

The great navigator had succeeded, as is well known, after a voyage the natural difficulties of which had been much augmented by the distrust and mutinous spirit of his followers, in descrying land on Friday, the 12th of October, 1492. After some months spent in exploring the delightful regions, now for the first time thrown open to the eyes of a European, he embarked in the month of January, 1493, for Spain. One of his vessels had previously foundered, and another had deserted him; so that he was left alone to retrace his course across the Atlantic. After a most tempestuous voyage, he was compelled to take shelter in the Tagus, sorely against his inclination.⁶ He experienced, however, the most honorable reception from the Portuguese monarch, John the Second, who did ample justice to the great qualities of Columbus, although he had failed to profit by them.⁷ After a

CHAPTER
XVIII.Discovery of
the West
Indies.

1492.

Oct. 12.

to all Christendom." See *Primer Viage de Colon*, apud Navarrete, *Coleccion de Viages*, tom. i.

⁶ Herrera, *Indias Occidentales*, tom. i. dec. 1, lib. 2, cap. 2. — *Primer Viage de Colon*, apud Navarrete, *Coleccion de Viages*, tom. i. — Fernando Colon, *Hist. del Almirante*, cap. 39.

The Portuguese historian, Faria y Sousa, appears to be nettled at the prosperous issue of the voyage; for he testily remarks, that "the admiral entered Lisbon with a vainglorious exultation, in order to make Portugal feel, by displaying the tokens of his discovery, how much she had erred in not acceding to his propositions." *Europa Portuguesa*, tom. ii. pp. 462, 463.

⁷ My learned friend, Mr. John

Pickering, has pointed out to me a passage in a Portuguese author, giving some particulars of Columbus's visit to Portugal. The passage, which I have not seen noticed by any writer, is extremely interesting, coming, as it does, from a person high in the royal confidence, and an eyewitness of what he relates. "In the year 1493, on the sixth day of March, arrived in Lisbon Christopher Columbus, an Italian, who came from the discovery, made under the authority of the sovereigns of Castile, of the islands of Cipango and Antilia; from which countries he brought with him the first specimens of the people, as well as of the gold and other things to be found there; and he was entitled admiral of them. The king, being forthwith inform-

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brief delay, the admiral resumed his voyage, and crossing the bar of Saltes entered the harbour of Palos about noon, on the 15th of March, 1493, being exactly seven months and eleven days since his departure from that port.⁸

Joyous reception of Columbus.

Great was the agitation in the little community of Palos, as they beheld the well-known vessel of the admiral reëntering their harbour. Their desponding imaginations had long since consigned him to a watery grave; for, in addition to the preternatural horrors which hung over the voyage, they had experienced the most stormy and disastrous winter within the recollection of the oldest

ed of this, commanded him into his presence; and appeared to be annoyed and vexed, as well from the belief that the said discovery was made within the seas and boundaries of his seigniory of Guinea, — which might give rise to disputes, — as because the said admiral, having become somewhat haughty by his situation, and in the relation of his adventures always exceeding the bounds of truth, made this unfair, as to gold, silver, and riches, much greater than it was. Especially did the king accuse himself of negligence, in having declined this enterprise, when Columbus first came to ask his assistance, from want of credit and confidence in it. And, notwithstanding the king was importuned to kill him on the spot; since with his death the prosecution of the undertaking, so far as the sovereigns of Castile were concerned, would cease, from want of a suitable person to take charge of it; and notwithstanding this might be done without suspicion of the king's being privy to it, — for inasmuch as the admiral was

overbearing and puffed up by his success, they could easily bring it about, that his own indiscretion should appear the occasion of his death, — yet the king, as he was a prince greatly fearing God, not only forbade this, but even showed the admiral honor and much favor, and therewith dismissed him." Ruy de Pina, *Chronica d'el Rei Dom Joaõ II.*, cap. 66, apud *Collecção de Livros Ineditos de Historia Portugueza*, (Lisboa, 1790-93,) tom. ii.

⁸ Fernando Colon, *Hist. del Almirante*, cap. 40, 41. — Charlevoix, *Histoire de S. Domingue*, (Paris, 1730,) tom. i. pp. 84-90. — *Primer Viage de Colon*, apud Navarrete, *Coleccion de Viages*, tom. i. — *La Clède*, *Hist. de Portugal*, tom. iv. pp. 53-58.

Columbus sailed from Spain on Friday, discovered land on Friday, and reëntered the port of Palos on Friday. These curious coincidences should have sufficed, one might think, to dispel, especially with American mariners, the superstitious dread, still so prevalent,

mariners.⁹ Most of them had relatives or friends on board. They thronged immediately to the shore, to assure themselves with their own eyes of the truth of their return. When they beheld their faces once more, and saw them accompanied by the numerous evidences which they brought back of the success of the expedition, they burst forth in acclamations of joy and gratulation. They awaited the landing of Columbus, when the whole population of the place accompanied him and his crew to the principal church, where solemn thanksgivings were offered up for their return; while every bell in the village sent forth a joyous peal in honor of the glorious event. The admiral was too desirous of presenting himself before the sovereigns, to protract his stay long at Palos. He took with him on his journey specimens of the multifarious products of the newly discovered regions. He was accompanied by several of the native islanders, arrayed in their simple barbaric costume, and decorated, as he passed through the principal cities, with collars, bracelets, and other ornaments of gold, rudely fashioned; he exhibited also considerable quantities of the same metal in dust, or in crude masses,¹⁰ numerous vegetable exotics, possessed of aromatic or medicinal virtue, and several kinds of

of commencing a voyage on that ominous day.

⁹ *Primer Viage de Colon, Let. 2.*
¹⁰ Muñoz, *Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo*, lib. 4, sec. 14. — Fernando Colon, *Hist. del Almirante*, cap. 41.

lump of gold, of sufficient magnitude to be fashioned into a vessel for containing the host; "thus," says Salazar de Mendoza, "converting the first fruits of the new dominions to pious uses." *Monarquía*, pp. 351, 352.

Among other specimens, was a

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to Barce-
lona.

quadrupeds unknown in Europe, and birds, whose varieties of gaudy plumage gave a brilliant effect to the pageant. The admiral's progress through the country was everywhere impeded by the multitudes thronging forth to gaze at the extraordinary spectacle, and the more extraordinary man, who, in the emphatic language of that time, which has now lost its force from its familiarity, first revealed the existence of a "New World." As he passed through the busy, populous city of Seville, every window, balcony, and housetop, which could afford a glimpse of him, is described to have been crowded with spectators. It was the middle of April before Columbus reached Barcelona. The nobility and cavaliers in attendance on the court, together with the authorities of the city, came to the gates to receive him, and escorted him to the royal presence. Ferdinand and Isabella were seated, with their son, Prince John, under a superb canopy of state, awaiting his arrival. On his approach, they rose from their seats, and extending their hands to him to salute, caused him to be seated before them. These were unprecedented marks of condescension to a person of Columbus's rank, in the haughty and ceremonious court of Castile. It was, indeed, the proudest moment in the life of Columbus. He had fully established the truth of his long-contested theory, in the face of argument, sophistry, sneer, skepticism, and contempt. He had achieved this, not by chance, but by calculation, supported through the most adverse circumstances by consummate conduct. The honors paid him, which had hitherto

been reserved only for rank, or fortune, or military success, purchased by the blood and tears of thousands, were, in his case, a homage to intellectual power, successfully exerted in behalf of the noblest interests of humanity. ¹¹

After a brief interval, the sovereigns requested from Columbus a recital of his adventures. His manner was sedate and dignified, but warmed by the glow of natural enthusiasm. He enumerated the several islands which he had visited, expatiated on the temperate character of the climate, and the capacity of the soil for every variety of agricultural production, appealing to the samples imported by him, as evidence of their natural fruitfulness. He dwelt more at large on the precious metals to be found in these islands, which he inferred, less from the specimens actually obtained, than from the uniform testimony of the natives to their abundance in the unexplored regions of the interior. Lastly, he pointed out the wide scope afforded to Christian zeal, in the illumination of a race of men, whose minds, far from being wedded to any system of idolatry, were prepared by their extreme simplicity for the reception of pure and uncorrupted doctrine. The last consideration touched Isabella's heart most sensibly; and the whole audience, kindled with various emotions by the speaker's eloquence, filled

Interview
with the
sovereigns.

¹¹ Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 133, 134, 140. — Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 118. — Ferreras, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. viii. pp. 141, 142. — Fernando Colon, *Hist. del Almirante*, ubi supra. — Zuñiga, *Annales de Seville*, p. 413. — Gomara, *Hist. de las Indias*, cap. 17. — Benzoni, *Novi Orbis Hist.*, lib. 1, cap. 8, 9. — Gallo, apud Muratori *Rerum Ital. Script.*, tom. xxiii. p. 203.

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up the perspective with the gorgeous coloring of their own fancies, as ambition, or avarice, or devotional feeling predominated in their bosoms. When Columbus ceased, the king and queen, together with all present, prostrated themselves on their knees in grateful thanksgivings, while the solemn strains of the Te Deum were poured forth by the choir of the royal chapel, as in commemoration of some glorious victory.¹²

Sensations
caused by
the discov-
ery.

The discoveries of Columbus excited a sensation, particularly among men of science, in the most distant parts of Europe, strongly contrasting with the apathy which had preceded them. They congratulated one another on being reserved for an age, which had witnessed the consummation of so grand an event. The learned Martyr, who, in his multifarious correspondence, had not even deigned to notice the preparations for the voyage of discovery, now lavished the most unbounded panegyric on its results; which he contemplated with the eye of a philosopher, having far less reference to considerations of profit or policy, than to the prospect which they unfolded of enlarging the boundaries of knowledge.¹³ Most of the scholars of the day, however,

¹² Herrera, *Indias Occidental.*, tom. i. dec. 1, lib. 2, cap. 3. — Muñoz, *Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo*, lib. 4, sec. 15, 16, 17. — Fernando Colon, *Hist. del Almirante*, ubi supra.

¹³ In a letter, written soon after the admiral's return, Martyr announces the discovery to his correspondent, cardinal Sforza, in the following manner. "Mira res ex eo terrarum orbe, quem sol horarum quatuor et viginti spatium cir-

cuit, ad nostra usque tempora, quod minime te latet, trita cognitaque dimidia tantum pars, ab Aurea utpote Chersoneso, ad Gades nostras Hispanas, reliqua vero a cosmographis pro incognita relicta est. Et si quæ mentio facta, ea tenuis et incerta. Nunc autem, o beatum facinus! meorum regum auspiciis, quod latuit hactenus a rerum primordio, intelligi ceptum est." In a subsequent epistle to the learned

adopted the erroneous hypothesis of Columbus, who considered the lands he had discovered, as bordering on the eastern shores of Asia, and lying adjacent to the vast and opulent regions depicted in such golden colors by Mandeville and the Poli. This conjecture, which was conformable to the admiral's opinions before undertaking the voyage, was corroborated by the apparent similarity between various natural productions of these islands, and of the east. From this misapprehension, the new dominions soon came to be distinguished as the West Indies, an appellation by which they are still recognised in the titles of the Spanish crown.¹⁴

Columbus, during his residence at Barcelona, continued to receive from the Spanish sovereigns the most honorable distinctions which royal bounty could confer. When Ferdinand rode abroad, he was accompanied by the admiral at his side. The

Pomponio Leto, he breaks out in a strain of warm and generous sentiment. "Præ lætitiâ prosiliisse te, vixque a lachrymis præ gaudio temperasse, quando literas adspexisti meas; quibus de Antipodum Orbe latenti hactenus, te certiore feci, mi suavissime Pomponi, insinuasti. Ex tuis ipse literis colligo, quid senseris. Sensisti autem, tantique rem fecisti, quanti virum summâ doctrinâ insignitum decuit. Quis namque cibus sublimibus præstari potest ingeniis isto suavior? quod condimentum gravius? a me facio conjecturam. Beari sentio spiritus meos, quando accitos alloquor prudentes aliquos ex his qui ab eâ redeunt provinciâ. Implicent animos pecuniarum cumulis augendis miseri avari, libidinibus obsceni; nostras nos mentes, postquam Deo pleni aliquandiu fuerimus, contem-

plando, hujuscemodi rerum notiâ demulceamus." Opus Epist., epist. 124, 152.

¹⁴ Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 118. — Gallo, apud Muratori, Rerum Ital. Script., tom. xxiii. p. 203. — Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. 18.

Peter Martyr seems to have received the popular inference, respecting the identity of the new discoveries with the East Indies, with some distrust. "Insulas reperit plures; has esse, de quibus fit apud cosmographos mentio extra Oceanum Orientalem, adjacentes Indiæ arbitrantur. Nec inficior ego penitus, quamvis spheræ magnitudo aliter sentire videatur; neque enim desunt qui parvo tractu a finibus Hispanis distare littus Indicum, putent." Opus Epist., epist. 135.

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Board for Indian affairs.

courtiers, in emulation of their master, made frequent entertainments, at which he was treated with the punctilious deference paid to a noble of the highest class.¹⁵ But the attentions most grateful to his lofty spirit were the preparations of the Spanish court for prosecuting his discoveries, on a scale commensurate with their importance. A board was established for the direction of Indian affairs, consisting of a superintendent and two subordinate functionaries. The first of these officers was Juan de Fonseca, archdeacon of Seville, an active, ambitious prelate, subsequently raised to high episcopal preferment, whose shrewdness, and capacity for business, enabled him to maintain the control of the Indian department during the whole of the present reign. An office for the transaction of business was instituted at Seville, and a custom-house placed under its direction at Cadiz. This was the origin of the important establishment of the *Casa de la Contratacion de las Indias*, or India House.¹⁶

Regulations of trade.

The commercial regulations adopted exhibit a narrow policy in some of their features, for which a

¹⁵ Herrera, *Indias Occidentales*, dec. 1, lib. 2, cap. 3. — Benzoni, *Novi Orbis Hist.*, lib. 1, cap. 8. — Gomara, *Hist. de las Indias*, cap. 17. — Zuñiga, *Annales de Sevilla*, p. 413. — Fernando Colon, *Hist. del Almirante*, ubi supra.

He was permitted 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. (See Part II. Chap. 18.) He received besides, soon after his return, the substantial gratuity of a thousand doblas of gold, from the royal treasury, and the premium of 10,000 maravedies, promised to the person who first descried land. See Navarrete, *Coleccion de Viajes*, Col. Diplom., nos. 20, 32, 38.

¹⁶ Navarrete, *Coleccion de Viajes*, tom. ii. Col. Diplom., no. 45. — Muñoz, *Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo*, lib. 4, sec. 21.

justification may be found in the spirit of the age, and in the practice of the Portuguese particularly, but which entered still more largely into the colonial legislation of Spain under later princes. The new territories, far from being permitted free intercourse with foreign nations, were opened only under strict limitations to Spanish subjects, and were reserved, as forming, in some sort, part of the exclusive revenue of the crown. All persons of whatever description were interdicted, under the severest penalties, from trading with, or even visiting the Indies, without license from the constituted authorities. It was impossible to evade this, as a minute specification of the ships, cargoes, crews, with the property appertaining to each individual, was required to be taken at the office in Cadiz, and a corresponding registration in a similar office established at Hispaniola. A more sagacious spirit was manifested in the ample provision made of whatever could contribute to the support or permanent prosperity of the infant colony. Grain, plants, the seeds of numerous vegetable products, which in the genial climate of the Indies might be made valuable articles for domestic consumption or export, were liberally furnished. Commodities of every description for the supply of the fleet were exempted from duty. The owners of all vessels throughout the ports of Andalusia were required, by an ordinance somewhat arbitrary, to hold them in readiness for the expedition. Still further authority was given to impress both officers and men, if necessary, into the service. Artisans of every sort, provided with

Preparations
for a second
voyage.

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the implements of their various crafts, including a great number of miners for exploring the subterraneous treasures of the new regions, were enrolled in the expedition; in order to defray the heavy charges of which, the government, in addition to the regular resources, had recourse to a loan, and to the sequestrated property of the exiled Jews.¹⁷

Conversion
of the na-
tives.

Amid their own temporal concerns, the Spanish sovereigns did not forget the spiritual interests of their new subjects. The Indians, who accompanied Columbus to Barcelona, had been all of them baptized, being offered up, in the language of a Castilian writer, as the first-fruits of the gentiles. King Ferdinand, and his son, Prince John, stood as sponsors to two of them, who were permitted to take their names. One of the Indians remained attached to the prince's establishment; the residue were sent to Seville, whence, after suitable religious instruction, they were to be returned as missionaries for the propagation of the faith among their own countrymen. Twelve Spanish ecclesiastics were also destined to this service; among whom was the celebrated Las Casas, so conspicuous afterwards for his benevolent exertions in behalf of the unfortunate natives. The most explicit directions were given to the admiral, to use every effort for the illumination of the poor heathen, which was set forth as the primary object of the expedition. He was particularly enjoined "to abstain from all means of annoyance, and to treat them well and

¹⁷ Navarrete, Coleccion de Via- dec. 1, lib. 2, cap. 4. — Muñoz,
ges, Col. Diplom., nos. 33, 35, 45. Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo, lib. 4,
— Herrera, Indias Occidentales, sec. 21.

lovingly, maintaining a familiar intercourse with them, rendering them all the kind offices in his power, distributing presents of the merchandise and various commodities, which their Highnesses had caused to be embarked on board the fleet for that purpose; and finally, to chastise, in the most exemplary manner, all who should offer the natives the slightest molestation." Such were the instructions emphatically urged on Columbus for the regulation of his intercourse with the savages; and their indulgent tenor sufficiently attests the benevolent and rational views of Isabella, in religious matters, when not warped by any foreign influence.¹⁸

Towards the last of May, Columbus quitted Barcelona for the purpose of superintending and expediting the preparations for departure on his second voyage. He was accompanied to the gates of the city by all the nobility and cavaliers of the court. Orders were issued to the different towns, to provide him and his suite with lodgings free of expense. His former commission was not only confirmed in its full extent, but considerably enlarged. For the sake of despatch, he was authorized to

New powers granted to Columbus.

¹⁸ See the original instructions, apud Navarrete, Coleccion de Viajes, Col. Diplom., no. 45.—Muñoz, Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo, lib. 4, sec. 22.—Zuñiga, Annales de Sevilla, p. 413.

L. Marineo cagerly claims the conversion of the natives, as the prime object of the expedition with the sovereigns, far outweighing all temporal considerations. The passage is worth quoting, if only to show what egregious blunders a contemporary may make in

the relation of events passing, as it were, under his own eyes. "The Catholic sovereigns having subjugated the Canaries, and established Christian worship there, sent *Peter Colon*, with *thirty-five* ships, called *caravels*, and a *great number of men* to other much larger islands abounding in mines of gold, not so much, however, for the sake of the gold, as for the salvation of the poor heathen natives." *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 161.

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nominate to all offices, without application to government; and ordinances and letters patent, bearing the royal seal, were to be issued by him, subscribed by himself or his deputy. He was intrusted, in fine, with such unlimited jurisdiction, as showed, that, however tardy the sovereigns may have been in granting him their confidence, they were not disposed to stint the measure of it, when his deserts were once established.¹⁹

Application
to Rome.

Soon after Columbus's return to Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella applied to the court of Rome, to confirm them in the possession of their recent discoveries, and invest them with similar extent of jurisdiction with that formerly conferred on the kings of Portugal. It was an opinion, as ancient perhaps as the crusades, that the pope, as vicar of Christ, had competent authority to dispose of all countries inhabited by heathen nations, in favor of Christian potentates. Although Ferdinand and Isabella do not seem to have been fully satisfied of this right, yet they were willing to acquiesce in its assumption in the present instance, from the conviction that the papal sanction would most effectually exclude the pretensions of all others, and especially their Portuguese rivals. In their application to the Holy See, they were careful to represent their own discoveries as in no way interfering with the rights formerly conceded by it to their neighbours. They enlarged on their services in the propagation of the faith, which they affirmed to

¹⁹ See copies of the original documents, apud Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, tom. ii., Col. Diplomas, nos. 39, 41, 42, 43.

be a principal motive of their present operations. They intimated, finally, that, although many competent persons deemed their application to the court of Rome, for a title to territories already in their possession, to be unnecessary, yet, as pious princes, and dutiful children of the church, they were unwilling to proceed further without the sanction of him, to whose keeping its highest interests were intrusted.²⁰

The pontifical throne was at that time filled by Alexander the Sixth; a man who, although degraded by unrestrained indulgence of the most sordid appetites, was endowed by nature with singular acuteness, as well as energy of character. He lent a willing ear to the application of the Spanish government, and made no hesitation in granting what cost him nothing, while it recognised the assumption of powers, which had already begun to totter in the opinion of mankind.

On the 3d of May, 1493, he published a bull, in which, taking into consideration the eminent services of the Spanish monarchs in the cause of the church, especially in the subversion of the Mahometan empire in Spain, and willing to afford still wider scope for the prosecution of their pious labors, he, "out of his pure liberality, infallible knowledge, and plenitude of apostolic power," confirmed them in the possession of all lands discovered, or hereafter to be discovered by them in the western ocean, comprehending the same extensive rights of

Famous
bulls of Alexander VI.

²⁰ Herrera, Indias Occidentales, Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo, lib. 4, dec. 1, lib. 2, cap. 4.—Muñoz, sec. 18.

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jurisdiction with those formerly conceded to the kings of Portugal.

This bull he supported by another, dated on the following day, in which the pope, in order to obviate any misunderstanding with the Portuguese, and acting no doubt on the suggestion of the Spanish sovereigns, defined with greater precision the intention of his original grant to the latter, by bestowing on them all such lands as they should discover to the west and south of an imaginary line, to be drawn from pole to pole, at the distance of one hundred leagues to the west of the Azores and Cape de Verd Islands.²¹ It seems to have escaped his Holiness, that the Spaniards, by pursuing a western route, might in time reach the eastern limits of countries previously granted to the Portuguese. At least this would appear from the import of a third bull, issued September 25th of the same year, which invested the sovereigns with plenary authority over all countries discovered by them, whether in the east, or within the boundaries of India, all previous concessions to the contrary notwithstanding. With the title derived from actual possession, thus fortified by the highest ecclesiastical sanction, the Spaniards might have promised themselves an uninterrupted career of discovery, but for the jealousy of their rivals, the Portuguese.²²

²¹ A point south of the meridian is something new in geometry; yet so says the bull of his Holiness. "Omnes insulas et terras firmas inventas et inveniendas, detectas et detegendas, versus Occidentem et meridiem, fabricando et constituendo unam lineam a Polo Arctico,

scilicet septentrione, ad Polum Antarcticum, scilicet meridiem."

²² See the original papal grants, transcribed by Navarrete, *Coleccion de Viages*, tom. ii., Col. *Diplom.*, nos. 17, 18. *Appendice al Col. Diplom.*, no. 11.

CHAPTER
XVIII.Jealousy of
the court of
Lisbon.

The court of Lisbon viewed with secret disquietude the increasing maritime enterprise of its neighbours. While the Portuguese were timidly creeping along the barren shores of Africa, the Spaniards had boldly launched into the deep, and rescued unknown realms from its embraces, which teemed in their fancies with treasures of inestimable wealth. Their mortification was greatly enhanced by the reflection, that all this might have been achieved for themselves, had they but known how to profit by the proposals of Columbus.²³ From the first moment in which the success of the admiral's enterprise was established, John the Second, a politic and ambitious prince, had sought some pretence to check the career of discovery, or at least to share in the spoils of it.²⁴

In his interview with Columbus, at Lisbon, he suggested, that the discoveries of the Spaniards might interfere with the rights secured to the Portuguese by repeated papal sanctions since the beginning of the present century, and guaranteed by the treaty with Spain, in 1479. Columbus, without entering into the discussion, contented himself with declaring, that he had been instructed by his own government to steer clear of all Portuguese settlements on the African coast, and that his course indeed had led him in an entirely different direc-

²³ Padre Abarca considers "that the discovery of a new world, first offered to the kings of Portugal and England, was reserved by Heaven for Spain, being *forced*, in a manner, on Ferdinand, in recompense

for the subjugation of the Moors, and the expulsion of the Jews!" Reyes de Aragon, fol. 310, 311.

²⁴ La Clède, Hist. de Portugal, tom. iv. pp. 53-58.

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tion. Although John professed himself satisfied with the explanation, he soon after despatched an ambassador to Barcelona, who, after dwelling on some irrelevant topics, touched, as it were, incidentally on the real object of his mission, the late voyage of discovery. He congratulated the Spanish sovereigns on its success; expatiated on the civilities shown by the court of Lisbon to Columbus, on his late arrival there; and acknowledged the satisfaction felt by his master at the orders given to the admiral, to hold a western course from the Canaries, expressing a hope that the same course would be pursued in future, without interfering with the rights of Portugal by deviation to the south. This was the first occasion, on which the existence of such claims had been intimated by the Portuguese.

In the mean while, Ferdinand and Isabella received intelligence that King John was equipping a considerable armament in order to anticipate or defeat their discoveries in the west. They instantly sent one of their household, Don Lope de Herrera, as ambassador to Lisbon, with instructions to make their acknowledgments to the king for his hospitable reception of Columbus, accompanied with a request that he would prohibit his subjects from interference with the discoveries of the Spaniards in the west, in the same manner as these latter had been excluded from the Portuguese possessions in Africa. The ambassador was furnished with orders of a different import, provided he should find the reports correct, respecting the equipment and probable destination of a Portuguese armada. Instead

Wary diplomacy.

JUNTA DE ANDALUCÍA

of a conciliatory deportment, he was, in that case, to assume a tone of remonstrance, and to demand a full explanation from king John, of his designs. The cautious prince, who had received, through his secret agents in Castile, intelligence of these latter instructions, managed matters so discreetly as to give no occasion for their exercise. He abandoned, or at least postponed his meditated expedition, in the hope of adjusting the dispute by negotiation, in which he excelled. In order to quiet the apprehensions of the Spanish court, he engaged to fit out no fleet from his dominions within sixty days; at the same time he sent a fresh mission to Barcelona, with directions to propose an amicable adjustment of the conflicting claims of the two nations, by making the parallel of the Canaries a line of partition between them; the right of discovery to the north being reserved to the Spaniards, and that to the south to the Portuguese.²⁵

While this game of diplomacy was going on, the Castilian court availed itself of the interval afforded by its rival, to expedite preparations for the second voyage of discovery; which, through the personal activity of the admiral, and the facilities everywhere afforded him, were fully completed before the close of September. Instead of the reluctance, and indeed avowed disgust, which had been manifested by all classes to his former voyage, the only

Second voy-
age of Co-
lumbus

²⁵ Faria y Sousa, *Europa Portuguesa*, tom. ii. p. 463. — Herrera, *Hist. de España*, tom. ii. pp. 606, 607. — La Clède, *Hist. de Portugal*, tom. iv. pp. 53-58.

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embarrassment now arose from the difficulty of selection among the multitude of competitors, who pressed to be enrolled in the present expedition. The reports and sanguine speculations of the first adventurers had inflamed the cupidity of many, which was still further heightened by the exhibition of the rich and curious products which Columbus had brought back with him, and by the popular belief that the new discoveries formed part of that gorgeous east,

“whose caverns teem

With diamond flaming, and with seeds of gold,”

and which tradition and romance had alike invested with the supernatural splendors of enchantment. Many others were stimulated by the wild love of adventure, kindled in the long Moorish war, but which, now excluded from that career, sought other objects in the vast, untravelled regions of the New World. The complement of the fleet was originally fixed at twelve hundred souls, which, through importunity or various pretences of the applicants, was eventually swelled to fifteen hundred. Among these were many who enlisted without compensation, including several persons of rank, hidalgos, and members of the royal household. The whole squadron amounted to seventeen vessels, three of them of one hundred tons' burden each. With this gallant navy, Columbus, dropping down the Guadalquivir, took his departure from the bay of Cadiz, on the 25th of September, 1493; presenting a striking contrast to the melancholy plight, in which, but the year previous, he sallied forth like some

forlorn knight-errant, on a desperate and chimerical enterprise.²⁶

CHAPTER
XVIII.

No sooner had the fleet weighed anchor, than Ferdinand and Isabella despatched an embassy in solemn state to advise the king of Portugal of it. This embassy was composed of two persons of distinguished rank, Don Pedro de Ayala, and Don Garci Lopez de Carbajal. Agreeably to their instructions, they represented to the Portuguese monarch the inadmissibility of his propositions respecting the boundary line of navigation; they argued that the grants of the Holy See, and the treaty with Spain in 1479, had reference merely to the actual possessions of Portugal, and the right of discovery by an eastern route along the coasts of Africa to the Indies; that these rights had been invariably respected by Spain; that the late voyage of Columbus struck into a directly opposite track; and that the several bulls of Pope Alexander the Sixth, prescribing the line of partition, not from east to west, but from the north to the south pole, were intended to secure to the Spaniards the exclusive right of discovery in the western ocean. The ambassadors concluded with offering, in the name of their sovereigns, to refer the whole matter in dispute to the arbitration of the court of Rome, or of any common umpire.

Mission to
Portugal.

²⁶ Zuñiga, *Annales de Sevilla*, p. 413. — Fernando Colon, *Hist. del Almirante*, cap. 44. — Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 118. — Peter Martyr, *De Rebus Oceanicis*, dec. 1, lib. 1. — Benzoni, *Novi Orbis Historia*, lib. 1, cap. 9. — Gomara, *Hist. de las Indias*, cap. 20.

PART
I.Disgust of
John II.

King John was deeply chagrined at learning the departure of the Spanish expedition. He saw that his rivals had been acting, while he had been amused with negotiation. He at first threw out hints of an immediate rupture; and endeavoured, it is said, to intimidate the Castilian ambassadors, by bringing them accidentally, as it were, in presence of a splendid array of cavalry, mounted and ready for immediate service. He vented his spleen on the embassy, by declaring, that "it was a mere abortion; having neither head nor feet;" alluding to the personal infirmity of Ayala, who was lame, and to the light, frivolous character, of the other envoy.²⁷

These symptoms of discontent were duly notified to the Spanish government; who commanded the superintendent, Fonseca, to keep a vigilant eye on the movements of the Portuguese, and, in case any hostile armament should quit their ports, to be in readiness to act against it with one double its force. King John, however, was too shrewd a prince to be drawn into so impolitic a measure as war with a powerful adversary, quite as likely to baffle him in the field, as in the council. Neither did he relish the suggestion of deciding the dispute by arbitration; since he well knew, that his claim rested on too unsound a basis, to authorize the expectation of a favorable award from any impartial umpire. He had already failed in an application

²⁷ La Clède, Hist. de Portugal, Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo, lib. 4, tom. iv. pp. 53-58. — Muñoz, sec. 27, 28.

for redress to the court of Rome, which answered him by reference to its bulls, recently published. In this emergency, he came to the resolution at last, which should have been first adopted, of deciding the matter by a fair and open conference. It was not until the following year, however, that his discontent so far subsided as to allow his acquiescence in this measure.

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At length, commissioners named by the two crowns convened at Tordesillas, and on the 7th of June, 1494, subscribed articles of agreement, which were ratified, in the course of the same year, by the respective powers. In this treaty, the Spaniards were secured in the exclusive right of navigation and discovery in the western ocean. At the urgent remonstrance of the Portuguese, however, who complained that the papal line of demarcation cooped up their enterprises within too narrow limits, they consented, that instead of one hundred, it should be removed three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape de Verd islands, beyond which all discoveries should appertain to the Spanish nation. It was agreed that one or two caravels should be provided by each nation, to meet at the Grand Canary, and proceed due west, the appointed distance, with a number of scientific men on board, for the purpose of accurately determining the longitude; and if any lands should fall under the meridian, the direction of the line should be ascertained by the erection of beacons at suitable distances. The proposed meeting never took place. But the removal of the partition line was followed

Treaty of
Tordesillas.

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by important consequences to the Portuguese, who derived from it their pretensions to the noble empire of Brazil.²⁸

Thus this singular misunderstanding, which menaced an open rupture at one time, was happily adjusted. Fortunately, the accomplishment of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, which occurred soon afterwards, led the Portuguese in an opposite direction to their Spanish rivals, their Brazilian possessions having too little attractions, at first, to turn them from the splendid path of discovery thrown open in the east. It was not many years, however, before the two nations, by pursuing opposite routes of circumnavigation, were brought into collision on the other side of the globe; a circumstance never contemplated, apparently, by the treaty of Tordesillas. Their mutual pretensions were founded, however, on the provisions of that treaty, which, as the reader is aware, was itself only supplementary to the original bull of demarcation of Alexander the Sixth.²⁹ Thus this bold stretch of papal authority, so often ridiculed as chimerical and absurd, was in a measure

²⁸ Navarrete, Coleccion de Viajes, Doc. Diplom., no. 75. — Faria y Sousa, Europa Portuguesa, tom. ii. p. 463. — Herrera, Indias Occidentales, dec. 1, lib. 2, cap. 8, 10. — Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. pp. 606, 607. — La Clède, Hist. de Portugal, tom. iv. pp. 60-62, Zurita, Anales, tom. v. fol. 31.

²⁹ The contested territory was the Molucca islands, which each party claimed for itself, by virtue of the treaty of Tordesillas. After more than one congress, in which all the cosmographical science of the day was put in requisition, the affair was terminated à l'amiable by the Spanish government's relinquishing its pretensions, in consideration of 350,000 ducats, paid by the court of Lisbon. See La Clède, Hist. de Portugal, tom. iv. pp. 309, 401, 402, 480. — Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. pp. 607, 875. — Salazar de Mendoza, Monarquía, tom. ii. pp. 205, 206.

justified by the event, since it did, in fact, determine the principles on which the vast extent of unappropriated empire in the eastern and western hemispheres was ultimately divided between two petty states of Europe.



P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife
CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

CHAPTER XIX.

CASTILIAN LITERATURE.—CULTIVATION OF THE COURT.—
CLASSICAL LEARNING.—SCIENCE.

Early Education of Ferdinand. — Of Isabella. — Her Library. — Early Promise of Prince John. — Scholarship of the Nobles. — Accomplished Women. — Classical Learning. — Universities. — Printing introduced. — Encouraged by the Queen. — Actual Progress of Science.

PART
I.

WE have now arrived at the period, when the history of Spain becomes incorporated with that of the other states of Europe. Before embarking on the wide sea of European politics, however, and bidding adieu, for a season, to the shores of Spain, it will be necessary, in order to complete the view of the internal administration of Ferdinand and Isabella, to show its operation on the intellectual culture of the nation. This, as it constitutes, when taken in its broadest sense, a principal end of all government, should never be altogether divorced from any history. It is particularly deserving of note in the present reign, which stimulated the active development of the national energies in every department of science, and which forms a leading epoch in the ornamental literature of the country. The present and the following chapter will embrace the mental progress of the kingdom, not merely

down to the period at which we have arrived, but through the whole of Isabella's reign, in order to exhibit as far as possible its entire results, at a single glance, to the eye of the reader.

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We have beheld, in a preceding chapter, the auspicious literary promise afforded by the reign of Isabella's father, John the Second, of Castile. Under the anarchical sway of his son, Henry the Fourth, the court, as we have seen, was abandoned to unbounded license, and the whole nation sunk into a mental torpor, from which it was roused only by the tumults of civil war. In this deplorable state of things, the few blossoms of literature, which had begun to open under the benign influence of the preceding reign, were speedily trampled under foot, and every vestige of civilization seemed in a fair way to be effaced from the land.

The first years of Ferdinand and Isabella's government were too much clouded by civil dissensions, to afford a much more cheering prospect. Ferdinand's early education, moreover, had been greatly neglected. Before the age of ten, he was called to take part in the Catalan wars. His boyhood was spent among soldiers, in camps instead of schools, and the wisdom which he so eminently displayed in later life, was drawn far more from his own resources, than from books.¹

Ferdinand's
education
neglected.

Isabella was reared under more favorable auspices; at least more favorable to mental culture. She was allowed to pass her youth in retirement,

Instruction
of Isabella.

¹ L. Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 153.

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and indeed oblivion, as far as the world was concerned, under her mother's care, at Arevalo. In this modest seclusion, free from the engrossing vanities and vexations of court life, she had full leisure to indulge the habits of study and reflection, to which her temper naturally disposed her. She was acquainted with several modern languages, and both wrote and discoursed in her own with great precision and elegance. No great expense or solicitude, however, appears to have been lavished on her education. She was uninstructed in the Latin, which in that day was of greater importance than at present; since it was not only the common medium of communication between learned men, and the language in which the most familiar treatises were often composed, but was frequently used by well-educated foreigners at court, and especially employed in diplomatic intercourse and negotiation.²

Isabella resolved to repair the defects of education, by devoting herself to the acquisition of the Latin tongue, so soon as the distracting wars with Portugal, which attended her accession, were terminated. We have a letter from Pulgar, addressed to the queen soon after that event, in which he inquires concerning her progress, intimating his surprise, that she can find time for study amidst her multitude of engrossing occupations, and expressing his confidence that she will acquire the Latin with the same facility with which she had already mas-

² L. Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 154, 182.

tered other languages. The result justified his prediction; for "in less than a year," observes another contemporary, "her admirable genius enabled her to obtain a good knowledge of the Latin language, so that she could understand without much difficulty whatever was written or spoken in it."³

Isabella inherited the taste of her father, John the Second, for the collecting of books. She endowed the convent of San Juan de los Reyes at Toledo, at the time of its foundation, 1477, with a library consisting principally of manuscripts.⁴ The archives of Simancas contain catalogues of part of two separate collections, belonging to her, whose broken remains have contributed to swell the mag-

Her collection of books.

³ Carro de las Doñas, lib. 2, cap. 62 et seq., apud Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 21. — Pulgar, Letras, (Amstelodami, 1670,) let. 11. — L. Marineo, Cosas Memorables, fol. 182. — It is sufficient evidence of her familiarity with the Latin, that the letters addressed to her by her confessor seem to have been written in that language and the Castilian indifferently, exhibiting occasionally a curious patchwork in the alternate use of each in the same epistle. See Correspondencia Epistolar, apud Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 13.

⁴ Previous to the introduction of printing, collections of books were necessarily very small and thinly scattered, owing to the extreme cost of manuscripts. The learned Saez has collected some curious particulars relative to this matter. The most copious library which he could find any account of, in the middle of the fifteenth century, was owned by the counts of Benavente, and contained not more than

one hundred and twenty volumes. Many of these were duplicates; of Livy alone there were eight copies. The cathedral churches in Spain rented their books every year by auction to the highest bidders, whence they derived a considerable revenue.

It would appear from a copy of Gratian's Canons, preserved in the Celestine monastery in Paris, that the copyist was engaged twenty-one months in transcribing that manuscript. At this rate, the production of four thousand copies by one hand would require nearly eight thousand years, a work now easily performed in less than four months. Such was the tardiness in multiplying copies before the invention of printing. Two thousand volumes may be procured now at a price, which in those days would hardly have sufficed to purchase fifty. See Tratado de Monedas de Enrique III., apud Moratin, Obras, ed. de la Acad., (Madrid, 1830,) tom. i. pp. 91, 92.

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nificent library of the Escorial. Most of them are in manuscript; the richly colored and highly decorated binding of these volumes (an art which the Spaniards derived from the Arabs) show how highly they were prized, and the worn and battered condition of some of them prove that they were not kept merely for show.⁵

Tuition of
the infantas.

The queen manifested the most earnest solicitude for the instruction of her own children. Her daughters were endowed by nature with amiable dispositions, that seconded her maternal efforts. The most competent masters, native and foreign, especially from Italy, then so active in the revival of ancient learning, were employed in their tuition. This was particularly intrusted to two brothers, Antonio and Alessandro Geraldino, natives of that country. Both were conspicuous for their abilities and classical erudition, and the latter, who survived his brother Antonio, was subsequently raised to high ecclesiastical preferments.⁶ Under these mas-

⁵ Navagiero, *Viaggio fatto in Spagna et in Francia*, (Vinegia, 1563,) fol. 23. — *Mem. de la Acad. de Hist.*, tom. vi. *Ilust.* 17.

The largest collection comprised about two hundred and one articles, or distinct works. Of these, about a third is taken up with theology, comprehending bibles, psalters, missals, lives of saints, and works of the fathers; one fifth, civil law and the municipal code of Spain; one fourth, ancient classics, modern literature, and romances of chivalry; one tenth, history; the residue is devoted to ethics, medicine, grammar, astrology, &c. The only Italian author, besides Leonardo Bruno d' Arezzo, is Boc-

caccio. The works of the latter writer consisted of the "Fiammetta," the treatises "De Casibus Illustrium Virorum," and "De Claris Mulieribus," and probably the "Decameron"; the first in the Italian, and the three last translated into the Spanish. It is singular, that neither of Boccaccio's great contemporaries, Dante and Petrarch, the former of whom had been translated by Villena, and imitated by Juan de Mena, half a century before, should have found a place in the collection.

⁶ Antonio, the eldest, died in 1488. Part of his Latin poetical works, entitled, "Sacred Bucolics," was printed in 1505, at Sala-

ters, the infantas made attainments rarely permitted to the sex, and acquired such familiarity with the Latin tongue especially, as excited lively admiration among those over whom they were called to preside in riper years.⁷

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A still deeper anxiety was shown in the education of her only son, Prince John, heir of the united Spanish monarchies. Every precaution was taken to train him up in a manner that might tend to the formation of the character suited to his exalted station. He was placed in a class consisting of ten youths, selected from the sons of the principal nobility. Five of them were of his own age, and five of riper years, and they were all brought to reside

Of Prince
John.

manca. The younger brother, Alessandro, after bearing arms in the Portuguese war, was subsequently employed in the instruction of the infantas, finally embraced the ecclesiastical state, and died bishop of St. Domingo, in 1525. Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 16. — Tiraboschi, Letteratura Italiana, tom. vi. part. 2, p. 285.

⁷ The learned Valencian, Luis Vives, in his treatise "De Christianâ Feminâ," remarks, "Ætas noster quatuor illas Isabellæ reginæ filias, quas paulo ante memoravi, eruditas vidit. Non sine laudibus et admiratione refertur mihi passim in hac terrâ Joannam, Philippi conjugem, Caroli hujus matrem, ex tempore latinis orationibus, quæ de more apud novos principes opipatim habentur, latine respondisse. Idem de reginâ suâ, Joannæ sorore, Britannî prædicant; idem omnes de duabus aliis, quæ in Lusitaniâ fato concessere." (De Christianâ Feminâ, cap. 4, apud Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 16.) — It appears, however,

that Isabella was not inattentive to the more humble accomplishments, in the education of her daughters. "Regina," says the same author, "nere, sucre, acu pingere quatuor filias suas doctas esse voluit." Another contemporary, the author of the Carro de las Doñas, (lib. 2, cap. 62, apud Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., Ilust. 21.) says, "she educated her son and daughters, giving them masters of life and letters, and surrounding them with such persons as tended to make them vessels of election, and kings in Heaven."

Erasmus notices the literary attainments of the youngest daughter of the sovereigns, the unfortunate Catharine of Aragon, with unqualified admiration. In one of his letters, he styles her "egregie doctam"; and in another he remarks, "Regina non tantum in sexus miraculum literata est; nec minus pietate suscipienda, quam eruditione." Epistolæ, (Londini, 1642,) lib. 19, epist. 31; lib. 2, epist. 24.

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with him in the palace. By this means, it was hoped to combine the advantages of public, with those of private education; which last, from its solitary character, necessarily excludes the subject of it from the wholesome influence exerted by bringing the powers into daily collision with antagonists of a similar age.⁸

A mimic council was also formed on the model of a council of state, composed of suitable persons of more advanced standing, whose province it was to deliberate on, and to discuss, topics connected with government and public policy. Over this body the prince presided, and here he was initiated into a practical acquaintance with the important duties, which were to devolve on him at a future period of life. The pages, in attendance on his person, were also selected with great care from the cavaliers and young nobility of the court, many of whom afterwards filled with credit the most considerable posts in the state. The severer discipline of the prince was relieved by attention to more light and elegant accomplishments. He devoted many of his leisure hours to music, for which he had a fine natural taste, and in which he attained sufficient proficiency to perform with skill on a variety of instruments. In short, his education was happily designed to produce that combination of mental and moral excellence, which should fit him for reigning over his subjects with benevolence and wisdom. How well the scheme succeeded is abun-

⁸ Oriedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS., dial. de Deza. — *Mem. de la Acad. de Hist.*, tom. vi. *Ilust.* 14.