of Cape Cod, Narragansett bay, and the mouths of the Connecticut, Hudson, and Dela-

ware rivers. The comment of Peter Martyr upon this voyage of Gomez is very significant, as illustrating the small favour with which such voyages as those of the Cabots and the first of Vespucius had been regarded. "Stephanus Gomez, . . . neither finding the straight, nor Gaitaia [Cathay] which he promised, returned backe within tenn monethes after his departure. I always thought and presupposed this good man's imaginations were vayne and friuolous. Yet wanted he no suffrages and voyces in his fauour and defence. Notwithstanding he found pleasant and profitable countries, agreeable with our parallels and degrees of the pole. . . . *But what need haue we of these things which are common with all the people of Europe?* To the South, to the South for the great and exceeding riches of the Equinoctiall: they that seek riches must not go vnto the cold and frozen North." ¹

Gomez seems to have been preceded on these coasts by more than one navigator sailing in the service of France. We have already observed Norman and Breton sailors taking their share in the fisheries upon the banks of Newfoundland from the beginning of the century.² Francis I. of

¹ Martyr, dec. viii. cap. x. ; Herrera, dec. iii. lib. viii. cap. viii. ; Gomara, cap. xl. ; Oviedo, cap. x. In Diego Ribeiro's map, made in 1529, the regions about Virginia are called "land of Ayllon," and the regions from New Jersey to Rhode Island are called "land of Estevan Gomez." The name given by Gomez to what was afterwards called Hudson's river was Rio de San Antonio. See De Costa, *Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson*, Albany, 1869, p. 44.

² For Léry's attempt to found a colony at Cape Breton in 1518, see Sixte Le Tac, *Histoire chronologique de la Nouvelle France*, pp. 40, 58.

France manifested but slight reverence for Pope Alexander VI. and his bulls. According to Bernal Diaz he sent word to his great rival Charles V., asking him by what right he and the king of Portugal undertook to monopolize the earth. Had our first father Adam made them his sole heirs? If so it would be no more than proper for them to produce a copy of the will; and meanwhile he should feel at liberty to seize upon all he could get. Among the corsairs active at that time in the French marine was one known to the Spaniards as Juan Florin or Florentin. His name was Giovanni da Verrazano, and he seems to have been born about 1480 at Florence, where his family had attained distinction. In 1523 he captured the treasure on its way from Cortes, in Mexico, to the Emperor Charles V.; and early in the next year he crossed the Atlantic with one ship and about fifty men. The first land sighted was probably near Cape Fear, in North Carolina. From that point Verrazano skirted the coast northward as far as latitude 50°, and seems to have discovered the Hudson river, and to have landed upon Rhode Island and at some point not far from the mouth of the Piscataqua. Little or nothing is known of Verrazano after this voyage.¹

Voyage of Verrazano, 1524.

¹ It has been doubted whether Verrazano ever made any such voyage. See Murphy, *The Voyage of Verrazano*, New York, 1875. Mr. Murphy's conclusions have not been generally sustained. For further discussions see Brevoort, *Verrazano the Navigator*, New York, 1874; Asher's *Henry Hudson*, London, 1860, pp. 197-228; Kohl's *Discovery of Maine*, chap. viii.; De Costa, *Verrazano the Explorer*, New York, 1881, with a full bibliographical note; Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, iv. 1-30.

It has been said that he was caught by the Spaniards in 1527 and hanged for piracy, and there is another story that he was roasted and eaten by the Indians in that year, but all this is quite doubtful.

The staggering blows inflicted upon Francis I. by Charles V. in the Italian campaign of 1525 prevented any further activity in following up the voyage of Verrazano. Ten years later came Jacques Cartier, who explored the lower portion of the river St. Lawrence, and found an Iroquois town, named Hochelaga, on an eminence which he called Montreal. Before Champlain's arrival, seventy years later, the Iroquois had been driven from this region. In 1540-43 an unsuccessful attempt was made by the Sieur de Roberval, aided by Cartier, to establish a French colony in Canada. Connected with this expedition was the voyage of the pilot Jehan Allefonsee, of Saintonge, in which he seems to have visited the coast between Cape Cod and Cape Ann.¹ Little more was done by the French in this direction until the time of Champlain.

The maps made about this time reflect the strong desire for a northwest passage to Cathay in the extreme slimness which they assign to a part of the North American mainland. In 1529 Hieronimo da Verrazano made a map in which he undertook to represent his brother's discoveries;² and upon

¹ For a discussion of this voyage, see De Costa, *Northmen in Maine*, pp. 80-122; and his chapter in Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, vol. iv. chap. ii.; see also Weise, *Discoveries of America*, New York, 1884, chap. xi.

² For a reduced copy of the map see Winsor, *Narr. and Crit.*

Cartier and
Roberval,
1534-43.

this map we find Florida connected with the Verrazano region by a slender isthmus. The ^{The "Sea of Verrazano."} imaginary sea washing the western shore of this isthmus was commonly known as the Sea of Verrazano. Possibly the notion may have arisen from a misinterpretation of some small neck of land with a bay or sound beyond it somewhere upon the Atlantic coast explored in the voyage of 1524. But, in whatever misconception it may have had its origin, the Sea of Verrazano continued to be reproduced on maps for many years, until inland exploration expelled it. Two interesting illustrations, toward the middle of the sixteenth century, show respectively the wet and the dry theories of the relation of the North American coast to Asia. The first of these maps, made at Venice in 1536, by Baptista Agnese, cuts off the hypothetical unvisited coasts to the south of Peru¹ and to the west and north of Mexico with a dotted line, but gives the equally hypothetical coast of the Verrazano sea as if its existence were quite undoubted. According to this map the voyage to Cathay by the Verrazano route would be at least as simple as the voyage to Peru by way of Panama. A very different view is given upon the "Carta Marina" by Jacopo Gastaldi, published in the Ptolemy of 1548. Here Florida and Mexico appear as parts of Asia, and the general conception is not unlike that of the globe of Orontius Finæus; but the Verrazano sea

Hist., iv. 26. The original is in the College of the Propaganda at Rome.

¹ The coast from the strait of Magellan northward to Peru was first explored by Alonso de Camargo in 1539-40.

appears to the north of Florida. Here, therefore, it does not afford a ready means of access to China, but to some northern ocean washing the shores of an "Upper India," concerning which it may be suspected that the map-maker's ideas were not of the clearest.



Sketch of Agnese's map, Venice, 1536.¹

From this chart of Gastaldi's the position of the Verrazano sea naturally leads us to the map by

¹ KEY: — "1. Terra de bacalaos. 2. (dotted line) El viage de France. 3. (dotted line) El viage de Peru. 4. (dotted line) El viage a maluche. 5. Temistetan. 6. Iucatan. 7. Nombre de dios. 8. Panama. 9. La provintia del peru. 10. La provintia de chinagua. 11. S. paulo. 12. Mundus novus. 13. Brazil. 14. Rio de la plata. 15. El Streto de ferdinando de Magallanas." Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, iv. 40.

Sebastian Münster, published in the Ptolemy of 1540. Though thus published eight years earlier than Gastaldi, this map represents in some respects

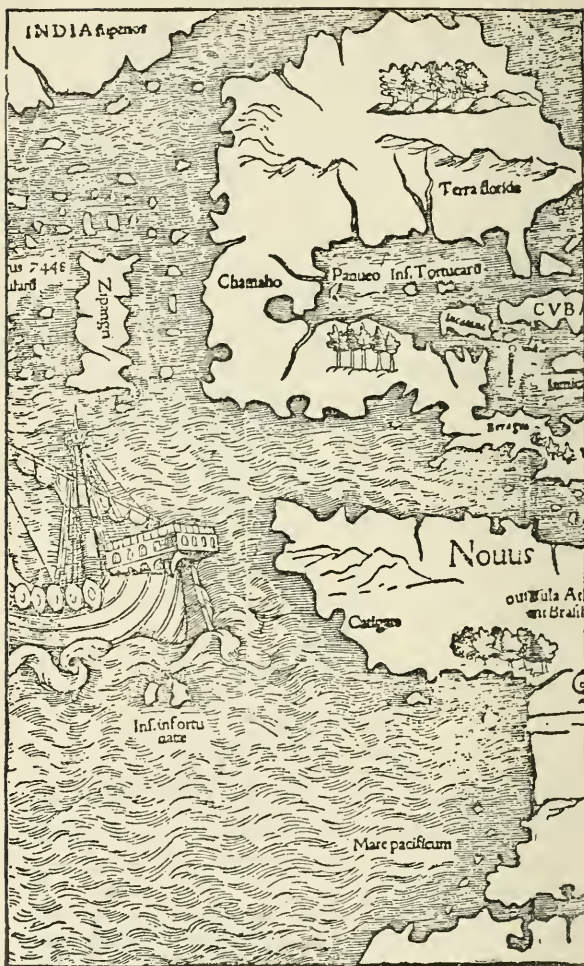


Gastaldi's Carta Marina, 1548.¹

a later development toward the more correct views heralded by Mercator.² There is an approach to-

¹ KEY: — "1. Norvegia. 2. Laponia. 3. Gronlandia. 4. Tierra del Labrador. 5. Tierra del Bacalaos. 6. La Florida. 7. Nueva Hispania. 8. Mexico. 9. India Superior. 10. La China. 11. Ganges. 12. Samatra. 13. Java. 14. Panama. 15. Mar del Sur. 16. El Brasil. 17. El Peru. 18. Strecho de Fernande Magalhaes. 19. Tierra del Fuego." Winsor, *Narr. and Crit Hist.*, iv. 43. Observe that Gastaldi retains the mediæval notion of Greenland as connected with Norway.

² See above, p. 153.



Münster's

¹ Reduced from the sketch in



map, 1540.¹

Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, iv. 41.

ward the conception of the western hemisphere as a distinct and integral whole, though the Pacific is still very narrow and Zipangri (Japan) still comes very near to Mexico, as in the Stobnicza map of 1512. The reader will also observe the New World with its Catigara, the significant mark of a Ptolemaic pedigree, although now quite torn asunder from Asia. Pizarro and his pilots would, I suspect, have laughed somewhat rudely at the promontory on which this Catigara is placed, — an imaginary fragment of Asia that happened to stay on this side when the tear came. As to the Verrazano sea, when we compare it upon this map and that of Agnese, as well as upon Michael Lok's map more than forty years later, we can understand how it was that even as late as the seventeenth century such a navigator as Henry Hudson should try to get through his river into the Pacific.

The only means of correcting these inadequate and fluctuating views were to be found in expeditions into the interior of the continent, and here the beginnings were slow and painful. The first Spaniard to avail himself of Pineda's discoveries was Panfilo de Narvaez, the man who had been

Expedition of Narvaez. sent to Mexico to arrest and supersede Cortes, and had so ingloriously failed in that attempt. Pineda's mention of gold ornaments on the Mississippi Indians was enough to set Narvaez in motion. If there was so much glory and plunder in one direction, why not in another? He obtained permission to conquer and govern all the northern coast of the gulf of Mexico, and started

from Cuba in March, 1528, with four ships, carrying 400 men and 80 horses. Landing at Apalache bay, he made a bootless excursion into the country and on his return to the seashore was unable to find his ships, which were sailing to and fro on the watch for him. After travelling westward on foot for a month, Narvaez and his men, with desperate exertions, built five frail boats and pursued their journey by water. After six weeks of coasting they came to the mouth of a river so great that it freshened the sea so that they could drink the sea-water. At the mouth of this river, the Mississippi, two of the boats, one of them containing Narvaez himself, were capsized, and all their company lost. The other three boats were thrown ashore, probably somewhere in eastern Texas, and such of their crews as escaped starvation were murdered by the natives. Four men, however, the treasurer Cabeza de Vaca, with two Spanish comrades, Dorantes and Castillo, and a negro called Estevánico, or "Little Steve," had a wonderful course of adventures. They were captured by different parties of Indians and carried about in various directions in the wilderness of western Louisiana and eastern Texas. Cabeza de Vaca achieved some success as a trader, bartering shells and wampum from the coast for "flint flakes, red clay, hides and skins, and other products of the regions inland."¹ A reputation early acquired as a

Adventures of
Cabeza de
Vaca.

¹ The journey of Cabeza de Vaca and his comrades is ably described and their route traced by Mr. Bandelier, *Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States*, Cambridge, 1890 (Papers of the Archæological Institute of America—American Series. V. Hemenway Southwestern Archæological Expedition).

medicine-man or sorcerer proved helpful to him, and may very likely have preserved his life. After strange vicissitudes and terrible sufferings the four comrades were thrown together again at some point west of the Sabine river in Texas. Circumstances happened to give them all a reputation for skilful sorcery, and by degrees they made use of this singular power to induce the parties of Indians with them to move in certain directions rather than others. With a vague hope of finding the seashore they kept in the main a westerly course, and presently their fame grew to such a height that Indians came to them in throngs bringing gifts. Proceeding in this way they presently crossed the Rio Pecos near its junction with the Rio Grande; then ascending the latter river they made their way across Chihuahua and Sonora to the gulf of California, and then turning southward at length in May, 1536, reached Culiacan, then an extreme frontier of the Spaniards, after this wonderful pilgrimage of nearly 2,000 miles.

The reports of this journey aroused much interest among the Spaniards in Mexico. Not less than four attempts at exploration upon the Pacific coasts had been made by Cortes, but not much had been accomplished beyond the discovery of Lower California. Now there were reasons that made the idea of an inland expedition to the northward seem attractive. There was a tradition afloat in Europe, that on the occasion of the conquest of the Spanish peninsula by the Arabs in the eighth century, a certain bishop of Lisbon with a goodly company of followers took refuge upon an

Legend of the
Seven Cities.

island or group of islands far out on the Sea of Darkness, and founded seven cities there. With the fabulous Antilia, which was commonly regarded as the island of the Seven Cities, we have already made acquaintance. Its name, slightly modified into "Antilles," came to be applied to the West Indies. Its seven cities were curiously transferred into the very heart of the American continent. Among the Nahuatl tribes there was a legend of Chicomoztoc, or the Seven Caves from which at some period in the past their ancestors issued. As soon as the Spaniards got hold of this legend they contrived to mix up these Seven Caves with their Seven Cities. They were supposed to be somewhere to the northward, and when Cabeza de Vaca and his comrades had disclosed the existence of such a vast territory north of Mexico, it was resolved to search for the Seven Cities in that direction. The work was entrusted to Fray Marcos of Nizza, or Nice, as we now call it since it has been "reunited" — that is the orthodox French way of expressing it — to France. He was a Franciscan monk of great ability, who had accompanied Pizarro on the first march to Caxamarca to meet Atahualpa. He had afterward gone to Quito and thence seems to have accompanied Alvarado on his return to Guatemala. He had lately found his way to Mexico, and was selected by the great viceroy Antonio de Mendoza to go and find the Seven Cities.¹ He was attended on the journey

Fray Marcos.

¹ Like so many other travellers and explorers Fray Marcos has been charged with falsehood; but his case has been to a considerable extent cleared up in Bandelier's excellent monograph already cited, *Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States*.

by the negro Estevánico and a few Pima Indians who had been educated at Mexico; and their reception by the natives along the route was extremely hospitable. At Matape, an Indian village in Sonora, they heard definite news of a country situated thirty days' march to the northward, where there were seven large cities, "with houses of stone and lime, . . . the smallest ones of two stories and a flat roof, and others of three and four stories, and that of the lord with five, all placed together in order; and on the door-sills and lintels of the principal houses many figures of turquoise stones . . . and [it was said] that the people of these cities are very well clothed," etc.¹ The name of the first of these cities was said to be Cibola. And from that time forth this became a common name for the group, and we hear much of the Seven Cities of Cibola.

The Seven
Cities of
Cibola.

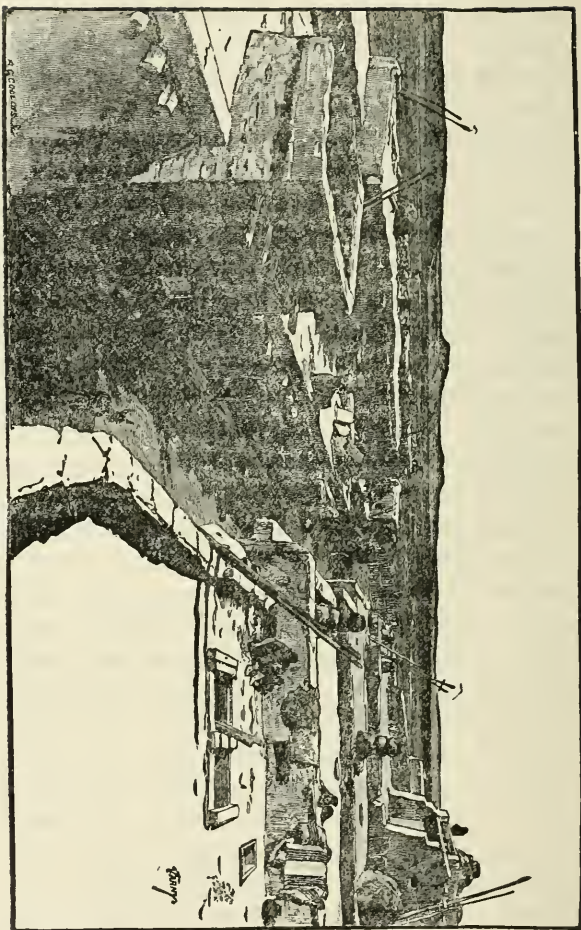
These were the seven pueblos of Zuñi, in New Mexico, of which six were still inhabited at the end of the sixteenth century. The name Cibola was properly applied to the group, as it referred to the whole extent of territory occupied by the Zuñis-

Zuñi. The surviving pueblo which we know to-day as Zuñi will probably serve as an excellent sample of the pueblo towns visited by the Spaniards in their first wanderings in North America. As Fray Marcos drew near to it he heard much of the power and glory of Cibola, and began to feel that his most romantic anticipations were about to be verified; but now came his first misfortune on this journey, and it was a sharp one

¹ Bandelier, *op. cit.* p. 130.

Hitherto the white man and the black man had been treated with the reverence due to supernatural beings, or to persons who at least were mighty wizards. But at Kiakima, the first of the Zuñi pueblos, the negro's "medicine" was not accepted. Estevánico travelled some miles in advance of Fray Marcos. When he arrived at the first of the cities of Cibola, flaunting the turquoises and the handsome Indian girls, with whom he had been presented in the course of the journey, — much to the disgust of the Franciscan friar, — the elders and chiefs of the pueblo would not grant him admittance. He was lodged in a small house outside the enclosure, and was cautiously catechised. When he announced himself as the envoy and forerunner of a white man, sent by a mighty prince beyond the sky to instruct them in heavenly things, the Zuñi elders were struck with a sense of incongruity. How could black represent white, or be the envoy and forerunner of white? To the metaphysics of the middle status of barbarism the question wore a very uncanny look, and to the common sense of the middle status of barbarism the self-complacent Estevánico appeared to be simply a spy from some chieftain or tribe that wanted to conquer the Zuñis. A Cortes might easily have dealt with such a situation, but most men would consider it very uncomfortable, and so did poor silly "Little Steve." While the elders were debating whether they should do reverence to him as a wizard, or butcher him as a spy, he stole out of his lodging and sought safety in flight; and this act, being promptly de-

Murder of
Estevánico
and retreat of
Fray Marcos.



A street in Zuni.

tected, robbed him of all dignity and sealed his fate. A hue and cry went after him, and an arrow soon found its way to his heart. The news of this catastrophe checked the advance of Fray Marcos. His Indian comrades were discouraged, and the most he could do was to keep them with him while he climbed a hill whence he could get a Pisgah sight of the glories of Cibola. After he had accomplished this, the party returned with all possible haste to Culiacan, and arrived there in August, 1539, after an absence of five months.

As an instance of the tenacious vitality of tradition, and its substantial accuracy in dealing with a very simple and striking fact, it is interesting to find that to this day the Zuñis remember the fate of Estevánico. In one of the folk-tales taken down by Mr. Cushing from the lips of Zuñi priests, it is said that "previous to the first coming of the *Mexicans* (the Zuñi Indian calls all the Spanish-speaking people *Mexicans*), a *black Mexican* made his appearance at the Zuñi village of Kiakima. He was very greedy, voracious, and bold, and the people killed him for it. After his death the *Mexicans* [i. e. Spaniards] made their appearance in numbers for the first time, and made war upon the Zuñis, conquering them in the end." ¹

Zuñi recollection of the affair.

¹ Bandelier, *op. cit.* p. 154. I think I never spent a pleasanter afternoon than once at Manchester-by-the-sea, with Mr. Cushing and three Zuñi priests who had come thither for the summer to assist him in his work. These Indians of the middle status told me their delightful yarns in exchange for Norse and Russian folk-tales which I told them, and Mr. Cushing served as a lively and dramatic interpreter. These Zuñis were very handsome men,

It was indeed only the next year that the Spaniards made their appearance, accompanied by their terrible horses. Six months after the return of Fray Marcos to Culiacan, an army of 300 Spaniards and 800 Mexican Indians, under Expedition of Coronado. Francisco de Coronado, started for Cibola. They visited the Zuñi and Moqui pueblos, discovered the grand cañon of the Colorado, and marched northward as far as a village called Quivira, concerning the site of which there is some diversity of opinion. The farthest point reached by Coronado may have been somewhere near the boundary between the states of Kansas and Nebraska, or perhaps farther west at some point on the south fork of the Platte river.¹ He passed quite beyond the semi-civilized region of the pueblos, and was disgusted at finding Quivira only a rude village of thatched wigwams instead of the fine city for which he had been looking. The supply of maize and bison-meat prevented the famine which so commonly overwhelmed such long expeditions, and Coronado took excellent care of his men. Many subordinate explorations were undertaken by detached parties, and a vast extent of country was visited. At length, in the spring of 1542, the army returned to Mexico, greatly vexed and cha-

abounding in kindness and droll humour, while their refined grace of manner impressed me as hardly inferior to that of Japanese gentlemen. The combination of this civilized demeanour with the primeval naïveté of their thoughts was in a high degree piquant and interesting.

¹ A detailed account of Coronado's expedition is given in the chapter on "Early Explorations of New Mexico," by H. W. Haynes, in Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, vol. ii. chap. vii.

grined at having discovered no gold nor any wealthy kingdom, and this disappointment found a vent in anathemas vented upon Fray Marcos, which have ever since been echoed by historians.

Not only in the far west, but also in the east, did the experience of Cabeza de Vaca serve to stimulate the desire to explore the interior of the continent. To Fernando de Soto, no less than to the viceroy Mendoza, it seemed as if in such a wide extent of territory there must be kingdoms worth plundering. We have al- ^{Expedition of Soto.} ready met with Soto serving under Pizarro in Peru. In 1537 he was appointed governor of Cuba, and was authorized to conquer and occupy the country embraced within the patent of Narvaez. He started from Havana in May, 1539, with nine vessels, containing 570 men and 223 horses. Landing about thirty miles west of the bay of Juan Ponce, he marched laboriously as far northward as the Savannah river, and then turned westward. The golden country for which he was seeking did not appear, but the Indians on the route were very hostile. Though Soto had roundly blamed Pizarro for his treatment of Atahualpa, his own conduct toward Indians seems to have been at once cruel and foolish. The Spaniards had to fight their way across the country, and the tribes of the Creek confederacy were no mean antagonists. At a palisaded village called Mauvila, a few miles above the junction of the Tombigbee and Alabama rivers,¹ there was a desperate fight, in the autumn

¹ It was probably *Mauvila*, or *Maubila*, that gave the name *Mobile* to the river formed by the junction of these two. See Charlevoix, *Journal historique*, p. 452.

of 1541, in which Soto lost 170 of his men, while from the Spanish estimate of 2,500 as the loss of the Indians it would perhaps be safe to strike off a cipher.¹ In December the Spaniards reached the Yazoo, and spent the winter in that neighbourhood. In the spring they crossed the Mississippi at the lowest of the Chickasaw bluffs, and ascended the western bank of the great river as far, perhaps, as New Madrid. Finding no signs of El Dorado in that direction, they turned southward. On the 21st of May, 1542, Soto died of a fever, and was buried in the Mississippi. His men, commanded by Luis de Moscoso, built boats in which they descended the river and coasted westward along the shores of Texas. On the 10th of September, 1543, the survivors of the expedition, 311 in number, reached Tampico.²

The work of founding colonies in North America languished. In 1546-49 a party of Dominican friars, led by the noble Luis de Barbastro, who

¹ The later experiences of American backwoodsmen in fighting these formidable barbarians should make us distrust all stories of battles attended with great disparity of loss. If Soto killed 250 of them without losing more than 170 of his own men, he came off remarkably well. Compare Roosevelt's *Winning of the West*, vol. i. p. 83; vol. ii. 123.

² An excellent account of Soto's expedition by one of the survivors was translated into English in 1611, by Richard Hakluyt, and is now among the publications of the Hakluyt Society: — *The Discovery and Conquest of Florida*, London, 1851. A brief relation by Luis de Biedma is appended to this book. Garcilasso de la Vega also wrote a narrative (*La Florida del Ynca*, Lisbon, 1605) based upon reports of survivors, but uncritically treated. See also Pickett's *History of Alabama*, pp. 25-41. In this connection the reader will find much that is instructive in Jones's *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*, New York, 1873.

had been with Las Casas in Tuzulutlan, made an attempt to found a missionary settle-
 ment in Florida, but they were all mas- Dominicans in Florida.
 sacred by the Indians. The work was then taken up by Guido de Labazares and Tristan de Luna, under the auspices of Luis de Velasco, the humane and enlightened viceroy of New Spain. Their little colony was barely rescued from destruction by Angelo de Villafañe in 1561, and in the autumn of that year Philip II. announced that there would be no further attempts to colonize that country. As no gold was to be found, the chief reason for occupying Florida was to keep the French from getting hold of it, and it was thought there was no danger of the French coming for the present.

Curiously enough, however, just about this time the French did come to Florida. Two French attempts at colonization grew directly out of the wars of religion. The illustrious Coligny was one of the first men, if not the very first, to conceive the plan of founding a Protestant state in America. In 1555 a small expedition, under Nicholas de Villegagnon, was sent to the coast of Huguenots in Brazil.
 Brazil. A landing was made on the site of Rio de Janeiro, huts were built, and earthworks thrown up. A large reinforcement of Huguenots, with several zealous ministers from Geneva, arrived on the scene in 1557. But fierce theological disputes combined with want of food to ruin the little community. Villegagnon returned to France to carry on his controversy with the clergy, and the next year the miserable sur-

vivors of the colony were slaughtered by the Portuguese.¹

Coligny's next attempt was made upon the coast of Florida, under the lead of Jean Ribaut, a hardy Huguenot of Dieppe. On May day, 1562, Ribaut, with a small advance party, reached the St. John's river, whence they coasted northward as far as the spot to which they gave the name Port Royal, in what is now South Carolina. Here they built a

Huguenots in Florida; Ribaut. small fortress, and thirty men were left in charge of it while Ribaut returned to France to bring out his colony. For a while the little garrison lived on the hospitality of the Indians, until the latter, who had at first revered them as children of the Sun, began to despise them as sturdy beggars. Then as hunger began to pinch them, they mutinied and slew their commander. The time wore on, and nothing was heard of Ribaut. At last, in sheer despair, they contrived to patch together a crazy brigantine and set sail for France. Their scanty stock of food gave out while they were in mid-ocean, and one of the party had been devoured by his comrades, when they were picked up by an English cruiser and carried off to London.

The return of Ribaut had been delayed by the breaking out of war between the Huguenots and the Guise party; but in 1563 the truce of Amboise made things quiet for a while, and in the following year a new expedition set out for Florida, under the leadership of Ribaut's friend

¹ The story of the Huguenots in Brazil is fully told by Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1612, livre ii.

René de Laudonnière, a pious and valiant knight and a kinsman of Coligny. This company was much larger and better equipped than the former, but there was an essential vice in its composition. There were plenty of soldiers and gentlemen unused to labour, and a few clever mechanics and tradesmen, but no tillers of the soil. In France, indeed, the rural population remained wedded to the old faith, and there were no Protestant yeomen as in England. The new expedition landed at the St. John's river, and built a fort near its mouth, which, in honour of Charles IX., was called Fort Caroline. This work off their hands, they devoted themselves to injudicious intrigues with the Indian potentates of the neighbourhood, explored the country for gold, and sent home to France for more assistance. Then they began to be mutinous, and presently resorted to buccaneering, with what fatal consequences will presently be seen. A gang of malcontents stole two of the pinnaces, and set out for the coast of Cuba, where, after capturing a small Spanish vessel, they were obliged to go ashore for food, and were thereupon arrested. Carried before the authorities at Havana, they sought to make things right for themselves by giving full information of the settlement at Fort Caroline, and this ill-omened news was not slow in finding its way to the ears of the king of Spain. It came at an opportune moment for Philip II. He had just found a man after his own heart, Pedro Menendez de Avilès, an admirable soldier and matchless liar, brave as a mastiff and savage as a wolf. This man had persuaded Philip to change his mind and let

him go and try to found a colony in Florida, whereby the Indians might be converted to Christianity.

Menendez, the
Last of the
Crusaders.

Just as Menendez was getting ready to start, there came from Havana the news of the ill-fated Laudonnière and his enterprise. These heretics were trespassers on the territory which Holy Church had assigned to the Spanish crown, and, both as trespassers and as heretics, they must be summarily dealt with. Rumour had added that Ribaut was expected from France with a large armament, so that no time was to be lost. The force at Menendez's disposal was largely increased, and on the 29th of June, 1565, he set sail from Cadiz, with eleven ships and more than 1,000 fighting men, hoping to forestall the arrival of the French commander. The mood in which Menendez started was calculated to make him an ugly customer. He was going on a *crusade*. The original crusades were undertaken for a worthy purpose, and helped to save the Cross from being subdued by the Crescent. But after a while, when heresy became rife, the pope would proclaim a crusade against heretics, and a bloody affair this was apt to be, as the towns of southern France once had reason to know. We may fitly call Menendez the Last of the Crusaders.

Things had fared badly with the colony at Fort Caroline. Mutiny had been checked by the summary execution of a few ringleaders, but famine had set in, and they had come to blows with the Indians. Events succeeded each other curiously. On the 3d of August, in the depth of their distress, Elizabeth's doughty sea-king Sir John Haw-

kins touched at the mouth of the St. John's, gave them food and wine, and offered them a free passage to France in his own ships, and on Laudonnière's refusal left with them a ship with which to make the voyage for themselves if they should see fit. On the 28th of August Ribaut at last arrived with seven ships, bringing 300 men and ample supplies. On the 4th of September, toward midnight, appeared the Spanish fleet!

The squadron of Menendez had undergone great hardships, and several of the vessels had been wrecked. Five ships now arrived, but after exchanging defiances with the French, Menendez concluded not to risk a direct attack, and crept off down the coast until he came to the site of St. Augustine. Some 500 negroes ^{Beginnings of St. Augustine.} had been brought on the fleet, and were at once set to work throwing up entrenchments. One of the French ships, hanging in the rear, had taken note of these proceedings, and hurried back to Fort Caroline with the information. It was then decided to leave Laudonnière with a small force to hold the fort, while Ribaut by a sudden naval attack should overwhelm the Spanish fleet and then pounce upon the troops at St. Augustine before their entrenchments were completed. This plan seemed to combine caution with boldness, but the treachery of wind and weather defeated it. On the 10th of September Ribaut set sail, and early next morning his whole fleet bore down upon the Spaniards. But before they could come to action there sprang up an equinoctial gale which drove the French vessels out to sea, and raged so fiercely

for several days as to render it morally certain that, wherever they might be, they could not have effected a return to their fort. It was now the turn of Menendez to take the offensive. On the morning of the 17th, with the storm still raging, he started forth, with 500 men and a couple of Indian guides, to force his way through the forest. For thrice twenty-four hours they waded through swamps and forded swollen brooks, struggling with tall grass and fighting with hatchets the tangled underbrush, — until just before dawn of the 20th, drenched with rain, covered from head to foot with mud, torn with briars, fainting with hunger and weariness, but more than ever maddened with bigotry and hate, this wolfish company swept down the slope before Fort Caroline. The surprise was complete, and the defences, which might barely have sufficed against an Indian assault, were of no avail to keep out these more deadly foes. Resistance was short and feeble. Laudonnière and a few others escaped into the woods, whence, some time afterward, they sought the shore, and were picked up by a friendly ship and carried home to France. Of those who staid in the fort, men, women, and children, to the number of 142, were slaughtered. A few were spared, though Menendez afterward, in his letter to the king, sought to excuse himself for such unwarranted clemency.

Slaughter of
the people in
Fort Caroline.

Meanwhile the ships of Jean Ribaut were hopelessly buffeting the waves. One after another they were all wrecked somewhere below Matanzas Inlet, a dozen miles south of St. Augustine. Most of the

crews and troops were saved, and, collecting in two bodies, began to work their way back toward Fort Caroline. On the 28th of September the first body, some 200 in number, had halted at Matanzas Inlet, which they had no means of crossing, when they encountered Menendez, who with about 70 men was on the lookout for them. The two parties were on opposite sides of this arm of the sea, and the Spaniard so disposed his force among the bushes that the enemy could not estimate their real number. A boat was then sent out, and three or four French officers were decoyed across the river under promise of safety. They now learned that their fort was destroyed, and their wives and comrades murdered. At the same time they were requested, in courteous terms, to lay down their arms and entrust themselves to the clemency of Menendez. Hard as it seemed, starvation stared them in the face as the only alternative, and so after some discussion it was deemed most prudent to surrender. The arms were first sent across the river, and then the prisoners were brought over, ten at a time, each party being escorted by twenty Spaniards. As each party of ten arrived, they were led behind a sand-hill some distance from the bank, and their hands were tied behind their backs. A great part of the day was consumed in these proceedings, and at sunset, when the whole company of Huguenots had thus been delivered defenceless into the hands of their enemy, they were all murdered in cold blood. Not one was left alive to tell the tale.

First massacre at Matanzas Inlet.

A day or two later Ribaut himself, with 350 men,

his entire remaining force, arrived at the inlet, and found Menendez duly ambushed to receive him. Once more the odious scene was acted out. The Frenchmen were judiciously informed of what had been done, but were treated with much courtesy, regaled with bread and wine, and coaxed to surrender. This time there was a difference of opinion. Some 200 swore they would rather be devoured by the Indians than trust to the clemency of such a Spaniard; and they contrived to slip away into the forest. The remaining 150, with Ribaut himself, were ferried across in small detachments, disarmed and bound, as had been done to their comrades, and when all had been collected together, all but five were put to death. That is to say, five were spared, but besides these, one sailor, who was not quite killed, contrived to crawl away, and after many adventures returned to France, to tell the harrowing tale. From this sailor, and from one of the five who were spared, we get the French account of the affair. The Spanish account we have from Menendez himself, who makes his official report to the king as coolly as a farmer would write about killing pigs or chickens. The two accounts substantially agree, except as regards the promise of safety by which the Frenchmen were induced to surrender. Menendez represents himself as resorting to a pious fraud in using an equivocal form of words, but the Frenchman declares that he promised most explicitly to spare them, and even swore it upon the cross. I am inclined to think that the two statements may be reconciled, in view of the acknowledged skill

Second massacre at Matanzas Inlet.

of Menendez and all his kith and kin as adroit dissemblers. After all said and done, it was a foul affair, and the name Matanzas, which means "slaughterings," came naturally enough to attach itself to that inlet, and remains to this day a memento of that momentary fury of a New World crusade.

It used to be said in the days of Philip II. that wherever in any country there turned up a really first-class job of murder, you might be sure the king of Spain had something to do with it. The St. Bartholomew affair, for example, ^{Philip II.} was a case in point. The job done by Menendez, though small in scale, was certainly a thorough one, for it ended the Huguenot colony in Florida. Of the remnant of Ribaut's force which did not surrender, some disappeared among the Indians. Some were captured by Menendez, and the lives of these he spared, inasmuch as from the glut of slaughter some of his own men recoiled and called him cruel. From his master, however, Menendez received hearty approval for his ferocity, relieved by a slight hint of disapprobation for his scant and tardy humanity. "Tell him," said Philip, "that as to those he has killed, he has done well, and as to those he has saved, they shall be sent to the galleys."

This massacre of Frenchmen by Spaniards was perpetrated in a season of peace between the two governments. It was clearly an insult to France, inasmuch as the Huguenot expeditions had been undertaken with the royal commission. But the court of Catherine de' Medici was not likely to call

Philip II. to account for anything he might take it into his head to do. Redress was not far off, but it came in a most unexpected way and at the hands of a private gentleman.

Dominique de Gourgues was a Gascon of noble birth, who had won high distinction in the Italian wars. It is not clear whether he was Catholic or Protestant, but he bore a grudge against the Spaniards, by whom he had once been taken prisoner and made to work in the galleys. He made up his mind to avenge the fate of his fellow-countrymen; it should be an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. So he sold his family estate and borrowed money besides, and fitted up three small ships and enlisted about 200 men. In August, 1567, he sailed to the Guinea coast, armed with a royal commission to kidnap negroes. After an autumn and winter of random cruising he crossed the ocean, and it was when approaching Cuba that he first revealed to his followers his purpose. Little persuasion was required. With eager enthusiasm they turned their prows toward the Land of Easter, and soon came to anchor a few miles to the north of the Spanish fort. The Indians were overjoyed at their arrival. At first they had admired Menendez for his craft and the thoroughness with which he disposed of his enemies. But they had since found ample cause to regret their change of neighbours. On the arrival of Gourgues they flocked to his standard in such numbers that he undertook at once to surprise and overwhelm the Spanish garrison of 400 men. The march was conducted with secrecy and despatch.

The Spaniards, not dreaming that there could be such a thing as a Frenchman within three thousand miles of Florida, had grown careless about their watch, and were completely surprised. At mid-day, just as they had finished their dinner, the French and Indians came swarming upon them from all points of the compass. A wild panic ensued, the works were carried and the defenders slaughtered. Of the whole Spanish force not a man escaped the sword, save some fifteen or twenty whom Gourgues reserved for a more ignominious fate, and to point a moral to this ferocious tale. At the capture of Fort Caroline, it is said that Menendez hanged several of his prisoners to trees near by, and nailed above them a board with the inscription, — “Not as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans.” Gourgues now *Quid pro quo.* led his fifteen or twenty surviving captives to these same trees, and after reading them a severe lecture hanged them all, and nailed above them the inscription, — “Not as to Spaniards, but as to liars and murderers.” The fort was then totally demolished, so that not a beam or a stone was left in place. And so, having done his work in a thorough and business-like way, the redoubtable avenger of blood set sail for France.

In the matter of repartee it cannot be denied that Gourgues was successful. The retort would have had still more point if Menendez had been one of the hanged. But — unfortunately for the requirements of poetic justice — the principal liar and murderer was then in Spain, whence he returned a couple of years later, to rebuild his fort and go on converting the Indians.

These sanguinary events were doubtless of real historic importance. Unpromising as was the beginning of the Florida colony, it was no more so than the earliest attempts to settle Canada and Louisiana. In the brief glimpses that we get of Ribaut we can discern the outlines of a steadfast character that would have been likely to persevere until a solid result had been accomplished. So Menendez seems to have thought when he wrote to the king that by killing this man he believed himself to have dealt a heavier blow to France than if he had beaten an army. No doubt the affair of Matanzas removed what might have become an additional and serious obstacle in the way of the English, when France and England came to struggle for the mastery over North America.¹

As for Spain herself, owing to causes presently to be mentioned, she had about reached the limit of her work in the discovery and conquest of America. For the brief remainder of our story we have to deal chiefly with Frenchmen on land and with Englishmen on sea. The work of demonstrating the character of the continental mass of North

¹ The story of the Huguenots in Florida is superbly told by Francis Parkman, in his *Pioneers of France in the New World*, Boston, 1865. The chief primary sources are Ribaut's *Whole and True Discovery of Terra Florida*, englished and reprinted by Hakluyt in 1582; Basanier, *L'histoire notable de la Floride*, Paris, 1586; Challeux, *Discours de l'histoire de la Floride*, Dieppe, 1566; *La reprise de la Floride par le Cappitaine Gourgues*, printed in the collection of Ternaux-Compans; the Spanish chaplain Mendoza's narrative, contained in the same collection; and the MS. letters of Meneudez to Philip II., preserved in the archives of Seville and first made public by Mr. Parkman.

America and its internal configuration was mostly done by Frenchmen. The expeditions of Soto and Coronado had made a goodly beginning, but as they were not followed up they did not yield so much increase of geographical knowledge as one might suppose.

Knowledge of
North American
geography about
1580.

Two interesting maps made in England early in the last quarter of the sixteenth century represent respectively the wet and dry styles of interpreting the facts as they looked to cartographers at that time. The map dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney by Michael Lok, and published in Hakluyt's "Divers Voyages" in 1582,¹ retains the "Sea of Verrazano," but gives enough continent to include the journeys of Soto and Coronado. In one respect it is interesting as showing just about the extent of North America that was known in 1582, ninety years after the first crossing of the Atlantic by Columbus. The reader will observe that the imaginary islands of Brazil and St. Brandon have not disappeared, but are shifted in position, while the Frislanda of the Zeno narrative appears to the south of Greenland. A conspicuous feature is the large island of Norombega (equivalent to New England with Acadia), separated from the mainland by what is apparently the Hudson river figured as a strait communicating with the St. Lawrence.²

Beyond the limits of the known land, and in the

¹ The copy here given is photographed from the reduced copy in Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, iv. 44.

² It was very commonly believed at that time that the river discovered by Verrazano and afterward to be named for Hudson was such a strait.

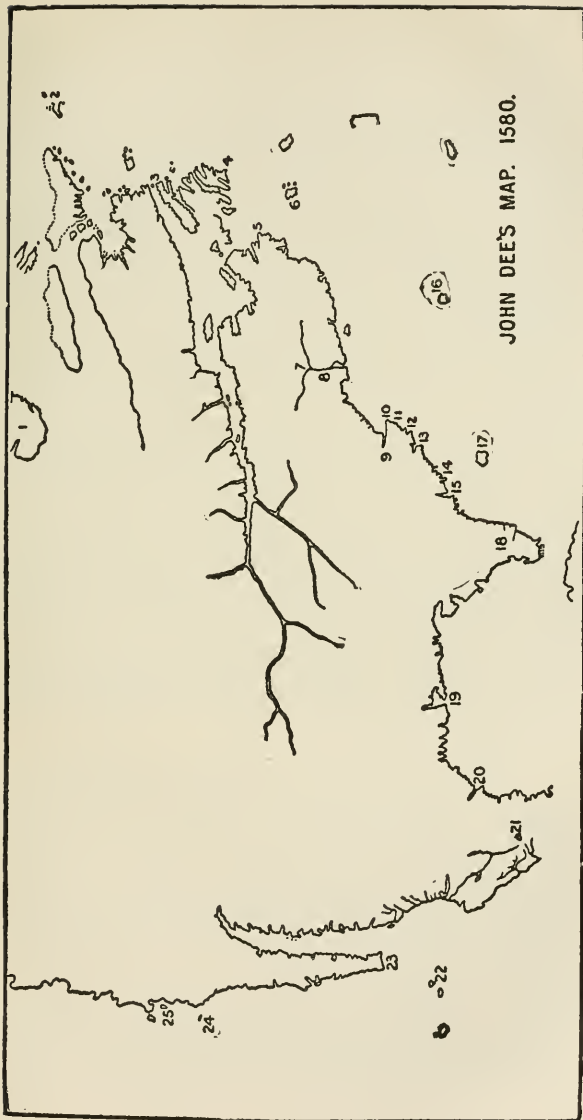
regions which therefore might be either sea or land for aught that Michael Lok could tell, his map places a hypothetical ocean. On the map presented to Queen Elizabeth in 1580 by Dr. John Dee, and now preserved in the British Museum, it is just the other way.¹ Beyond the limits reached by Coronado and Soto and Cartier, this map indicates a vast stretch of unvisited continent, and in its general outline it seems to come nearer to an adequate conception of the dimensions of North America than any of its predecessors.² It is noticeable, too, that although this is a "dry" map there is no indication of a connection between America and Asia. The western hemisphere was emerging in men's minds as a distinct and integral whole. Though people generally were not as yet enlightened to this extent,³ there were many navigators and geographers who were.

¹ The sketch here given is taken from Winsor (iv. 98) after Dr. Kohl's copy in his Washington Collection.

² The legends on Dee's map are as follows:—

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Estotiland. | 14. C. de S. Roman. |
| 2. Drogeo. | 15. C. de Sta Hellena. |
| 3. Belisle. | 16. La Bermuda. |
| 4. C. de Raso. | 17. La Emperada. |
| 5. C. de Bryton. | 18. Terra Florida. |
| 6. S. Brandan. | 19. Rio de Spirito Santo. |
| 7. Norombega. | 20. Rio de Palmas. |
| 8. R. de Gamas. | 21. Mexico. |
| 9. R. de San Antonio. | 22. S. Thoma. |
| 10. C. de Arenas. | 23. C. California. |
| 11. C. de St. Iago. | 24. Ys de Cedri. |
| 12. C. de S. John. | 25. Y del reparo. |
| 13. C. de terra falgar. | |

³ Thomas Morton, of Merrymount, in his *New English Canaan*. Amsterdam, 1637, writes of New England, "what part of this mane continent may be thought to border upon the Country of the Tartars, it is yet unknowne."



JOHN DEE'S MAP. 1580.

The most striking difference between Dr. Dee's map and that of Louis Joliet, to which we shall presently invite the reader's attention, is in the knowledge respecting the St. Lawrence and Mississippi rivers. Dee fails to give the information obtained by Soto's expedition. He interprets the St. Lawrence correctly as a river and not a strait, as many were still inclined to regard it. But this interpretation was purely hypothetical, and included no suspicion of the existence of the Great Lakes,

for in 1580 no one had as yet gone above the site of Montreal. The exploration of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi valleys, with the determination of their relations to each other, was the most important inland work that was done in the course of American discovery. It was done by a succession of great Frenchmen, among whose names those of Champlain and La Salle are the most illustrious; and it was a result of the general system upon which French colonization in America, so different from English colonization, was conducted.

It was not until the wars of religion in France had been brought to an end by Henry IV. that the French succeeded in planting a colony in America. About that time they had begun to feel an interest in the fur trade, the existence of which had been disclosed through transactions with Indians on the coast, and sundry attempts were made at founding a permanent colony. This was at length effected through the persistent energy and self-sacrificing devotion of Samuel de Cham-

Work of the
great French
explorers.

Samuel de
Champlain.

plain, who made a settlement at Quebec in 1608 and became the founder of Canada. Champlain was one of the most remarkable Frenchmen of his day, — a beautiful character, devout and high-minded, brave and tender. Like Columbus and Magellan, like Livingstone in our own time, he had the scientific temperament. He was a good naturalist, and has left us the best descriptions we have of the Indians as they appeared before they had been affected by contact with white men. Champlain explored our northeastern coast quite carefully, and gave to many places the names by which they are still known.¹ He was the first white man to sail on the beautiful lake which now bears his name, and he pushed his explorations so far inland as to discover lakes Ontario and Huron.

It was the peculiar features of French policy in colonization that led to this long stride into the interior of the continent. Those features were developed during the lifetime of Champlain and largely under the influence of his romantic personality. The quaint alliance of missionary and merchant, the black-robed Jesuit and the dealer in peltries; the attempt to reproduce in this uncongenial soil the institutions of a feudalism already doomed in the Old World; the policy of fraternization with the Indians and participation in their everlasting quarrels; the policy of far-reaching exploration and the occupation of vast areas of territory by means of well-chosen military posts; all these features, which

Features of
French coloni-
zation.

¹ As, for example, Mount Desert, which retains a vestige of its old French pronunciation in accenting the final syllable.

give to early Canadian history such fascinating interest,¹ were by no means accidental. They were parts of a deliberate system originating chiefly with Champlain, and representing the romantic notions of empire that were a natural outgrowth of the state of French society in the days of Henry IV. For Champlain to succeed at all, it became necessary for him to accept the alliance of the Jesuits, although his own sympathies were with the national party in France rather than with the Spanish and ultramontane policy of the followers of Loyola. As

Causes which
drew the
French into
the interior.

another condition of success he deemed it necessary to secure the friendship of the Algonquin tribes in the valley of the St. Lawrence, and with this end in view he aided them in defeating the Mohawks near Ticonderoga in July, 1609. The result was that permanent alliance of the Five Nations, first with the Dutch settlers in the valley of the Hudson and afterward with the English, which is one of the great cardinal facts of American history down to 1763. The deadly hostility of the strongest Indian power upon the continent was a feature of the situation with

¹ It is full of romantic incident, and abounds in instructive material for the philosophical student of history. It has been fortunate in finding such a narrator as Mr. Francis Parkman, who is not only one of the most picturesque historians since the days of Herodotus, but likewise an investigator of the highest order for thoroughness and accuracy. The presence of a sound political philosophy, moreover, is felt in all his works. The reader who wishes to pursue the subject of French exploration in North America should begin with Mr. Parkman's *Pioneers of France, Jesuits in North America*, and *La Salle*. A great mass of bibliographical information may be found in Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, vol. iv. chaps. iii.-vi.

which the French had to reckon from the very start, and the consequences were for them in many ways disastrous.¹ But what here concerns us is chiefly the effect of these circumstances in drawing the French at once into the interior of the continent. The hostile Iroquois could and sometimes did effectually cut off the fur trade between the northwestern forests and the lower St. Lawrence; so that for commercial reasons it was necessary for the French to occupy positions flanking the Long House, and this military necessity soon carried their operations forward as far as Lake Huron. As religion and commerce went hand in hand, it was there that those heroic Jesuits, Brébeuf and Lalemant, did their noble work and suffered their frightful martyrdom; and it was in the destruction of this Huron mission that the Iroquois dealt their first staggering blow against the French power in America.

Somewhat later, when it became apparent that at sundry centres between the seashore and the Alleghany mountains a formidable English power was growing up, French schemes involving military control of the interior of the continent assumed still larger dimensions, and a far-reaching work of exploration was undertaken by that man of iron, if ever there was one, Robert Robert de La Salle. Cavelier de La Salle. As Champlain had laid the foundations of Canada and led the way to the

¹ For example, it was the Iroquois who in 1689 defeated the scheme of Louis XIV. for capturing New York and securing to the French the valley of the Hudson. The success of that scheme might have changed the whole current of American history and prevented the formation of our Federal Union.

Great Lakes, so La Salle completed the discovery of the Mississippi and carried the empire of France in theory from the crest of the Alleghanies to that of the unvisited Rocky mountains. In the long interval since 1542 the work of Soto and Coronado had almost lapsed into oblivion. Of the few who remembered their names there were fewer who could have told you where they went or what they did, so that the work of the French explorers from Canada had all the characteristics of novelty. In 1639 Jean Nicollet reached the Wisconsin river, and heard of a great water beyond, which he supposed must be the Pacific ocean, but which was really the Mississippi river. In the following years Jesuit missionaries penetrated as far as Lake Superior, and settlements were made at Sault Sainte Marie and Michillimackinac. In 1669 La Salle made his first western journey, hoping somewhere or somehow to find a key to the solution of the problem of a northwest passage. In the course of this expedition he discovered the Ohio river and perhaps also the Illinois. La Salle's feudal domain of Saint Sulpice, near Montreal, bears to this day the name of La Chine (China), which is said to have been applied to it in derision of this fruitless attempt to find the Pacific and the way to Cathay.¹ By this time the French had heard much about the Mississippi, but so far from recognizing its identity with the Rio de Espiritu Santo of the Spaniards, they were inclined to regard it as flowing into the Pacific, or into the "Vermilion Sea," as they called the narrow gulf between Mexico and Old Califor-

¹ Parkman's *La Salle*, p. 21.

nia. In 1673 this view was practically refuted by the priest Marquette and the fur trader Joliet, who reached the Mississippi by way of the Wisconsin, and sailed down the great river as far as the mouth of the Arkansas.

La Salle now undertook to explore the Mississippi to its mouth, and prepare for the establishment of such military posts as would effectually confirm the authority of Louis XIV. throughout the heart of the continent, and permanently check the northward advance of New Spain and the westward progress of the English colonies. La Salle was a man of cold and haughty demeanour, and had made many enemies by the uncompromising way in which he pushed his schemes. There was a widespread fear that their success might result in a gigantic commercial monopoly. For these and other reasons he drew upon himself the enmity of both fur traders and Jesuits; and, as so often happens with men of vast projects, he had but little ready money. But he found a powerful friend in the viceroy Count Frontenac, and like that picturesque and masterful personage he had rare skill in managing Indians. At length, in 1679, after countless vexations, a vessel was built and launched on the Niagara river, a small party of thirty or forty men were gathered together, and La Salle, having just recovered from a treacherous dose of poison, embarked on his great enterprise. His departure was clouded by the news that his impatient creditors had laid hands upon his Canadian estates, but, nothing daunted, he pushed on through the lakes Erie and Huron, and after many disasters reached

the southern extremity of Lake Michigan. The vessel was now sent back with half the party to Niagara, carrying furs to appease the creditors and purchase additional supplies for the remainder of the journey, while La Salle with his diminished company pushed on to the Illinois, where a fort Fort Crève-cœur. was built and appropriately named Fort Crève-cœur. It was indeed at a heart-breaking moment that it was finished, for so much time had elapsed since the departure of their little ship that all had come to despair of her return. No word ever came from her. Either she foundered on the way, or perhaps her crew may have deserted and scuttled her, carrying off her goods to trade with on their own account.

After a winter of misery, in March, 1680, La Salle started to walk to Montreal. Leaving Fort Crève-cœur and its little garrison under the command of the brave Henri de Tonty, a lieutenant who could always be trusted, A thousand miles in the wilderness. he set out, with four Frenchmen and one Mohegan guide; and these six men fought their way eastward through the wilderness, now floundering through melting snow, now bivouacking in clothes stiff with frost, now stopping to make a bark canoe, now leaping across streams on floating ice-cakes, like the runaway slave-girl in "Uncle Tom's Cabin;" in such plight did they make their way across Michigan and Ontario to the little log-fortress at Niagara Falls. All but La Salle had given out on reaching Lake Erie, and the five sick men were ferried across by him in a canoe. Thus because of the sustaining power of wide-ranging

thoughts and a lofty purpose, the gentleman reared in luxury and trained at college surpassed in endurance the Indian and the hunters inured to the forest. He had need of all this sustaining power, for at Niagara he learned that a ship from France, freighted for him with a cargo worth 20,000 livres, had been wrecked and totally lost in the St. Lawrence. Nothing daunted by this blow he took three fresh men, and completed his march of a thousand miles to Montreal.

There he collected supplies and reinforcements and had returned as far as Fort Frontenac, at the lower end of Lake Ontario, when further woful tidings greeted him. A message from the fort so well named "Heartbreak" arrived in July. The garrison had mutinied and pulled that blockhouse to pieces, and made their way back through Michigan. Recruiting their ranks with other worthless freebooters, they had plundered the station at Niagara, and their canoes were now cruising on Lake Ontario in the hope of ^{Defeat of the mutineers.} crowning their work with the murder of La Salle. These wretches, however, fell into their own pit. The indomitable commander's canoes were soon swarming on the lake, and he was not long in overtaking and capturing the mutineers, whom he sent in chains to the viceroy. La Salle now kept on his way to the Illinois river, intending to rebuild his fort and hoping to rescue Tonty with the few faithful followers who had survived the mutiny. That little party had found shelter among the Illinois Indians; but during the summer of 1680 the great village of the Illinois was sacked by the

Iroquois, and the hard-pressed Frenchmen retreated up the western shore of Lake Michigan Sack of the Illinois town. as far as Green Bay. When La Salle reached the Illinois he found nothing but the horrible vestiges of fiery torments and cannibal feasts. Without delay he set to work to secure the friendship and alliance of the western tribes, on the basis of their common enmity to the Iroquois. After thus spending the winter to good purpose, he set out again for Canada, in May, 1681, to arrange his affairs and obtain fresh resources. At the outlet of Lake Michigan he fell in with his friend Tonty, and together they paddled their canoes a thousand miles, and so came to Fort Frontenac.

The enemies of the great explorer had grown merry over his apparent discomfiture, but his stubborn courage at length vanquished the adverse fates, and on the next venture things went smoothly. In the autumn he started with a fleet of canoes, passed up the lakes from Ontario to the head of Michigan, crossed the narrow portage from the Chicago river to the Illinois, Descent of the Mississippi, 1682. and thence coming out upon the Mississippi glided down to its mouth. On the 9th of April, 1682, the fleurs-de-lis were duly planted, and all the country drained by the great river and its tributaries, a country vaster than La Salle imagined, was declared to be the property of the king of France, and named for him Louisiana.

Returning up the Mississippi after this triumph, La Salle established a small fortified post on the Illinois river, which he called St. Louis. Leaving

Tonty in command there, he lost no time in returning to France for means to complete his far-reaching scheme. A colony was to be founded at or near the mouth of the Mississippi, and a line of military posts was to connect it with Canada. La Salle was well received by the king, and a fine expedition was fitted out, but everything was ruined by the incompetence or ill fortune of the naval commander, Beaujeu. The intention was to sail directly to the mouth of the Mississippi, but the pilots missed it and passed beyond ; some of the ships were wrecked on the coast of Texas ; the captain, beset by foul weather and pirates, disappeared with the rest, and was seen no more ; and two years of misery followed. At last, in March, 1687, La Salle started on foot in search of the Mississippi, hoping to ascend it and find succour at Tonty's fort ; but he had scarcely set out with this forlorn hope when two or three mutinous wretches skulked in ambush and shot him dead.

La Salle's last expedition, 1687.

These explorations of Joliet, Marquette, and La Salle opened up the centre of the continent, and in the map dedicated by Joliet to Count Frontenac, in 1673,¹ we see a marked advance be-

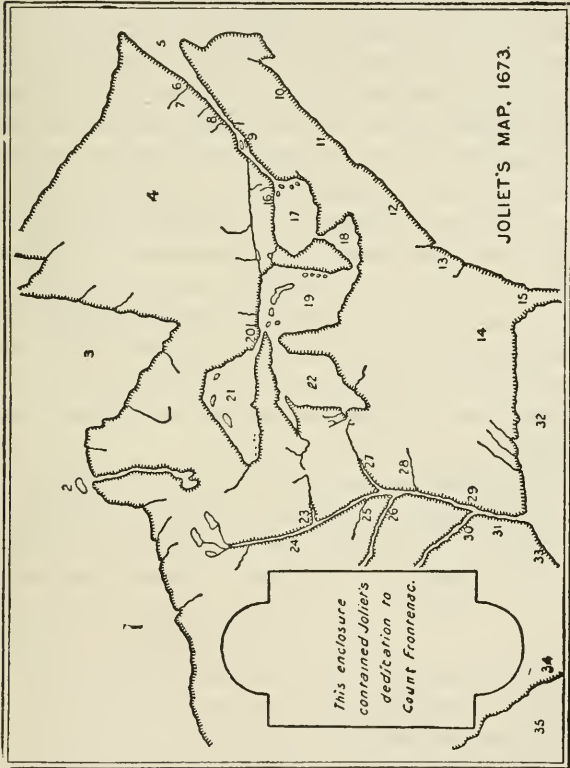
¹ The sketch here given is reduced from the sketch in Winsor, iv. 208, after the coloured facsimile accompanying Gravier's *Étude sur une carte inconnue*, Paris, 1879. There is another coloured facsimile in the *Magazine of American History*, vol. ix. p. 273, in connection with the excellent bibliographical articles by Mr. Appleton Griffin, of the Boston Public Library, on the discovery of the Mississippi, pp. 190-199, 273-280. This is the earliest map of the Mississippi valley that is based upon real knowledge. The legends are as follows : —

yond Dr. Dee's map of 1580. The known part of the continent of North America represented has come to be very large, but Joliet has no suspicion of the huge dimensions of the portion west of the Mississippi, and his style of theorizing is oceanic in so far as he fills up the unknown spaces with water rather than land. A freezing ocean usurps the place of northwestern British America, and Hudson Bay appears as an open gulf in this ocean. From this great inland sea, forever memorable for Henry Hudson's wild and tragic fate, and from the shores of Lake Superior, rival lines of fur trade were presently to carry the knowledge and influence of the white men still farther into the unknown West. About the time that La Salle was starting from Fort Crèvecœur for Montreal, the Recollet friar, Louis de Hennepin, with two companions, set out from the same point with La Salle's directions

Hennepin in the Minnesota country.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Mer Glaciale. | 22. Lac des Illinois ou Missihiganin. |
| 2. Les sauvages habitent cette isle. | 23. Riviere Miskonsing. |
| 3. Baye d'Hudson. | 24. Riviere de Buade. |
| 4. Labrador. | 25. Paoutet, Maha, Atontauka, Illinois, Peonaria, 300 cabanes, 180 canots de bois de 50 pieds de long. |
| 5. Le fleuve de St. Laurent. | 26. Minongio, Pani, Ouchagé, Kansa, Missouri. |
| 6. Tadoussac. | 27. Riviere de la Divine ou l'Outrelaize. |
| 7. Le Saguenay. | 28. Riv. Ouabouskigou [i. e. Ohio]. |
| 8. Quebec. | 29. Akansea sauvages. |
| 9. Montroyal. | 30. Riviere Basire. |
| 10. Acadie. | 31. Tapensa sauvages. |
| 11. Baston [i. e. Boston]. | 32. Le Sein de Mexique. |
| 12. Nouvelle Suède. | 33. Le Mexique. |
| 13. La Virginie. | 34. La Nouvelle Granade. |
| 14. La Floride. | 35. Mer Vermeille, ou est la Califournie, par ou on peut aller au Perou, au Japon, et à la Chine. |
| 15. Cap de la Floride. | |
| 16. Fort de Frontenac. | |
| 17. Lac Frontenac ou Ontario. | |
| 18. Lac Erie. | |
| 19. Lac Huron. | |
| 20. Le Sault Ste Marie. | |
| 21. Lac Supérieur. | |

to explore the Illinois river to its mouth. The little party were captured by Sioux Indians and carried off into the Minnesota country as far as



the falls of St. Anthony and beyond. Hennepin's pocket compass was regarded by these redskins as potent medicine, so that he was adopted by an old chief and held in high esteem. After many romantic adventures he found his way back to

Montreal, and indeed to Paris, where in 1683 he published a narrative of his experiences.¹ What he had done and suffered entitled him to a fair meed of fame, but in 1697, after La Salle had been ten years dead, and after the silly friar had passed into the service of England, he published another account in which he declared that before his capture by the Sioux he had descended the Mississippi river to its mouth and returned to the spot where he was captured.² The impudent lie was very easily exposed, and Father Hennepin's good fame was ruined. His genuine adventures, however, in which the descriptions can be verified, are none the less interesting to the historian; and from that time forth the French began to become familiar with the Lake Superior country, and to extend their alliances among the northwestern Indians.

About the same time a rival claim to the profits of the fur trade was set up by the English. It was the time when Charles II. was so lavish with his grants of American territories and their produce, without much heeding what or where they were, or to whom they belonged. In 1670 he granted to his cousin Prince Rupert
The Hudson Bay Company. and several other noblemen "the sole trade and commerce of all those seas, straits, bays,

¹ Hennepin, *Description de la Louisiane, nouvellement découverte*, Paris, 1683.

² Hennepin, *Nouvelle découverte d'un très grand pays situé dans l'Amérique, entre le Nouveau Mexique et la Mer Glaciale*, Utrecht, 1697 [dedicated to King William III.]. It has the earliest known engraved plate showing Niagara Falls, and a fine map containing results of explorations north of Lake Superior

rivers, lakes, creeks, and sounds lying within the entrance of Hudson's Straits, with all the lands, countries, and territories upon the coasts and confines" of the same. This was the beginning of the Hudson Bay Company, and from that day until lately the vast and vaguely defined country which has been the scene of its operations has been known as "Rupert's Land." From that day to this it has been a huge "preserve for fur-bearing animals and for Indians who might hunt and trap them," a natural home for beavers, "otters, martens, musk-rats, and all the other species of amphibious creatures, with countless herds of buffaloes, moose, bears, deer, foxes, and wolves." In the time of which we are treating, these beasts had freely multiplied, "the aborigines killing only enough of them for their clothing and subsistence till the greed of traffic threatened their complete extirpation."¹ Upon the shores of Hudson Bay the agents of the company set up fortified trading stations and dealt with the tribes in the interior. These proceedings aroused the jealous wrath of the French, and furnished occasions for scrimmages in the wilderness and diplomatic wrangling at Westminster and Versailles. More than once in those overbearing days of Louis XIV. the English forts were knocked to pieces by war parties from Canada; but after the treaty of Utrecht this sort of thing became less common.

In the great war which that treaty of Utrecht ended, a brave young lieutenant, named Pierre

¹ See the admirable description of Rupert's Land by Dr. George Ellis, in Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, viii. 12.

Gaultier de Varennes, was wounded and left for dead on the field of Malplaquet, but recovered and lived to play a part in American history. He was a native of Three Rivers in Canada, and returned thither after the war, assuming for some reason the name of La Vérendrye, by which he has since been known. About 1728 La Vérendrye, being in command of a fort to the north of Lake Superior, was led by Indian reports to believe that the western ocean could be reached by journeys in canoes and on foot from that point. He was empowered to make the experiment at his own expense and risk, and was promised a monopoly of the fur trade in the countries he should discover. This arrangement set all the traders against him, and the problem assumed very much the same form as that with which La Salle had struggled. Nine years were consumed in preliminary work, in the course of which a wide territory was explored and a chain of forts erected from the Lake of the Woods to the mouth of the river Saskatchewan. From this region La Vérendrye made his way to the Mandan villages on the Missouri; and thence his two sons, taking up the work while he was temporarily disabled, succeeded in reaching the Bighorn range of the Rocky mountains on New Year's day, 1743. At this point, marvelling at the interminable extent of the continent and believing that they must at last be near the Pacific, though they were scarcely within a thousand miles of it, they felt obliged to turn back. Another expedition was contemplated, but

French discovery of the Rocky mountains, 1743.

by this time so many jealousies had been aroused that the remaining energies of the family La Vérendrye were frittered away. The Hudson Bay Company incited the Indians of the Saskatchewan region to hostilities against the French; and it was not long before all their romantic schemes were swallowed up in the English conquest of Canada.¹

The crossing of the continent was not completed until the beginning of the nineteenth century. After President Jefferson's purchase of the Louisiana territory from France had carried the western frontier of the United States up to the crests of the Rocky mountains, the question as to what power belonged the Oregon territory beyond remained undecided. It is not necessary to encumber our narrative with a statement of this complicated question.²

Discovery of
the Columbia
river, 1792.

It is enough to observe that in 1792 Captain Robert Gray, in the ship *Columbia*, of Boston, in the course of a voyage around the world, ascended for some distance the magnificent river to which he gave the name of his vessel. It was only fourteen years since that part of the North American coast had been mapped out by the famous Captain Cook, but neither he nor Vancouver, who was on that coast in the same year with Gray, discovered the Columbia river. Gray was unquestionably the first white man to enter it and to recognize it as

¹ In writing this paragraph I am under obligations to Mr. Parkman's paper on "The Discovery of the Rocky Mountains," *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1888.

² For a statement of it, see Hubert Bancroft's *Northwest Coast*, vol. i.; Barrows's *Oregon*; Vancouver's *Voyage of Discovery*, London, 1798; Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, vii. 555-562.

an immense river and not a mere arm of the sea ; and upon the strength of this discovery the United States laid claim to the area drained by the Columbia. To support this claim by the further exploration of the valley, and possibly also to determine by inspection of the country what bearings, if any, the purchase of Louisiana might have upon the question, Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark¹ were sent out, with thirty-two men, upon the same enterprise that had been attempted by La Vérendrye and his sons. Lewis and Clark, like the Frenchmen, took their final start from one of the Mandan villages. From April 7 till August 11, 1806, they worked up the Missouri river and its Jefferson fork in boats and canoes, and then made their way through the mountains to the headwaters of the Columbia, down which they sailed to its mouth, and came out upon the Pacific on the 7th of November, after a journey of nearly 4,000 miles from the confluence of the Mississippi with the Missouri. The progress across the continent, begun by Champlain, was thus completed, two hundred years later, by Lewis and Clark.

First crossing
of the conti-
nent, 1806.

The final proof of the separation of North America from Asia by Vitus Bering was an incident in the general history of arctic exploration. When the new continent from Patagonia to Labrador came to be recognized as a barrier in the way to the Indies, the search for a northwest passage

¹ He was brother to George Rogers Clark, conqueror of the Northwest Territory.

necessarily became restricted to the arctic regions, and attempts were also made to find a northeast passage around Siberia into the Pacific. This work was begun by the English and Dutch, at about the time when Spanish activity in discovery and colonization was coming to a standstill. There is much meaning in the simultaneous expeditions of Drake and Frobisher, just at the time of Queen Elizabeth's alliance with the revolted Netherlands. In the reign of Elizabeth's grandfather England had for a moment laid a hand upon North America; she now went far toward encompassing it, and in the voyage of Drake, as in that of Cabot, a note of prophecy was sounded. In the years 1577-80 Drake passed the strait of Magellan, followed the coast northward as far as some point in northern California or southern Oregon, and took formal possession of that region, calling it New Albion. Thence he crossed the Pacific directly to the Moluccas, a much shorter transit than that of Magellan, and thence returned to England by way of the Cape of Good Hope. This was the second circumnavigation of the earth. Its effect upon the geographical knowledge of North America was to sustain the continental theory indicated upon Dr. Dee's map of 1580.¹ About the same time, in 1576-78, Sir Martin Frobisher in three

Search for a
Northwest
Passage.

Drake and
Frobisher.

¹ See Drake's *World Encompassed*, ed. Vaux, London, 1854 (Hakluyt Soc.). There is a story that a Greek sailor, Apostolos Valerianos, who had served in the Spanish marine under the name of Juan de la Fuca, came after Drake in 1592, and discovered the strait which bears that name. See Peschel, *Geschichte der Erdkunde*, bd. i. p. 273.

voyages entered the strait which bears his name and that which is called after Hudson, in search of a passage to Cathay.¹

The second attempt in these arctic waters was made by that scientific sailor, John Davis, who in 1585-87 penetrated as far as latitude 72° 12' and discovered the Cumberland islands.² Attention was at the same time paid to the ocean between Greenland and Norway, both by the Muscovy Company in London, of which Dr. Dee was now one of the official advisers, and by Dutch navigators, under the impulse and guidance of the eminent Flemish merchant, Balthasar Moucheron. In 1594-96 William Barentz discovered Spitzbergen and thoroughly explored Nova Zembla, but found little promise of a route to Cathay in that direction.³ Then came Henry Hudson, grandson of one of the founders of the Muscovy Company. In 1607 and 1608 he made two voyages in the service of that company. In the first he tried to penetrate between Greenland and Spitzbergen and strike boldly across the North Pole; in the second he tried to pass between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla. His third voyage was made in 1609, in that famous little eighty-ton craft the Half-Moon, and in the service of the Dutch East India Company.

¹ See Frobisher's *Three Voyages*, ed. Collinson, London, 1867 (Hakluyt Soc.).

² See Davis's *Voyages and Works on Navigation*, ed. A. H. Markham, London, 1880 (Hakluyt Soc.).

³ See Motley's *United Netherlands*, vol. iii. pp. 552-576; Gerrit de Veer, *Three Voyages to the Northeast*, ed. Koolemans Beynen, London, 1876 (Hakluyt Soc.).

He had with him some letters which his friend Captain John Smith had sent him from Virginia, in which allusion was made to the great river which, as we now know, had already been visited by Verrazano and Gomez, and probably also by sporadic French traders, who may have ascended it as far as the mouth of the Mohawk in quest of peltries.¹ It seemed to Smith, from what he had heard, that this water might be a strait leading into a western ocean. When Hudson reached Nova Zembla, he found the sea as full of ice as before, and thereupon, in excess of his instructions, he faced about and stood across the Atlantic, in the hope of finding his northwest passage at about the fortieth parallel. His exploration of the river which has since borne his name served to turn the attention of Dutch merchants to the fur trade, and thus led to the settlement of New Netherland, while at the same time it proved that no passage to Cathay was to be found in that direction. In the following year Hudson had returned to the English service, and in a further search for the

¹ See Weise's *Discoveries of America*, New York, 1884, chap. xi. Mr. Weise suggests that the name *Terre de Norumbega* may be a corruption of *Terre d'Anormée Berge*, i. e. "Land of the Grand Scarp," from the escarpment of palisaded cliffs which is the most striking feature as one passes by the upper part of Manhattan island. See the name Anorumbega on Mercator's map, 1541, above, p. 153. Thevet (1556) says that *Norombègue* is a name given to the Grand River by the French. Laudonnière (1564) has it *Norumberge*. The more common opinion is that the Norumbega river was the Penobscot, and that the name is a presumed Indian word *Aranbega*, but this is doubtful. In the loose nomenclature of the time the name Norumbega may have been applied now to the Penobscot and now to the Hudson, as it was sometimes to the whole country between them.

passage he found his way into that vast inland sea which is at once "his tomb and his monument." In midsummer of 1611 he was turned adrift in an open boat by his mutinous crew and abandoned on that gloomy waste of waters.¹

The result of this memorable career, embraced as it was within four short years, was to dispel illusory hopes in many directions, and limit the search to the only really available route — the one which Hudson would probably have tried next — by way of the strait discovered by Davis. This route was resumed in 1615 by William Baffin, who left his name upon a long stretch of sea beyond that explored by Davis, and reached the 78th parallel, discovering Jones and Lancaster sounds, as well as the sound which commemorates the name of the merchant prince, Sir Thomas Smith, first governor of the East India Company.² Nothing more was accomplished in this direction until Sir John Ross, in 1818, opened the modern era of arctic exploration.³

¹ See Asher's *Henry Hudson the Navigator*, London, 1860 (Hakluyt Soc.); Read's *Historical Inquiry concerning Henry Hudson*, Albany, 1866; De Costa, *Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson*, Albany, 1869. Portuguese sailors seem to have entered the bay called after Hudson as early as 1558-69; see Asher, p. cxliv.

² See Markham's *Voyages of William Baffin*, London, 1881 (Hakluyt Soc.). For a brief account of Sir Thomas Smith (or Smythe) see Fox-Bourne, *English Merchants*, vol. i. pp. 315-317; there is a portrait of him in Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 94.

³ Just as this final chapter goes to press I have received the sheets of Winsor's *Christopher Columbus*, a few days in advance of publication. On page 651 he cites the unsuccessful voyages of Luke Fox and Thomas James in Hudson's Bay in 1631 as checking further efforts in this direction.

One consequence of these voyages was to abolish the notion of a connection between Greenland and Europe, and to establish the outlines of the northeastern coast of North America, in such wise as to suggest, in the minds of the few northern scholars who knew anything about the Vinland traditions, the correct association of the idea of Vinland with the idea of America. As I have already observed, there was nothing to suggest any such association of ideas until the period of the four great navigators, Frobisher, Davis, Hudson, and Baffin; at that period we begin to catch glimpses of it, dimly and dubiously in 1570 with Stephanius, briefly but distinctly in 1610 with Arngrim Jonsson;¹ and at last in 1705 a general interest in the subject was awakened by Torfæus.

Effect upon
the conception
of Vinland.

While Frobisher and his successors were groping for a northwest passage to Cathay, the Russians were steadily advancing by overland conquests toward that land of promise. Between 1560 and 1580 the Cossack Irmak crossed the Ural mountains and conquered Siberia as far as the Obi river. Thence, urged on by the quest for gold and peltries, and the need for subduing unruly neighbours, the Russian arms pressed eastward, until in 1706 the peninsula of Kamtchatka was added to their domains.

Russian con-
quest of
Siberia.

At that period the northern Pacific and the wild coasts on either side of it were still a region of mystery. On the American side nothing was known north of Drake's "New Albion," on the

¹ See above, vol. i. p. 394.

Asiatic side nothing north of Japan. Some still believed that the two continents were joined together; others held that they were separated by a strait, for how else could there be a Northwest Passage?¹ Peter the Great wished to settle such questions and ascertain the metes and bounds of his empire, and in 1724, shortly before his death, he appointed the Danish captain Vitus Bering² to the command of an expedition for exploring the eastern shores of the Kamtchatka and Chukchi peninsulas, to see if any strait could be found there. In one respect this was an enterprise of unparalleled difficulty, for the starting point of the navigation was some 5,000 miles distant from St. Petersburg, and more than half this distance was through a howling wilderness. Many were the obstacles that had to be surmounted before Bering could build and launch his stout little ship, the *Gabriel*, in the early summer of 1728. The point from which he started was not far from Cape Kamtchatka. He bore to the northward, keeping in sight of the coast, and on the 11th of August sighted on the starboard the island which he named St. Lawrence. On the 14th he

¹ The wish was father to the thought, and the so-called strait of Anian appears on many old maps, beginning with Mercator's chart of 1569. Some maps have also a gulf of Anian; possibly from a misunderstanding of the gulf of An-nan (i. e. Tongking) mentioned in a passage interpolated into Marco Polo, bk. iii. chap. iv. See Lauridsen's *Vitus Bering*, p. 202. But this explanation is doubtful.

² Until lately the Danish name has appeared in English with a German and incorrect spelling, as *Behring*. The best book on this navigator is Lauridsen's *Vitus Bering*, Chicago, 1889, translated by Professor Julius Olson, of the University of Wisconsin.

left East Cape receding astern, and seemed to have open sea on both sides of him, for he did not descry the American coast

Discovery of
Bering strait,
1728.

about forty miles distant. After a day's sail into the Arctic ocean, he turned and passed back through the strait without seeing the opposite coast. He believed, and rightly as it happened, that he had found an end to Asia, and completed the proof of the existence of a continuous sea-coast from the mouth of the Lena river to Kamtchatka. A gigantic enterprise was now set on foot. The Siberian coast was to be charted from Nova Zembla to the Lena; Japan was to be reached from the north; and the western shore of America was to be discovered and explored. As to the latter part, with which we are here concerned, a Russian officer, Gvosdjeff, sailed into Bering's strait in 1732 and saw the American coast.¹

Before more extensive work could be done it was necessary to build the town of Petropavlovsk, in Kamtchatka, as a base of operations. From that point the two ships St. Peter and St. Paul, under Bering's command, set sail in the summer of 1741. At first they took a southeasterly course in order to find an imag-

Bering's discovery of
Alaska, 1741.

inary "Gamaland," which was by a few theorizers supposed to lie in mid-Pacific, east of Japan. Thus they missed the Aleutian islands. After reaching latitude 46°, not far from the 180th meridian, they gave up the search for this figment of fancy, and steering northeasterly at length reached the Alaska coast under the volcano St. Elias. On the more

¹ Lauridsen, *op. cit.* p. 130.

direct return voyage, which took them through the Aleutian archipelago, they encountered fierce storms, with the added horrors of famine and scurvy. When they came to the island known as Bering's, not more than a hundred miles from the Kamtchatka coast, they were cast ashore, and there the gallant Bering succumbed to scurvy and ague, and died in his sixtieth year. Such were the expeditions that completed the discovery of North America as a distinct and separate continent, and gave to Russia for a time an American territory as spacious as France and Germany together.

The work of Vitus Bering may be regarded as the natural conclusion of that long chapter in the history of discovery which began with Ponce de Leon's first visit to the Land of Easter. When Bering and Gvosdjeff saw the two sides of the strait that separates America from Asia, quite enough had been done to reveal the general outlines and to suggest the broadness of the former continent, although many years were still to elapse before anybody crossed it from ocean to ocean. The discovery of the whole length of the Mississippi, with its voluminous tributaries, indicating an extensive drainage area to the west of that river, the information gained in the course of trade by the Hudson Bay Company, the stretch of arctic coast explored by Baffin, and finally the discovery of Bering strait, furnished points enough to give one a fairly correct idea of North America as a distinct and integral mass of land, even though there was still

The discovery of America was a gradual development.

room for error, here and there, with regard to its dimensions. Our story impresses upon us quite forcibly the fact that the work of discovery has been a gradual and orderly development. Such must necessarily be the case. Facts newly presented to the mind must be assimilated to the pre-existing stock of knowledge, and in the process an extensive destruction of wrong or inadequate conceptions takes place; and this sort of thing takes a great deal of time, especially since the new facts can be obtained only by long voyages in unknown seas, or tramps through the trackless wilderness, at great cost of life and treasure. The Discovery of America may be regarded in one sense as a unique event, but it must likewise be regarded as a long and multifarious process. The unique event was the crossing of the Sea of Darkness in 1492. It established a true and permanent contact between the eastern and western halves of our planet, and brought together the two streams of human life that had flowed in separate channels ever since the Glacial period. No ingenuity of argument can take from Columbus the glory of an achievement which has, and can have, no parallel in the whole career of mankind. It was a thing that could be done but once. On the other hand, when we regard the Discovery as a long and multifarious process, it is only by a decision more or less arbitrary that we can say when it began or when it ended. It emerged from a complex group of facts and theories, and was accomplished through a multitude of enterprises in all quarters of the globe. We cannot understand its beginnings without pay-

ing due heed to the speculations of Claudius Ptolemy at Alexandria in the second century of our era, and to the wanderings of Rubruquis in Tartary in the thirteenth; nor can we describe its consummation without recalling to memory the motives and results of cruises in the Malay archipelago and journeys through the snows of Siberia. For our general purpose, however, it is enough to observe that a period of two hundred years just about carries us from Dias and Columbus to Joliet and La Salle, or from Ponce de Leon to Vitus Bering. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries carried far toward completion the work of 1492.

In our brief survey of the work of discovery during those two centuries, one striking contrast forces itself upon our attention. We began this chapter in company with Spaniards; toward its close our comrades have been chiefly Frenchmen and Englishmen. In the days of Cortes and Magellan, the Spain of Charles V. was the foremost power in the world; in the days of La Salle the France of Louis XIV. was the foremost power. The last years of Louis XIV. saw Spain, far sunken from her old preëminence, furnishing the bone of contention between France and England in the first of the two great struggles which won for England the foremost place. As regards America, it may be observed that from 1492 until about 1570 the exploring and colonizing activity of Spain was immense, insomuch that upon the southern half of

Cessation of Spanish exploring and colonizing activity after about 1570.

the New World it has left its stamp forever, so that to-day the Spanish is one of the few imperial languages. After 1570 this wonderful manifestation of Spanish energy practically ceased, and this is a fact of supreme importance in the history of North America. But for this abrupt cessation of Spanish energy the English settlements at Jamestown and Plymouth would have been in quite as dangerous a position as Ribaut's colony in Florida. It is worth while, therefore, to notice one or two eloquent items of chronology. In 1492 Spain was relieved of a task which had long absorbed all her vital energies, the work of freeing her soil from the dominion of the Moors. In 1570 she was entering upon another task which not only absorbed but wellnigh exhausted her energies, the attempt to suppress Protestantism in Europe and to subdue the revolted Netherlands. When she had once put her hand to this work, Spain had no surplus vitality left for extending her sway in America. She was scarcely able to maintain the ground she had already occupied; she could not defend the West Indies against the buccaneers, and the end of the seventeenth century saw Hispaniola in the hands of France and Jamaica in the hands of England, and various lesser Antilles seized by the one or the other of these two powers.

It is furthermore worthy of notice that there was a clear causal connection between the task which Spain finished in 1492 and that upon which she entered a little before 1570. The transition from the crusade against the infidel to the crusade against the heretic was easy, and in her case almost

inevitable. The effects of the long Moorish war upon Spanish character and Spanish policy have often been pointed out. The Spaniard of the sixteenth century was what eight hundred years of terrible warfare, for home and for religion, had made him. During a period as long as that which in English history has now elapsed since the death of William the Conqueror, the Mussulman invaders held sway in some part of the Spanish peninsula; yet they never succeeded in entering into any sort of political union with the native inhabitants. From first to last they behaved as invaders and were treated as invaders, their career in this respect forming a curious and instructive parallel to that of the Turks in eastern Europe, though as a people the Arab-Moors were of far higher type than Turks. Entering Spain in 711, they soon conquered the whole peninsula. From this deluge about a century later the Christian kingdom of Leon began to emerge. By the middle of the eleventh century the Spaniards had regained half their country, and the Mahometans were placed upon the defensive. By the middle of the thirteenth, the Moorish dominion became restricted to the kingdom of Granada; and finally we have seen Granada subdued in the same year in which Columbus discovered America. During all this period, from 711 to 1492, the years when warfare was not going on along the fluctuating frontier between Spaniards and Moor were few indeed. Among the Spaniards industrial life was almost destroyed. The way to obtain the necessaries of life was to make raids

The long struggle between Spaniards and Moors.

upon the Mussulmans, and the career of the bandit became glorified. In the central and southern provinces, on the other hand, the Moors developed a remarkable industrial civilization, surpassing anything to be seen in Christian Europe except in Constantinople down to the end of the twelfth century. As the frontier moved gradually southward, with the advance of the Christians, the industrious Mussulman population in large part became converted to Christianity, and went on cultivating the arts of life. These converts, who were known as Moriscoes, were always despised and ill-treated by the Spaniards. Such a state of things continued to throw discredit upon labour. Spinning and weaving and tilling the soil were regarded as fit occupations for unclean Moriscoes. It was the prerogative of a Christian Spaniard to appropriate the fruits of other people's labour; and we have seen this feeling at work in many details of the Spanish conquest in America. Not that it was at all peculiar to Spaniards. Devices for appropriating the fruits of other people's labour have in all countries been multifarious, from tomahawks to tariffs. But the circumstances of Spanish history were such as to cast upon labour a stigma especially strong by associating it with men of alien race and faith who were scarcely regarded as possessing any rights that Christians should feel bound to respect.

Its effect in
throwing dis-
credit upon
labour.

This prolonged warfare had other effects. It combined the features of a crusade with those of a fight for the recovery of one's patrimony. The general effect of the great Crusades, which brought

different Christian peoples in contact with each other and opened their eyes to many excellent features in eastern civilization, was an education for Europe. From these liberalizing experiences the Spanish peninsula was in great measure cut off. It was absorbed in its own private crusade, and there was altogether too much of it. While other nations occasionally turned their attention to wars of religion, Spain had no attention left for anything else. It was one long agony through five-and-twenty generations, until the intruder was ousted. Thus, although Visigothic institutions smacked of sturdy freedom as much as those of any other Germanic people, nevertheless this unceasing militancy trained the Spaniards for despotism. For the same reason the church acquired more overweening power than anywhere else in Europe. To the mediæval Spaniard orthodoxy was practically synonymous with patriotism, while heresy like manual industry was a mark of the hated race. Unity in faith came to be regarded as an object to secure which no sacrifices whatever could be deemed too great. When, therefore, the Protestant Reformation came in the sixteenth century, its ideas and its methods were less intelligible to Spaniards than to any other European people. By nature this land of mediæval ideas was thus marked out as the chief antagonist of the Reformation; and when it was attempted to extend to the Netherlands the odious measures that were endured in Spain, the ensuing revolt called forth all the power that Philip II. could summon to suppress it. To overthrow the rebellious heretic seemed as

Its effect in
strengthening
religious
bigotry.

sacred a duty as to expel the Moslem. A crusade against heresy, headed by Pope Innocent III. and Philip Augustus of France, had once been crowned with success, and one of the most grewsome chapters in human history had been written in blood at Beziers and Carcassonne. Such a crusade did Spain attempt against the Netherlands, until England, too, was drawn into the lists against her, and the crisis was reached in 1588, in the destruction of the Invincible Armada, a military overthrow scarcely paralleled until the wreck of Napoleon's army in Russia.

Spain's crusade in the Netherlands.

The defeat of the Armada was such a blow to Spain's prestige that France, England, and the Netherlands soon proceeded to their work of colonization in North America with little fear of hindrance. But while France and England paid much attention to America, the Dutch paid comparatively little, and for a reason that is closely linked with our general subject. The attention of the Dutch was chiefly concentrated upon the East Indies. After the Turks had cut off the Mediterranean routes, and Portugal had gained control of the Asiatic trade, the great Netherland towns began to have relatively fewer overland dealings with Venice and Genoa, and more and more maritime dealings with Lisbon. The change favoured the Dutch more than the Flemish provinces, by reason of the greater length of the Dutch coast line. By dint of marvellous energy and skill the coast of Holland and Zealand became virtually one vast seaport, a

Effects of oceanic discovery in developing Dutch trade.

distributing centre for the whole north of Europe, and during the sixteenth century the volume of Dutch merchant shipping was rapidly and steadily increased. Now it happened in 1578 that the King Sebastian of Portugal, who has furnished a theme for so many romantic legends, led an army into Morocco, and there was killed in battle. Philip II. forthwith declared the throne of Portugal vacant, and in 1580 seized the kingdom for himself. This act abruptly cut off the East India trade of the Dutch, and at the same time it made all the Portuguese colonies dependencies of Spain, and thus left the Dutch free to attack them wherever they saw fit. Borgia's meridian was thus at last wiped out.

After 1588 the Dutch proceeded at once to invade the colonial world of Portugal. They soon established themselves in Java and Sumatra, and by 1607 they had gained complete possession of the Molucca islands. This was the beginning of the empire which Holland possesses to-day in the East Indies, with a rich territory four times as large as France, a population of 30,000,000, and a lucrative trade. From this blow Portugal never recovered. She regained her independence in 1640, but has never since shown the buoyant vigour that made the days of Prince Henry the Navigator and of Albuquerque so remarkable.

The overthrow of the Invincible Armada thus marks the downfall of maritime power for both the rival nations of the Iberian peninsula. It would be wrong, however, to attribute such an enduring calamity to a single great naval defeat, or even to

Conquest of
the Portu-
guese Indies
by the Dutch.

the exhausting effects of the unsuccessful war against the Dutch. A healthy nation quickly repairs the damage wrought by a military catastrophe, but Spain was not in a healthy condition. The overmastering desire to put down heresy, to expel the "accursed thing," possessed her. The struggle with the Moors had brought this semi-suicidal craving to a height which it never reached with any other European nation. In the present narrative we have had occasion to observe that as soon as Ferdinand and Isabella had finished the conquest of Granada, they tried to add to the completeness of their triumph by driving all Jews from their homes and seizing their goods. In times past, the conquered Moors had in great numbers embraced Christianity, but it was with difficulty that the Spaniards tolerated the presence of these Moriscoes in their country.¹ In 1568, the Moriscoes, goaded by ill treatment, rose in rebellion among the mountains of Granada, and it took three years of obstinate fighting to bring them to terms. Their defeat was so crushing that they ceased to be dangerous politically, but their orthodoxy was gravely suspected. In 1602 the archbishop of Valencia proposed that

Disastrous
results of per-
secuting here-
tics.

¹ On the rich and important subject of the Moors in Spain, see Al Makkari, *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, transl. by Gayangos, London, 1840, 2 vols. in quarto; Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes en España*, Paris, 1840 (to be read with caution); Coppée, *Conquest of Spain by the Arab-Moors*, Boston, 1881, 2 vols.; Reinaud, *Invasions des Sarrazins en France*, Paris, 1836; Chénier, *Recherches historiques sur les Maures*, Paris, 1787, 3 vols.; Circourt, *Histoire des Mores Mudejares et des Morisques*, Paris, 1846, 3 vols.; see, also, with reference to the Jews, Grætz, *Les Juifs d'Espagne*, Paris, 1872.

all the Moriscoes in the kingdom, except children under seven years of age, should be driven into exile, that Spain might no longer be polluted by the merest suspicion of unbelief. The archbishop of Toledo, primate of Spain, wished to banish the children also. It is said that Friar Bleda, the Dominican, urged that all Moriscoes, even to the new-born babe, should be massacred, since it was impossible to tell whether they were Christians at heart or not, and it might safely be left to God to select his own. The views of the primate prevailed, and in 1609, about a million people were turned out of doors and hustled off to Morocco. These proceedings involved an amount of murder that has been estimated as about equivalent to the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Of the unfortunate people who reached Africa, thousands perished of hunger, or were slain by robbers, or kidnapped into slavery.

These Moriscoes, thus driven from the land by ecclesiastical bigotry, joined with hatred of their race, were the most skilful labourers Spain possessed. By their expulsion the manufacture of silk and paper was destroyed, the cultivation of sugar, rice, and cotton came to an end, the wool-trade stopped short, and irrigation of the soil was discontinued. The disturbance of industry, and the consequent distress, were so far-reaching that in the course of the next seventy years the population of Madrid was decreased by one half, and that of Seville by three quarters; whole villages were deserted, large portions of arable land went out of cultivation, and

Expulsion of
the Moriscoes
from Spain,
1609.

Terrible
consequences.

brigandage gained a foothold which it has kept almost down to the present day. The economic ruin of Spain may be said to date from the expulsion of the Moriscoes. Yet no deed in history was ever done with clearer conscience or more unanimous self-approval on the part of the perpetrators than this. Even the high-minded and gentle-hearted Cervantes applauded it, while Davila characterized it as the crowning glory of Spanish history. This approval was the outcome of a feeling so deeply ingrained in the Spanish mind that we sometimes see curious remnants of it to-day, even among Spaniards of much liberality and enlightenment. Thus the eminent historian Lafuente, writing in 1856, freely confessed that the destruction of Moorish industries was economically a disaster of the first magnitude; but after all, he says, just think what an "immense advantage" it was to establish "religious unity" throughout the nation and get rid of differences in opinion.¹ Just so: to insure that from the Pyrenees to Gibraltar all people should appear to think exactly alike about questions confessedly unfathomable by human intelligence, — this seemed to the Spaniards an end of such supreme importance as to justify the destruction of a hundred thousand lives and the overthrow of some of the chief industries of the kingdom. It was a terrible delusion, but perhaps we are not entitled to blame the Spaniards too severely when we reflect that even among ourselves, in spite of all the liberalizing influences to which the English race

¹ Lafuente, *Historia de España*, Madrid, 1856, tom. xvii. p. 340.

has so long been subjected, the lesson is only just beginning to be learned that variety in religious beliefs is not an evil, but a positive benefit to a civilized community, whereas uniformity in belief should be dreaded as tending toward Chinese narrowness and stagnation. This is the true lesson of Protestantism, and it is through this lesson, however imperfectly learned, that Protestantism has done so much to save the world from torpor and paralysis.

But it was not merely in the expulsion of the Moriscoes that the Spanish policy of enforcing uniformity was suicidal. Indeed, the disastrous effects which we are wont to attribute to that striking catastrophe cannot really be explained without taking into account another and still more potent cause. The deadly Inquisition, working steadily and quietly year after year while fourteen generations lived and died, wrought an amount of disaster which it is difficult for the mind to grasp. Some

Dreadful
work of the
Inquisition.

eight or ten years ago an excavation happened to be made in the Plaza Cruz del Quemadero in Madrid, the scene of the most terrible part of Victor Hugo's "Torquemada." Just below the surface the workmen came upon a thick stratum of black earth 150 feet long. On further digging it was found to consist chiefly of calcined human bones, with here and there a fragment of burnt clothing. Dark layers varying from three to nine inches in thickness were here and there interrupted by very thin strata of clay or sand.¹ A singular kind of geological problem

¹ This deposit was examined by men of science and antiqua-

was thus suggested: how many men and women must have died in excruciating torments in order to build up that infernal deposit? During the fifteen years when Torquemada was inquisitor-general, from 1483 to 1498, about 10,000 persons were burned alive. The rate was probably not much diminished during the sixteenth century, and the practice was kept up until late in the eighteenth; the last burning of a heretic was in 1781. From the outset the germs of Protestantism were steadily and completely extirpated. We sometimes hear it said that persecution cannot kill a good cause, but that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." This is apt to be true because it is seldom that sufficient unanimity of public opinion is enlisted in support of persecution to make it thorough. It was not true in Spain. The Inquisition there did suppress free thought most effectively. It was a machine for winnowing out and destroying all such individuals as surpassed the average in quickness of wit, earnestness of purpose, and strength of character, in so far as to entertain opinions of their own and boldly declare them. The more closely people approached an elevated standard of intelligence and moral courage, the more likely was the machine to reach them. It worked with such fiendish efficiency that it was next to impossible for such people to escape it; they were strangled

It was a device for insuring the survival of the unfittest.

rials, and the newspapers began publishing the details of their investigations, whereat the clergy grew uneasy, and persuaded the government to have the whole stratum dug away and removed as quickly as possible, so as to avoid further scandal. See *The Nation*, New York, 1883, vol. xxxvi. p. 470.

and burned by tens of thousands, and as the inevitable result, the average character of the Spanish people was lowered.¹ The brightest and boldest were cut off in their early prime, while duller and weaker ones were spared to propagate the race; until the Spaniard of the eighteenth century was a much less intelligent and less enterprising person than the Spaniard of the sixteenth. Such damage is not easily repaired; the competition among nations is so constant and so keen, that when a people have once clearly lost their hold upon the foremost position they are not likely to regain it.

Under this blighting rule of the Inquisition the general atmosphere of thought in Spain remained mediæval. Ideas and methods which other nations were devising, to meet the new exigencies of modern life, were denied admission to that unfortunate country. In manufactures, in commerce, in the control of the various sources of wealth, Spain was soon left behind by nations in which the popular intelligence was more flexibly wielded, and from which the minds hospitable toward new ideas had not been so carefully weeded out. It was not in

The Spanish policy of crushing out individualism resulted in universal stagnation.

¹ In this connection the reader should carefully study the admirable book lately published by our great historian of mediæval institutions, Henry Charles Lea, *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain*, Philadelphia, 1890. I have been especially struck with the chapter on the "Censorship of the Press," where the subject is treated with a prodigious wealth of learning. We are apt to sigh over popular ignorance even in these days of elaborate educational appliances and untrammelled freedom of discussion. Under the rule of the Spanish Inquisition all the zeal and energy which we now devote to developing and stimulating popular intelligence was devoted to stunting and repressing it.

religious matters only, but in all the affairs of life, that the dull and rigid conservatism was shown. Amid the general stagnation and lack of enterprise, and with the universal discredit of labour, the stream of gold and silver poured into Spain from the New World did more harm than good, inasmuch as its chief effect was to diminish the purchasing power of the precious metals. Economically, perhaps, the whole situation might be summed up by saying that Spanish expenditure was not productive but unproductive, and not simply unproductive but destructive. It was devoted to checking the activities of the human mind, to doing precisely the reverse of what we are trying to do in these days with books and newspapers, schools and lectures, copyrights and patents.

It is profoundly significant that the people who have acquired by far the greater part of the maritime empire to which Spain once aspired, and who have supplanted her in the best part of the territories to which she once felt entitled in virtue of Borgia's bulls, should be the people who have differed most widely from the Spaniards in their attitude toward novelties of doctrine and independence of thought. The policy of England, in giving full play to individualism, has developed a type of national character unsurpassed for buoyancy. No class of people in England ever acquired such control of the whole society as the clergy acquired in Spain. In the worst days of English history attempts have been made to crush individuality of thought and to put a stop to the free discussion of

It has been the policy of England to give full scope to individualism.

religious and political questions. But such attempts have been feeble and sporadic; no such policy has ever prevailed. The history of religious persecution in England affords a most suggestive illustration. The burning of heretics began in 1401, and the last instance occurred in 1611. During that time the total number of executions for heresy was about 400. Of these about 300 occurred in the brief spasm of 1555-57 under Mary Tudor, daughter of a Spanish princess, and wife of the worst of Spain's persecuting monarchs. The total of 100 victims scattered through the rest of that period of two centuries makes a startling contrast to what was going on in other countries. As no type of character has thus been sedulously winnowed out by violent methods, neither has any set of people ever been expelled from England, like the Moriscoes from Spain or the Huguenots from France. On the contrary, ever since the days of the Plantagenets it has been a maxim of English law that whosoever among the hunted and oppressed of other realms should set his foot on the soil of Britain became forthwith free and entitled to all the protection that England's stout arm could afford. On that hospitable soil all types of character, all varieties of temperament, all shades of belief, have flourished side by side, and have interacted upon one another until there has been evolved a race of men in the highest degree original and enterprising, plastic and cosmopolitan. It is chiefly this circumstance, combined with their successful preservation of self-government, that has

That policy has been the chief cause of the success of English people in founding new nations.

won for men of English speech their imperial position in the modern world. When we contrast the elastic buoyancy of spirit in Shakespeare's England with the gloom and heaviness that were then creeping over Spain, we find nothing strange in the fact that the most populous and powerful nations of the New World speak English and not Spanish. It was the people of Great Britain that, with flexible and self-reliant intelligence, came to be foremost in devising methods adapted to the growth of an industrial civilization, leaving the Middle Ages far behind. Wherever, in any of the regions open to colonization, this race has come into competition with other European races, it has either vanquished or absorbed them, always proving its superior capacity. Sometimes the contest has assumed the form of strife between a civilization based upon wholesome private enterprise and a civilization based upon government patronage. Such was the form of the seventy years' conflict that came to a final decision upon the Heights of Abraham, and not the least interesting circumstance connected with the discovery of this broad continent is the fact that the struggle for the possession of it has revealed the superior vitality of institutions and methods that first came to maturity in England and now seem destined to shape the future of the world.

APPENDIX A.

TOSCANELLI'S LETTER TO COLUMBUS, WITH THE EN- CLOSED LETTER TO MARTINEZ.

THE Latin is the original text, for an account of which see above, vol. i. p. 356, note 3. The Italian is from the version in the *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, concerning which M. Harriſſe ſays that it is “très-inexact et interpolée.” I have here italicised the portions of either text which do not occur in the other, ſo that the reader may judge for himſelf how far ſuch a charge is juſtified.

A Cristoforo Colombo
Paolo fiſico ſalute. Io veggo il nobile e gran deſiderio tuo di voler paſſar là, dove naſcono le ſpezerie, onde per riſpoſta d' una tua lettera ti mando la copia d' un' altra lettera, che alquanti giorni fa io ſcriſſi ad un mio amico, domeſtico del ſereniſſimo re di Portogallo, avanti le guerre di Caſtiglia, in riſpoſta d' un' altra, che per commiſſione di Sua Altezza egli mi ſcriſſe ſopra detto caſo: e ti mando un' altra carta navigatoria, ſimile a quella ch' io mandai a lui, per la qual reſteranno ſoddis-

fatte le tue dimande. La copia di quella mia lettera è questa.

Copia misa christofaro colonbo per paulum fisicum cum una carta navigacionis.

Ferdinando martini canonico vlixiponensi paulus phisicus salutem. a tua valitudine de gracia et familiaritate cum rege vestro genero[siss]imo [et] magnificentissimo principe iocundum mihi fuit intelligere. cum tecum alias locutus sum de breuiori via ad loca aromatum per maritimam navigacionem quam sit ea quam facitis per guineam, querit nunc S[erenissimus] rex a me quandam declaracionem ymo potius ad oculum ostensionem vt *etiam mediocriter doti* illam viam caperent et intelligerent. Ego autem quamvis cognoscam posse hoc ostendi per formam spericam ut est mundus tamen determinavi, pro faciliiori intelligencia ac etiam pro faciliiori opera, ostendere, viam illam per quam carte navigacionis fiunt illud de-

A Fernando Martinez canonico di Lisbona Paolo fisico salute. Molto mi piacque intendere la domestichezza che tu hai col tuo sereniss. e magnificentiss. re, e quantunque volte io abbia ragionato del *brevisimo* cammino che è di qua all' *Indie*, dove nascono le spezerie, per la via del mare, il quale io tengo più breve di quel che voi fate per Guinea, tu mi dici che Sua Altezza vorrebbe ora da me alcuna dichiarazione, o dimostrazione, acciocchè si intenda e si possa prendere detto cammino. Laonde, come ch' io sappia di poter ciò mostrarle con la sfera in mano, e farle veder come sta il mondo; nondimeno ho deliberato per più facilità e per maggiore intelligenza dimostrare detto cammino per una carta simile a quelle che si fanno per navigare, e così

clarare. Mito ergo sue
Maiestati cartam manibus
meis factam in qua desig-
nantur

litora vestra et insule ex
quibus incipiatis iter facere
verius occasum senper

et loca ad que debeatis
peruenire et quantum a
polo vel a linea equinotiali
debeatis declinare et per
quantum spacium siue per
quot miliaria debeatis per-
uenire ad loca fertilissima
omnium aromatum et ge-
marum, et non miremini si
voco occidentales partes
vbi sunt aromata cum com-
muniter dicantur orientales,

quia nauigantibus ad occi-
dentem senper ille partes
inueniuntur *per subterra-
neas nauigaciones*. Si enim
per terram et per supe-
riora itinera, ad orientem
senper reperientur¹ linee
ergo recte in longitudine

la mando a Sua Maestà.
fatta e disegnata di mia
mano : nella quale è dipinto
tutto il fine del ponente,
pigliando da Irlanda all'
austro insino al fin di
Guinea, con tutte le isole
che in tutto questo cam-
mino giacciono ; per fronte
alle quali dritto per ponente
giace dipinto il princi-
pio dell' Indie con le isole
e luoghi dove potete andare,
e quanto dal polo *artico* vi
potete discostare per la
linea equinoziale, e per
quanto spazio, cioè in quan-
te leghe potete giungere a
quei luoghi fertilissimi d'
ogni sorte di spezeria, e di
genme e pietre preziose.
E non abbiate a maravi-
glia, se io chiamo Ponente
il paese ove nasce la spe-
zeria, la qual comunemente
dicesi che nasce in Le-
vanti ; perciocchè coloro,
che navigheranno al po-
nente, sempre troveranno
detti luoghi in ponente ; e
quelli, che anderanno per
terra al levante, sempre
troveranno detti luoghi in
levante. Le linee dritte,

¹ Read *reperientur*.

carte signate ostendunt distanciam ab orientem¹ versus occidentem, que autem transverse sunt, ostendunt spacia a meridie versus septentrionem. notaui autem in carta diuersa loca ad que peruenire potestis pro maiori noticia nauigancium siue ventis vel casu aliquo alibi quam existimarent venirent; *partim*² autem vt ostendant incolis ipsos habere noticiam aliquam patrie illius, quod debet esse iocundum satis.

non considant³ autem in insulis nisi mercatores aserunt.⁴ ibi enim tanta copia nauigancium est cum mercimoniis vt in toto reliquo orbe non sint sicuti in vno portu nobilissimo vocato zaiton. aserunt enim cen-

che giacciono al lungo in detta carta, dimostrano la distanza che è dal ponente al levante; le altre, che sono per obliquo, dimostrano la distanza che è dalla tramontana al mezzogiorno. Ancora io dipinsi in detta carta molti luoghi nelle parte dell' *India* dove si potrebbe andare, avvenendo alcun caso di fortuna o di venti contrari, o qualunque altro caso, che non si aspettasse, che dovesse avvenire.

Et appresso, per darvi piena informazione di tutti quei luoghi, i quali desiderate molto conoscere, sappiate, che in tutte quelle isole non abitano nè praticano altri che mercatanti; avvertendovi quivi essere così gran quantità di navi e di marinari con mercatanzie, come in ogni altra parte del mondo, specialmente in un porto

¹ Read *oriente*.

² Read *partim*.

³ Read *considerunt*.

⁴ Perhaps meant for *asseritur*, "it is related." Columbus may have forgotten to finish the word. Or perhaps Toscanelli may have inadvertently used the active *asserit*, "he relates," meaning Marco Polo. |

tum naues piperis magne in eo portu singulis annis defferri, sine aliis nauibus portantibus allia aromata. patria illa est populatissima *ditissima* multitudine provinciarum et regnorum et ciuitatum sine numero, sub vnoprincipe qui dicitur magnus Kan quod nomen significat in latino rex regum, cuius sedes et residencia est vt plurimum in provincia Katay. antiqui sui desiderabant consorcium christianorum iam sunt .200. annis,¹ miscerunt² ad papam et postulabant plurimos dotos in fide vt illuminarentur; sed qui missi sunt, impediti in itinere redierunt. etiam

tempore Eugenii venit vnus ad eugenium qui de beniuolentia magna erga christianos afirmabat et ego

nobilissimo, chiamato Zaiton, dove caricano e discaricano ogni anno cento navi grosse di pepe, oltre alle molte altre navi, che caricano altre spezerie. Questo paese è popolatissimo, e sono molte provincie e molti regni e città senza numero sotto il dominio di un principe chiamato il gran Cane, il qual nome vuol dire re de' re, la residenza del quale la maggior parte del tempo è nella provincia del Cataio. I suoi antecessori desiderarono molto aver pratica e amicizia con cristiani, e già dugento anni mandarono ambasciatori al sommo pontefice, supplicandolo che gli mandasse molti savij e dottori, che gl' insegnassero la nostra fede, ma per gl' impedimenti ch' ebbero detti ambasciatori, tornarono indietro senza arrivare a Roma. E ancora a papa Eugenio IV. venne uno ambasciatore, il quale gli raccontò la grande amicizia che quei principi e i

¹ Read *anni*.

² Read *miserunt*.

secum longo sermone locutus sum de multis, de magnitudine edificiorum regalium et de magnitudine fluuium¹ in latitudine et longitudine mirabili et de multitudine ciuitatum in ripis fluuium,¹ vt in vno flumine .200. circiter ciuitates sint constitute, et pontes marmorei magne latitudinis et longitudinis vndique colonpnis ornati. hec patria digna est vt per latinus queratur, non solum quia lucra ingencia ex ea capi posunt auri argenti gemarum omnis generis et aromatum que nunquam ad nos deferuntur, verum propter doctos viros filosofos et astrologos peritos et quibus ingeniis et artibus ita potens et magnifica prouincia gubernentur² ac etiam bella conducant. hec pro aliquantula satisfactione ad suam peticionem, quantum breuitas temporis dedit et occupationes mee conceperunt,³ paratus in futurum regie maiestati quan-

loro popoli hanno coi cristiani; e io parlai lungamente con lui di molte cose, e delle grandezze delle fabbriche regalè, e della grossezza de' fiumi in larghezza e in lunghezza, ed ei mi disse molte cose maravigliose della moltitudine delle città e luoghi che son fondati nelle rive loro; e che solamente in un fiume si trovava dugento città edificate con ponte di pietre di marmo, molto larghi e lunghi, adornati di molte colonne. Questo paese è degno tanto, quanto ogni altro, che si abbia trovato; e non solamente vi si può trovar grandissimo guadagno, e molte cose ricche; ma ancora oro, e argento, e pietre preziose, e di ogni sorte di spezieria in grande quantità, della quale mai non si porta in queste nostre parti. Ed è il vero, che molti uomini dotti, filosofi, e astrologi, e altri grandi savij in tutte le arti, e di grande ingegno governano quella grau pro-

¹ Read *fluminum*.

³ Read *concesserunt*.

² Read *gubernetur*.

tum volet latius satisfacere. data florencie 25 iunii 1474.

A ciuitate vlixiponis per occidentem in directo sunt .26. spacia in carta signata quorum quodlibet habet miliaria .250. vsque ad nobilissim[am] et maximam ciuitatem quinsay. circuit enim centum miliaria et habet pontes decem et nomen eius sonat cita del cielo ciuitas celi et multa miranda de ea narrantur, de multitudine artificium et de redivibus. hoc spacium est fere tercia pars totius spere, que ciuitas est in prouincia mangi, siue vicina prouincie Katay

vincia, e ordinano le battaglie. || E questo¹ sia per sodisfazione delle vostre richieste, quanto la breuità del tempo, e le mie occupazioni mi hanno concesso. E così io resto prontissimo a soddisfare e servir sua altezza, compiutamente in tutto quello che mi comanderà. Da Fiorenza, ai 25 giugno dell'anno 1474. || Dalla città di Lisbona per dritto verso ponente sono in detta carta ventisei spazj, ciascun de' quali contien dugento e cinquanta miglia, fino alla nobilissima e gran città di Quisai, la quale gira cento miglia *che sono trentacinque leghe*; ove sono dieci ponti di pietra di marmore. Il nome di questa città significa Città del Cielo, della qual si narrano cose maravigliose intorno alla grandezza degli ingegni, e fabbriche, e rendite. Questo spazio è quasi la terza parte della sfera. Giace

¹ In the Italian arrangement this passage is transposed to the end of the letter, and the passage "Dalla città di Lisbona," etc. (which in the Latin arrangement forms a postscript) follows immediately after "battaglie."

in qua residencia terre
regia est. Sed ab insula
antilia vobis

nota ad insulam nobilissi-
mam cippangu sunt decem
spacia. est enim

illa insula fertilissima
aur[o] margaritis et gem-
mis, et auro solido coope-
riunt tenpla et domos re-
gias, itaque per ygnota

itinera non magna maris
spacia transeundum. mul-
ta fortasse essent aperitus¹
declaranda, sed diligens

considerator per hec pote-
rit ex se ipso reliqua pro-
spicere. vale dilectissime.

questa città nella provincia
di Mango, vicina alla pro-
vincia del Cataio, nella
quale sta la maggior parte
del tempo il re. E dall'
isola di Antilia, che voi
chiamate di Sette Città,
della quale avete notizia,
fino alla nobilissima isola
di Cipango sono dieci spazj,
che fanno due mila e cin-
quecento miglia, cioè du-
gento e venticinque leghe;
la quale Isola è fertilissima
di oro, di perle, e di pietre
preziose. E sappiate, che
con piastre d' oro fino co-
prono i tempj e le case
regali. Di modo che, per
non esser conosciuto il cam-
mino, tutte queste cose si
ritrovano nascoste e co-
perte; e ad essa si può
andar sicuramente. Molte
altre cose si potrebbero
dire; ma, come io vi ho
già detto a bocca, e voi
siete prudente e di buon
giudicio, mi rendo certo
che non vi resta cosa al-
cuna da intendere: e però
non sarò più lungo.

¹ Read *apertius*.

THE Latin text of this letter is preserved in the handwriting of Columbus upon the fly-leaf of one of his books in the Colombina at Seville. See above, vol. i. p. 356, note 3. I here subjoin a specimen of the handwriting of Columbus, from a MS. in the Colombina, reproduced in HARRISSE'S *Notes on Columbus*.

6
cosa le falta q sea en el poble. de la gente ya darsela y
o q señor com buero, q desta q haga la gente cu q
le sea a cargo. // de dia y de noche y todos momentos
le debrian las gentes dar gracias deuotissimas . . .
y yo dize ayuda q gtaua mucho por cumplir de las pro-
piedades / y digo q son cosas grandes en el mundo, v
digo q la final es q mo señor da prouessa en ello. El
predicar del euangelio es tantas cosas de la paxo tpo
a ca me lo dice.

APPENDIX B.

THE BULL *Inter Cetera.*

EXEMPLAR BVLLAE SEV DONATIONIS, AVTORITATE CVIVS, EPISCOPVS ROMANVS

Alexander eius nominis sextus, concessit et donavit Castellæ regibus et suis successoribus, regiones et Insulas noui orbis in Oceano occidentali Hispanorum nauigationibus repertas.:




ALEXANDER EPISCOPVS, seruus seruorum Dei, Charissimo in Christo filio Ferdinando Regi, et Charissimæ in Christo filiæ Elizabeth Reginæ Castellæ, Legionis, Aragonum, Siciliae, et Granatæ, illustribus, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Inter cætera Diuinæ maiestati beneplacita opera et cordis nostri desiderabilia, illud profecto potissimum existit vt fides catholica et Christiana religio nostris præsertim temporibus exaltetur ac vbilibet ampliatur

APPENDIX B.

THE BULL *Inter Cetera.*

THE COPPIE OF THE BULL
OR DONATION, BY TH[E]AU-
TORITIE WHEROF, POPE
Alexander the fyxte of that name,
gawe and graunted to the kynges of
Castyle and theyr successeours the
Regions and Ilandes founde in
the Weste Ocean sea by
the nauigations of the
Spanyardes.

 Alexander byshoppe, the seruante of the ser-
uantes of God: To owre moste deare be-
loued sonne in Christ Kyng Ferdinand, and
to owre deare beloued daughter in
Chryste Elyzabeth Queene of Castyle, Legion, Aragon,
Sicilie, and Granata, most noble Princes, Greeting
and Apostolical benediction.

Amonge other woorkes acceptable to the diuine
maiestie and accordynge to owre hartes desyre, this
certainely is the chiefe, that the Catholyke fayth and
Christian religion, specially in this owre tyme may in
all places bee exalted, amplified, and enlarged, wherby

ac dilatetur, animarumque falus procuretur, ac barbaricas nationes deprimantur et ad fidem ipſam reducantur. Vnde cum ad hanc ſacram Petri ſedem Diuina fauente clementia (meritis licet imparibus) euocati fuerimus, cognoſcentes vos tanquam veros catholicos reges et principes: quales ſemper fuiſſe nouimus, et a vobis præclare geſta, toti pene orbi notiſſima demonſtrant, nedum id exoptare, ſed omni conatu, ſtudio et diligentia, nullis laboribus, nullis impenſis, nulliſque parcendo periculis, etiam proprium ſanguinem effundendo efficere, ac omnem animum veſtrum, omneſque conatus ad hoc iam dudum dedicariſſe, quemadmodum recuperatio regni Granatæ a tyrannide Saracenorum hodiernis temporibus per vos, cum tanta Diuini nominis gloria facta teſtatur. Digne ducimur non immerito, et debemus illa vobis etiam ſponte, ac fauorabiliter concedere, per quæ huiusmodi ſanctum ac laudabile ab immortalis deo acceptum propoſitum, in dies feruentiori animo ad ipſius dei honorem et Imperij Chriſtiani propagationem, proſequi valeatis. Sane accepimus quod vos qui dudum animum propoſueratis aliquas infulas et terras firmas remotas et incognitas, ac per alios hætenus non repertas, quærere et inuenire, vt illarum incolas et habitatores ad colendum Redemptorem noſtrum et fidem catholicam profitendum reduceretis, hætenus in expugnatione et recuperatione ipſius regni Granatæ plurimum occupati, huiusmodi ſanctum et laudabile propoſitum veſtrum ad optatum finem perducere nequiuiſtis: Sed tamen ſicut Domino placuit, regno predicto recuperato, volentes deſiderium veſtrum adimplere dilectum filium Chriſtophorum Co-

the health of foules may be procured, and the Barbarous nations subdued and brought to the fayth. And therefore wheras by the fauoure of gods clemencie (although not with equall desertes) we are cauled to this holy feate of Peter, and vnderstandynge you to bee trewe Catholyke Princes as we haue euer knowen you, and as youre noble and woorthy factes haue declared in maner to the hole worlde in that with all your studie, diligence, and industrie, you haue spared no trauayles, charges, or perels, aduenturyng euen the shedynge of your owne bludde, with applyinge yowre hole myndes and endeuours here vnto, as your noble expeditions achyued in recoueryng the kyngdome of Granata from the tyrannie of the Sarracens in these our dayes, doo playnely declare your factes with fo great glorie of the diuine name. For the whiche as we thinke you woorthy, so owght we of owre owne free wyl fauorably to graunt all thynges whereby you maye dayely with more feruent myndes to the honoure of god and enlargynge the Christian empire, profecute your deuoute and laudable purpofe most acceptable to the immortall God. We are credably informed that wheras of late you were determyned to seeke and fynde certeyne Ilandes and firme landes farre remote and vnknownen (and not heretofore found by any other) to th[e]intent to bringe th[e]inhabitauntes of the same to honoure owre redemer and to professe the catholyke fayth, you haue hetherto byn much occupied in th[e]expugnation and recouerie of the kyngdome of Granata, by reason whereof yowe coulde not brynge yowre sayde laudable purpofe to th[e]ende defyred. Neuerthelesse as it hath pleased almyghty god, the foresayde kyngdome beinge recouered, wylling t[o]accomplyshe your sayde defyre, you haue, not without great laboure, perelles, and charges, appoynted owre welbeloued

lonum virum vtique dignum et plurimum commendatum ac tanto negotio aptum, cum nauigijs et hominibus ad similia instructis, non sine maximis laboribus, ac periculis, et expensis destinaſtis vt terras firmas et Infulas remotas et incognitas, huiusmodi per mare vbi haſtenus nauigatum non fuerat, diligenter inquireret. Qui tandem (Diuino auxilio facta extrema diligentia in mari Oceano nauigantes) certas infulas remotiſſimas et etiam terras firmas, quæ per alios haſtenus repertæ non fuerant, inuenerunt. In quibus plurimæ gentes pacifice viuentes, et (vt aſſeritur) nudi incedentes, nec carnibus veſcentes, inhabitant: Et vt præfati nunciij veſtri poſſunt opinari, gentes ipſæ in Infulis et terris prædictis habitantes credunt vnum deum creatorem in Cœlis eſſe, ac ad fidem catholicam amplexandum et bonis moribus imbuendum ſatis apti videntur: Speſque habetur, quod ſi erudirentur, nomen Saluatoris Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti in terris et infulis prædictis facile induceretur. Ac præfatus Chriſtophorus in vna ex principalibus Infulis prædictis, iam vnam turrim ſatis munitam, in qua certos Chriſtianos qui ſecum inerant, in cuſtodiam et vt alias Infulas ac terras firmas remotas et incognitas inquirerent poſuit, conſtrui et ædificari fecit. In quibus quidem Infulis et terris iam repertis, aurum, aromata, et aliæ quamplurimæ res præcioſæ diuerſi generis et diuerſæ qualitatis reperiuntur. Vnde omnibus diligenter, et præſertim fidei catholicæ exaltatione et dilatatione (prout decet Catholicos Reges et Principes) conſideratis, more progenitorum veſtrorum claræ memoriæ Regum, terras firmas et infulas prædictas, illarumque incolas et habitatores, vobis diuina

sonne Christopher Colonus (a man certes wel commended as moſte worthy and apte for ſo great a matter) well furnyſhed with men and ſhippes and other neceſſaries, to ſeeke (by the ſea where hetherto no manne hath fayled) ſuche firme landes and Ilandes farre remote and hitherto vnknownen. Who (by gods helpe) makynge diligente ſearche in the Ocean ſea, haue founde certeyne remote Ilandes and firme landes whiche were not heretofore founde by any other. In the which (as is fayde) many nations inhabite lyuing peaceably and goinge naked, not accuſtomed to eate fleſhe. And as farre as yowre meſſengers can conjecture, the nations inhabitynge the foreſayde landes and Ilandes, beleue that there is one god creatoure in heauen: and ſeeme apte to be brought to th[e]imbracinge of the catholyke faythe and to be imbued with good maners: by reaſon whereof, we may hope that if they well be inſtructed, they may eaſely bee induced to receaue the name of owre ſauour Ieſu Chriſt. We are further aduertified that the forenamed Chriſtopher hath nowe builded and erected a fortrefſe with good munition in one of the foreſayde principall Ilandes in the which he hath placed a garrifon of certeine of the Chriſtian men that wente thyther with him: aſwell to th[e]intent to defende the ſame, as alſo to ſearche other Ilandes and firme landes farre remote and yet vnknownen. We alſo vnderſtande, that in theſe landes and Ilandes lately founde, is great plentie of golde and ſpices, with dyuers and many other precious thynges of fundry kyndes and qualities. Therefore al thinges diligently conſidered (eſpecially th[e]amplifynge and enlargyng of the catholike fayth, as it behoueth catholike Princes folowyng th[e]exemples of yowre noble progenitours of famous memorie) wheras yowe are determyned by the fauour of almighty god to ſub-

faunte clementia subiicere et ad fidem Catholicam reducere propofuiftis.

Nos itaque huiufmodi ueftrom fanctum et laudabile propofitum plurimum in Domino commendantes, ac cupientes vt illud ad debitum finem perducatur, et ipfum nomen Saluatoris noftri in partibus illis inducatur, hortamur vos quamplurimum in Domino, et per facri lauacri fufceptionem, qua mandatis Apoftolicis obligati eftis, et per viscera mifericordiæ Domini noftri Iefu Chrifti attente requirimus, vt cum expeditionem huiufmodi omnino profequi et affumere prona mente orthodoxæ fidei zelo intendatis, populos in huiufmodi Infulis et terris degentes, ad Chriftianam religionem fufcipiendam inducere velitis et debeatis, nec pericula nec labores vlllo vnquam tempore vos deterreant, firma fpe fiduciaque conceptis quod Deus omnipotens conatus ueftros fœliciter profequetur. Et vt tanti negotij prouintiam Apoftolicæ gratiæ largitate donati, liberius et audacius affumatis, motu proprio non ad ueftram vel alterius pro vobis fuper hoc nobis oblata petitionis infantiam, fed de noftro mera liberalitate, et ex certa fcientia, ac de Apoftolicæ potestatis plenitudine, omnes Infulas et terras firmas inuentas et inueniendas, detectas et detegendas verfus Occidentem et Meridiem, fabricando et conftituendo vnam lineam a polo Arctico, fcilicet Septemtrione, ad polum Antarcticum, fcilicet Meridiem fivæ terræ firmæ et infulæ inuentæ et inueniendæ fint verfus Indiam aut verfus aliam quamcunque partem quæ linea diftet a qualibet Infularum quæ vulgariter nuncupantur de los Azores et Cabo Verde centum leucis verfus Occidentem et Meridiem.

due and brynge to the catholyke fayth th[e]inhabitauntes of the forefayde landes and Ilandes.

Wee greatly commendynge this yowre godly and laudable purpose in owr lorde, and desirous to haue the same brought to a dewe ende, and the name of owre fauioure to be knowen in those partes, doo exhorte yowe in owre Lorde and by the receauynge of yowre holy baptisme wherby yowe are bounde to Apostolicall obedience, and earnestely require yowe by the bowels of mercy of owre Lorde Iesu Christ, that when yowe intende for the zeale of the Catholyke faythe to profecute the fayde expedition to reduce the people of the forelayde landes and Ilandes to the Christian religion, yowe shall spare no labours at any tyme, or bee deterrèd with any perels, conceauynge firme hope and confidence that the omnipotent godde wyll gyue good successe to yowre godly attemptes. And that beynge autorysed by the priuilege of the Apostolycall grace, yowe may the more freely and bouldly take vpon yowe th[e]enterpryse of so greate a matter, we of owre owne motion, and not eyther at yowre request or at the instant peticion of any other person, but of owre owne mere liberalitie and certeyne science, and by the fulnesse of Apostolycall power, doo gyue, graunt, and affigne to yowe, yowre heyres and fuceffours, al the firme landes and Ilandes found or to be found, discouered or to be discouered toward the West and South, drawyng a line from the pole Artike to the pole Antartike (that is) from the north to the Southe: Conteynyng in this donation, what so euer firme landes or Ilandes are founde or to bee founde towarde *India*, or towarde any other parte what so euer it bee, beynge distant from, or without the forefayd lyne drawn a hundreth leaques towarde the Weste and South from any of the Ilandes which are commonly cauled *De los Azores* and *Cabo Verde*.

Itaque omnes Insulæ et terræ firmæ repertæ et reperiendæ, detectæ et detegendæ a præfata linea versus Occidentem et Meridiem, quæ per alium Regem aut Principem Christianum non fuerint actualiter possessæ vsque ad diem natiuitatis Domini nostri Iesu Christi proxime præteritum, a quo incipit annus præsens Milleffimus Quadringentesimus Nonagesimus tertius, quando fuerunt per nuncios et capitaneos vestros inuentæ aliquæ prædictarum Insularum, auctoritate omnipotentis Dei nobis in beato Petro concessa, ac vicariatus Iesu Christi qua fungimur in terris, cum omnibus illarum dominijs, ciuitatibus, castris, locis, et villis, iuribusque et iurisdictionibus ac pertinentijs vniuersis, vobis hereditibusque et successoribus vestris (Castellæ et Legionis regibus) in perpetuum tenore præsentium donamus concedimus, et assignamus: Vosque et hæredes ac successores præfatos illarum Dominos, cum plena, libera, et omnimoda potestate, auctoritate, et iurisdictione, facimus, constituimus, et deputamus. Decernentes nihilominus per huiusmodi donationem, concessionem, et assignationem nostram, nullo Christiano Principi qui actualiter præfatas Insulas et terras firmas possederit vsque ad prædictum diem natiuitatis Domini nostri Iesu Christi ius quæsitum, sublatum intelligi posse aut auferri debere.

Et insuper mandamus vobis in virtutæ sanctæ obedientiæ (vt sicut pollicemini et non dubitamus pro vestra maxima deuotione et regia magnanimitate vos esse facturos) ad terras firmas et Insulas prædictas, viros probos et Deum timentes, doctos, peritos, et expertos, ad in-

All the Ilandes therfore and firme landes, founde and to be founde, discouered and to be discouered from the sayde lyne towarde the West and South, such as haue not actually bin heretofore possessed by any other Christian kynge or prynce vntyll the daye of the natiuitie of owre Lorde Iesu Chryste laste paste, from the which begynneth this present yeare beinge the yeare of owre Lorde. M. CCCC. lxxxiii. when so euer any such shalbe founde by your messingers and capytaines, Wee by the autoritie of almyghtie God graunted vnto vs in saynt Peter, and by the office which we beare on the earth in the steede of Iesu Christe, doo for euer by the tenoure of these presentes, gyue, graunte, assigne, vnto yowe, yowre heyres, and successoures (the kynges of Castyle and Legion) all those landes and Ilandes, with theyr dominions, territories, cities, castels, towres, places, and vyllages, with all the ryght, and iurisdiction therunto perteynyng: constitutyng, assignyng, and deputyng, yowe, yowre heyres, and successours the lordes thereof, with full and free poure, autoritie, and iurisdiction. Decreeinge neuerthelesse by this owre donation, graunt, and assignation, that from no Christian Prince whiche actually hath possessed the foresayde Ilandes and firme landes vnto the day of the natiuitie of owre lorde before sayde theyr ryght obtayned to bee vnderstoode hereby to be taken away, or that it owght to be taken away.

Furthermore wee commaunde yowe in the vertue of holy obedience (as yowe haue promysed, and as wee doubt not you wyll doo vppon mere deuotion and princely magnanimitie) to sende to the sayde firme landes and Ilandes, honeste, vertuous, and lerned men, suche as feare God, and are able to instructe th[e]in-

struendum incolas et habitatores præfatos in fide Catholica et bonis moribus imbuendum, destinare debeatis, omnem debitam diligentiam in præmissis adhibentes.

Ac quibuscumque personis, cuiuscunque dignitatis, etiam imperialis et regalis status, gradus, ordinis vel conditionis, sub excommunicationis latæ sententiæ pœna quam eo ipso si contra fecerint incurrant, districtius inhibemus ne ad Insulas et terras firmas inuentas et inueniendas, detectas et detegendas versus Occidentem et Meridiem, fabricando et construendo lineam a polo Arctico ad polum Antarcticum, siue terræ firmæ et Insulæ inuentæ et inueniendæ sint versus Indiam aut versus aliam quamcunque partem quæ linea distet a qualibet Insularum quæ vulgariter nuncupantur de los Azores et Cabo Verde centum leucis versus Occidentem et Meridiem vt præfertur, pro mercibus habendis vel quavis alia causa accedere præsumat absque vestra ac hæredum et successorum vestrorum prædictorum licentia speciali: Non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus Apostolicis, cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque, in illo a quo imperia et dominationes et bona cuncta procedunt: Confidentes quod dirigente Domino actus vestros, si huiusmodi sanctum ac laudabile propositum prosequamini, breui tempore cum fœlicitate et gloria totius populi Christiani, vestri labores et conatus exitum fœlicissimum consequentur. Verum quia difficile foret præsentibus literas ad singula quæque loca in quibus expediens fuerit deferri, volumus ac motu et scientia similibus decernimus, quod illarum transsumptis manu publici notarij inderogati subscriptis, et sigillo alicuius per-

habitauntes in the Catholyke fayth and good maners, applyinge all theyr possible diligence in the premisses.

We furthermore streightly inhibite all maner of persons, of what state, degree, order, or condition so euer they bee, although of Imperiall and regall dignitie, vnder the payne of the sentence of excommunication whiche they shall incurre yf they doo to the contrary, that they in no case presume without speciall lycence of yowe, yowre heyres, and succeffours, to trauallye for marchaundies or for any other cause, to the sayde landes or Ilandes, founde or to bee found, discouered, or to bee discouered, toward the west and south, drawing a line from the pole Artyke to the pole Antartike, whether the firme lands and Ilandes found and to be found, be situate toward *India* or towarde any other parte beinge distant from the lyne drawn a hundreth leagues towarde the west from any of the Ilandes commonly cauled *De los Azores* and *Cabo Verde*: Notwithstandyng constitutions, decrees, and Apostolycall ordinaunces what so euer they are to the contrary: In him from whom Empyres, dominions, and all good thynges doo procede: Trustyng that almyghtie god directyng yowre enterprises, yf yowe followe yowre godly and laudable attemptes, yowre laboures and trauallyes herein, shall in shorte tyme obteyne a happy ende with felicitie and glorie of all Christian people. But forasmuch as it shulde bee a thyng of great difficultie for these letters to bee caryed to all suche places as shuld bee expedient, we wyll, and of lyke motion and knowlege doo decree that whyther so euer the same shalbe sent, or wher so euer they shalbe receaued with the subscription of a common notarie therunto requyred, with the seale of any person constitute in ecclesiasticall dignitie, or suche as are autoryfed by the ecclesiasticall courte, the same fayth and credite to bee

fonæ in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutæ, seu curiæ ecclesiasticæ munitis, ea prorsus fides in iudicio et extra ac alias vbilibet adhibeatur, quæ præsentibus adhiberetur si essent exhibitæ vel ostensæ.

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ commendationis, hortationis, requisitionis, donationis, concessionis, assignationis, constitutionis, deputationis, decreti, mandati, inhibitionis, et voluntatis, infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius, se nouerit incursum.:

Datum Romæ apud sanctum Petrum : Anno incarnationis Dominicæ. 1493. quarto nonas Maij: Pontificatus nostri anno primo.:

gyuen thereunto in iudgement or els where, as shulde
bee exhibyted to these presentes.

It shall therefore bee lawefull for no man to infringe
or rashely to contrarie this letter of owre commenda-
tion, exhortacion, requeste, donation, graunt, affigna-
tion, constitution, deputation, decree, commaundement,
inhibition, and determination. And yf any shall pre-
sume to attempte the fame, he owght to knowe that he
shall thereby incurre the indignation of almyghtie God
and his holye Apostles Peter and Paule. (∴) (∴) (∴).

¶ Gyuen at Rome at faynt Peters : In the yeare of
th[e]incarnation of owre Lord M. CCCC. LXXXIII.
The fourth day of the nones of Maye, the fyrste yeare
of owre feate. () () ()

APPENDIX C.

LIST OF OFFICERS AND SAILORS IN THE FIRST VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS.

1. *Those who went out in the Santa Maria, and returned in the Niña:—*

- Christopher Columbus, captain-general.
- Juan de La Cosa, of Santoña, master, and owner of the vessel.
- Sancho Ruiz, pilot.
- Maestre Alonso, of Moguer, physician.
- Maestre Diego, boatswain (*contramaestre*).
- Rodrigo Sanchez, of Segovia, inspector (*veedor*).
- Terreros, steward (*maestresala*).
- Rodrigo de Jerez, of Ayamonte.
- Ruiz Garcia, of Santoña.
- Rodrigo de Escobar.
- Francisco de Huelva, of Huelva.
- Rui Fernandez, of Huelva.
- Pedro de Bilbao, of Larrabezua.
- Pedro de Villa, of Santoña.
- Diego de Salcedo, servant of Columbus.
- Pedro de Acevedo, cabin boy.
- Luis de Torres, converted Jew, interpreter.

2. *Those who went and returned in the Pinta:—*

- Martin Alonso Pinzon, of Palos, captain.
- Francisco Martin Pinzon, of Palos, master.
- Cristóbal Garcia Xalmiento, pilot.

Juan de Jerez, of Palos, mariner.
 Bartolomé Garcia, of Palos, boatswain.
 Juan Perez Vizcaino, of Palos, caulker.
 Rodrigo de Triana, of Lepe.
 Juan Rodríguez Bermejo, of Molinos.
 Juan de Sevilla.
 Garcia Hernández, of Palos, steward (*despensero*).
 Garcia Alonso, of Palos.
 Gomez Rascon, of Palos, } owners of the vessel.
 Cristóbal Quintero, of Palos, }
 Juan Quintero, of Palos.
 Diego Bermudez, of Palos.
 Juan Bermudez, of Palos.
 Francisco Garcia Gallego, of Moguer.
 Francisco Garcia Vallejo, of Moguer.
 Pedro de Arcos, of Palos.

3. *Those who went and returned in the Niña :—*

Vicente Yañez Pinzon, of Palos, captain.
 Juan Niño, of Moguer, master.
 Pero Alonso Niño, of Moguer, pilot.
 Bartolomé Roldan, of Palos, pilot.
 Francisco Niño, of Moguer.
 Gutierre Perez, of Palos.
 Juan Ortiz, of Palos.
 Alonso Gutierrez Querido, of Palos.

4. *Those who were left in Hispaniola, and perished, most of them murdered by the natives :—*

Pedro Gutierrez, keeper of the king's drawing room.
 Rodrigo de Escobedo, of Segovia, notary.
 Diego de Arana, of Cordova, high constable (*alguazil mayor*).
 Alonso Velez de Mendoza, of Seville.
 Alvar Perez Osorio, of Castrojeriz.

- Antonio de Jaen, of Jaen.
 The bachelor Bernardino de Tapia, of Ledesma.
 Cristóbal del Alamo, of Niebla.
 Castillo, silversmith and assayer, of Seville.
 Diego Garcia, of Jerez.
 Diego de Tordeya, of Cabeza de Buey, in Estremadura.
 Diego de Capilla, of Almaden.
 Diego de Torpa.
 Diego de Mables, of Mables.
 Diego de Mendoza, of Guadalajara.
 Diego de Montalban, of Jaen.
 Domingo de Bermeo.
 Francisco Fernandez.
 Francisco de Godoy, of Seville.
 Francisco de Aranda, of Aranda.
 Francisco de Henao, of Avila.
 Francisco Ximénez, of Seville.
 Gabriel Baraona, of Belmonte.
 Gonzalo Fernandez de Segovia, of Leon.
 Gonzalo Fernandez de Segovia, of Segovia.
 Guillermo Ires, [qy. William Irish, or William Harris?], of Galney [i. e. Galway], Ireland.
 Fernando de Porcuna.
 Jorge Gonzalez, of Trigueros.
 Maestre Juan, surgeon.
 Juan de Urniga.
 Juan Morcillo, of Villanueva de la Serena.
 Juan de Cueva, of Castuera.
 Juan Patiño, of La Serena.
 Juan del Barco, of Barco de Ávila.
 Juan de Villar, of Villar.
 Juan de Mendoza.
 Martin de Logrosa, of Logrosa.
 Pedro Corbacho, of Cáceres.

Pedro de Talavera.

Pedro de Foronda.

Sebastian de Mayorga, of Majorca.

Tristan de San Jorge.

Tallarte de Lages [qy. Arthur Laws, or Larkins?],
of England.

This list is taken from Captain Cesáreo Fernández Duro's learned monograph, *Colon y Pinzon. Informe relativo á los pormenores de descubrimiento del Nuevo Mundo*, Madrid, 1883.

Juan de La Cosa is usually spoken of as having accompanied Columbus on his second voyage but not on his first. An ordinance of the sovereigns, however, dated February 28, 1494, and preserved among the Simancas MSS., thus addresses La Cosa:—"Fuistes por maestre de una nao vuestra á las mares del océano, donde en aquel viaje fueron descubiertas las tierras é islas de la parte de las Indias, é vos perdistes la dicha nao," *anglicè*, "You went as master of a ship of your own to the ocean seas where in that voyage were discovered the lands and islands of the Indies, and you lost the said ship." Navarrete, *Biblioteca maritima española*, tom. ii. p. 209. Mr. Winsor (*Christopher Columbus*, p. 184) seems to think that this La Cosa was a different person from the great pilot and cosmographer, who was a native of Santoña and resident of Puerto de Santa Maria; but Captain Duro (p. 292) makes him the same person. Cf. HARRISSE, *Christophe Colomb*, i. 406.

APPENDIX D.

LIST OF SURVIVORS OF THE FIRST VOYAGE AROUND THE WORLD.

(After the corrected lists in Guillemard's *Magellan*.)

1. *The eighteen who returned to Seville in the Victoria.*

Juan Sebastian Elcano, captain-general.

Miguel de Rodas, boatswain (*contramaestre*) of the Victoria.

Francisco Albo, of Axio, boatswain of the Trinidad.

Juan de Acurio, of Bermeo, boatswain of the Concepcion.

Martin de Judicibus, of Genoa, superintendent of the Concepcion.

Hernando de Bustamante, of Alcántara, barber of the Concepcion.

Juan de Zuvileta, of Baracaldo, page of the Victoria.

Miguel Sanchez, of Rodas, skilled seaman (*marinero*) of the Victoria.

Nicholas the Greek, of Naples, *marinero* of the Victoria.

Diego Gallego, of Bayonne, *marinero* of the Victoria.

Juan Rodriguez, of Seville, *marinero* of the Trinidad.

Antonio Rodriguez, of Huelva, *marinero* of the Trinidad.

Francisco Rodriguez, of Seville (a Portuguese), *marinero* of the Concepcion.

Juan de Arratia, of Bilbao, common sailor (*grumete*) of the Victoria.

Vasco Gomez Gallego (a Portuguese), *grumete* of the Trinidad.

Juan de Santandres, of Cueto, *grumete* of the Trinidad.

Martin de Isaurraga, of Bermeo, *grumete* of the Concepcion.

The Chevalier Antonio Pigafetta, of Vicenza, passenger.

2. *The thirteen who were arrested at the Cape Verde islands.*

Pedro de Indarchi, of Teneriffe, master of the Santiago.

Richard, from Normandy, carpenter of the Santiago.

Simon de Burgos (a Portuguese), servant of Mendoza, the traitor captain of the Victoria.

Juan Martin, of Aguilar de Campo, servant of the same Mendoza.

Roldan de Argote, of Bruges, bombardier of the Concepcion.

Martin Mendez, of Seville, accountant of the Victoria.

Juan Ortiz de Gopega, of Bilbao, steward of the San Antonio.

Pedro Gasco, of Bordeaux, *marinero* of the Santiago.

Alfonso Domingo, *marinero* of the Santiago.

Ocacio Alonso, of Bollullos, *marinero* of the Santiago.

Gomez Hernandez, of Huelva, *marinero* of the Concepcion.

Felipe de Rodas, of Rodas, *marinero* of the Victoria.

Pedro de Tolosa, from Guipuzcoa, *grumete* of the Victoria.

3. *The four survivors of the Trinidad, who returned to Spain long after their comrades.*

Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, constable (*alguazil*) of the fleet.

Juan Rodriguez, of Seville (called "the deaf"), *marinero* of the Concepcion.

Ginez de Mafra, of Xeres, *marinero*.

Leon Pancaldo, of Savona near Genoa, *marinero*.

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