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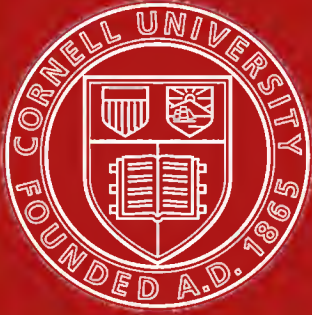
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THE
Discovery of North America

A CRITICAL, DOCUMENTARY, AND HISTORIC INVESTIGATION,

WITH

AN ESSAY ON THE EARLY CARTOGRAPHY OF THE NEW WORLD, INCLUDING
DESCRIPTIONS OF TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY MAPS OR GLOBES
EXISTING OR LOST, CONSTRUCTED BEFORE THE YEAR 1536;

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

A CHRONOLOGY OF ONE HUNDRED VOYAGES WESTWARD, PROJECTED, ATTEMPTED, OR
ACCOMPLISHED BETWEEN 1431 AND 1504;
BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNTS OF THE THREE HUNDRED PILOTS WHO FIRST CROSSED THE ATLANTIC;

AND A

COPIOUS LIST OF THE ORIGINAL NAMES OF AMERICAN REGIONS, CACIQUESHIPS,
MOUNTAINS, ISLANDS, CAPES, GULFS, RIVERS, TOWNS, AND HARBOURS.

BY

HENRY HARRISSE.

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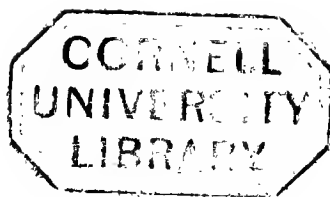
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Introduction.

“THE following pages lay claim to the share of merit that may be due to a spirit of diligent research which took nothing at second hand where an original writer or document could be consulted, and would not be turned aside, by any authority, from the anxious pursuit and resolute vindication of the Truth. They are offered, therefore, with the confidence inspired by a consciousness of good faith.” We ask our readers to accept these words, borrowed from the earliest American history of maritime discoveries,¹ as an exact expression of the spirit in which we have prepared the present work.

The discovery of the continent of North America has been the theme of more than one able historian. But, if we except the early Scandinavian oceanic voyages, which have prompted a separate class of writings, it is generally in subordination to comprehensive historical narratives that the subject has been deemed worthy of analysis and discussion.

Perhaps the time has not yet come for synthetic labours in the sphere of History. It may be that the student of the Past must still content himself with critical enquiries; that he must “scorn delights and live laborious days” devoted to patient investigations, irksome, but exhaustive, leaving to another generation of not less loyal searchers after Truth the more difficult task and the higher honour of erecting the definite fabric. Our aim has been to smooth the way to this result by simply applying to a particular branch of the subject an exegetical process, ample and, we trust, efficient.

¹ *A Memoir of Sebastian Cabot* [by Richard BIDDLE], Philadelphia, 1831, 8vo, p. 1.

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The Discovery of North America.

BOOK FIRST.

The First Voyage of John Cabot.

1497.

CHAPTER I.

IN a dispatch addressed to Ferdinand and Isabella, from London, July 25, 1498, by Pedro de Ayala, one of their joint ambassadors to the Court of Henry VII., concerning a transatlantic voyage lately accomplished under the British flag, we notice the following sentence :

“I have seen the map made by the discoverer who is another Genoese like Columbus, who has been to Seville and Lisbon to obtain assistance for that discovery:—Yo he visto la carta que ha fecho el inventador que es otro genoves como Colon que ha estado en Sevilla y en Lisbona procurando haver quien le ayudasse a esta invencion.”¹

The phrase is ambiguous; but although Columbus, fifteen years before, had been to Seville and Lisbon to obtain assistance,—a fact which Their Majesties certainly knew,—the general context of the sentence, the irrelevancy of the remark if applied to Columbus, and the positive expression: “a esta invencion,” authorize the interpretation that Ayala had in view the then recent discoverer, when speaking of the efforts made in Spain and Portugal. Who was he?

¹ *Carta de D. Pedro de Ayala à los Reyes Catolicos fecha en Londres à 25 de Julio de 1498.* BERGENROTH, *Calendar of Letters . . . relating to the negotiations between England and Spain, preserved at Simancas*; London, 1862, 8vo., Vol. I., p. 176, No. 210; *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xiii., p. 329. Ferdinand and Isabella seem to have believed that John Cabot was an emissary of the King of France

(Charles VIII.), for, in reply to the letter of Dr. Puebla sent from London, January 21, 1496 (lost unfortunately), informing them of Cabot's efforts to obtain aid from Henry VII., they wrote: “We believe that this undertaking was thrown in the way of the King of England with the premeditated intention of distracting him from his other business.”—BERGENROTH, *Calendar*, Vol. I., p. 88, No. 128.

We know from the letters patent granted by Henry VII., March 5, 1496,² and a dispatch sent from London, December 18, 1497, to the Duke of Milan, by his envoy Raimondo di Soncino, that this discoverer was John Cabot.³ Must we also infer that John Cabot visited Spain on such an errand before Christopher Columbus, or at the same time? This inference is in a degree strengthened by the following passage of Pedro de Ayala's above-mentioned dispatch:

"For the last seven years, Bristol people had sent out every year, two, three or four caravels in search of the island of Brazil and the Seven Cities, according to the fancy of this Genoese:—Los de Bristol ha siete años que cada año an armado dos, tres, quatro caravelas para ir a buscar la isla del Brazil, y las siete ciudades con la fantasia deste Ginoves."

Those "seven years" give 1491 as the time when John Cabot was already settled in England; and his visit to Spain and Portugal is therefore anterior to that year. If Ayala's informations are exact, the critic must consider John Cabot as having also entertained, if not originated, at a very early date, the notion of crossing the Ocean in search of transatlantic lands, and actually endeavoured to carry it into effect with the aid of Bristol seamen.⁴

These deductions are not historically or chronologically improbable. The idea of reaching Asia by sailing constantly westward, was advocated in Italy, by Toscanelli, so early as 1474;⁵ and John Cabot was yet a resident of Venice in 1476.⁶

A letter just brought to light shows that Toscanelli's notions in respect to transatlantic countries circulated in Italy, and that the news of the discovery accomplished by Columbus was considered as a confirmation of the theories of the Florentine astronomer. It is a dispatch from Hercules d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, addressed to his ambassador at Florence, as follows:

"Messer Manfredo: Intendendo Nuy, che il quondam Mastro Paulo dal Pozo a Thoscanella medico fece nota quando il viveva de alcune Insule trovate in Ispagna, che

² RYMER, *Fœdera, Conventiones, litteræ . . . inter reges Angliæ*; Hæge Comitibus, 1741, folio, Vol. V., P. IV., p. 89.

³ "Mezzer Zoanne Caboto." Second dispatch from Raimondo de' Raimondi di Soncino; DESIMONI, *Intorno a Giovanni Caboto*, Genova, 1881, 8vo., p. 53; *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. x., p. 324.

⁴ That the Bristol people did engage in expeditions of such a character is evidenced by the voyage of Thomas Lloyd, equipped at the expense of John Jay,

junior, which set out from Bristol in July, 1480. *Itineraria Symonis Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcestre*, edidit I. Nasmyth; Cantabr., 1778, 8vo., p. 267, and *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 44, note 3.

⁵ See the original Latin text of the *Copia misa Christofaro Colombo per paulum fisicum* (Toscanelli), first published in the Additions to the *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, pp. xvi-xviii.

⁶ Venetian naturalisation papers of John Cabot; *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, docs. i. and ii., p. 309.

pare siano quelle medesime che al presente sono state ritrovate per aduisi che se hanno de quelle bande, siamo venuti in desiderio de vedere dicte note, se lo è possibile. Et però volemo, che troviate incontinenti vno Mastro Ludovico, Nepote de esso quondam Mastro Paulo, al quale pare rimanesseno li libri suoi in bona parte ed maxime questi et che lo pregiati strectamente per nostra parte chel voglia essere contento de darvi una nota a punctino de tuto quello chel se trova havere apresso lui de queste Insule, perché ne riceveremo piacere assai et ge ne restaremo obligati, et havuta che la haverite, ce la mandareti incontenenti. Ma vsati diligentia per havere bene ogni cosa a compimento di quello lo ha sicome desideramo. *Ferrarie 26 Junis 1494.*—Mr. Manfredo. As we have just heard that the late Paul dal Pozzo Toscanelli, a physician, penned in his lifetime a note concerning several islands found in Spain [*sic.*], which it seems, are the same which have just been rediscovered (according to news received from there), I desire, if possible, to see said notes. That is the reason why we want you to find immediately one Mr. Ludovico, who is the nephew of the late Mr. Paul, and appears to have inherited most of his books, and particularly those [notes]. We also wish you to request him on our part to give you an exact list of all he has with him concerning those islands; for we would be happy to obtain it, and will be thankful for the favor. And you, as soon as in possession of it, send the same at once. But do not fail to do everything in your power to get from him all he has; for such is our desire. *Ferrara, June 26, 1494.*⁷

A passage in Soncino's dispatch may also be quoted in support of our interpretation of the above-mentioned remark of Ayala. It is the phrase where John Cabot is made to relate, in connexion with his first transatlantic voyage, that when he was in Mecca, he inquired from the caravans which brought spice from afar, whence the article came; and, believing in the sphericity of the earth, he inferred from their reply that it was brought originally from the West. Cabot thus gave to understand that, like Columbus, his project was prompted by the hope of finding a maritime and shorter route to the land of pearls, gold, silks and cinnamon.

At all events, the desire of John Cabot to propose the undertaking to Henry VII., was certainly enhanced, if not suggested, by the success which attended the first voyage of Columbus, the news of which he doubtless heard while in Bristol or London. His son Sebastian Cabot, who arrogated to himself the sole merit of having brought to a successful issue the first English westward expedition, confessed that he conceived the notion while in England, upon hearing of the discovery accomplished by Christopher Columbus; it being the theme of conversation at the court of Henry VII.

⁷ State archives in Modena—*Cancellaria Ducale*; in the *Bollettino della Societa Geografica Italiana*, for UZIELLI, *L'Epistolario Colombo-Toscanelli e i Danti*, Oct.-Nov., 1889, p. 866.

“Et se ne parlava grandemente per tutta la corte del Re Henrico vij., dicendosi che era stata cosa piu tosto divina che humana l' haver trovata quella via mai piu sapata, d'andare in Oriente dove nascono le spetie per il che mi nacque un desiderio grande, anzi un ardor nel core di voler far anchora io qualche cosa signalata.”⁸

Further, Raimondo di Soncino states that it was upon seeing the Kings of Spain and Portugal acquire new islands, that John Cabot thought of conferring a similar boon on the King of England :

“El quale visto che li serenissimi Re prima de Portogallo poi de Spagna hanno occupato isole incognite, delibero fare uno simile acquisto per dicta Maesta.”⁹

We should also recollect that London in the fifteenth century was the residence of numerous Genoese, several of whom occupied high positions at the Court of the English King.¹⁰ They formed with other Italians an important colony, who met daily in Lombard Street, and frequented the legations which Spain, several Italian princes and the Republic of Venice kept in London. Those active and intelligent foreigners, nearly all of whom were engaged in commercial pursuits, which they carried on by sea, direct from the peninsula, must have watched the progress of transatlantic discoveries, especially as these threatened to destroy the trade of the Italian cities with the East. Their means of information were great. The *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima* shows Italy to have been the principal receptacle of such tidings ; whilst the considerable commerce carried on between that country and Great Britain, chiefly by means of Genoese and Venetian galleys,¹¹ was a ready vehicle of news, still increased by the landing of those vessels in the principal ports of Spain and Portugal. John Cabot may have learnt from those countrymen of his, the news of Columbus' achievement, and formed then and there the project of following the footsteps of the great Genoese navigator.

Be that as it may, John Cabot and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanctus, we do not know at what date exactly, filed the following petition :

⁸ RAMUSIO, *Primo Volume delle Navigazioni* ; Venetia, 1563, folio, f. 374.

⁹ *Ubi supra*. This implies a contradiction as regards the alleged efforts of John Cabot in Spain and Portugal.

¹⁰ Rawdon BROWN, *Calendar of State Papers . . . relating to English affairs, existing in the archives of*

Venice ; London, 1864, 8vo, Vol. I., Nos. 617, 751, 770, 771.

¹¹ Rawdon BROWN, *loc. cit.*, p. lxi., and No. 618 ; RYMER, *Fœdera*, Vol. II., P. II., p. 941 ; HEYD, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, Leipzig, 1866, 8vo, Vol. II., p. 727 ; *Les Colombo de France et d'Italie*, p. 45.

“To the Kyng our soveraigne lord. Please it your highnes of your moste noble and haboundant grace to graunt unto John Cabotto citizen of Venes, Lewes, Sebestyan and Sancto his sonneys your gracious letters patentes under your grete seale in due forme to be made according to the tenour hereafter ensuyng. And they shall during their lyves pray to god for the prosperous continuance of your most noble and royale astate long to enduer.”¹²

We infer from the expression: “according to the tenoure hereafter ensuyng,” that a draft of the letters patent was added by the Cabots themselves to their petition; just as in certain pleadings, American lawyers add the order or decree which they beg the judge to grant. In that case, the letters patent first published by Rymer in 1741, set forth in the Cabots' own words, their purpose and wishes, viz.:

“Upon their own proper costs and charges to seek out, discover, and find whatsoever isles, countries, regions, or provinces of the heathen and infidels, whatsoever they be, and in what part of the world soever they be, which before this time have been unknown to all Christians.”¹³

Henry VII. granted the petition on the 5th of March, 1496.

¹² DESIMONI, *ubi supra*.

¹³ For the Latin text, see RYMER, *loc. cit.*, and for an English translation, HAKLUYT, *Divers voyages*, London, 1582, and *Hakluyt Society reprints*, Vol. VII. The original document is preserved in the London Public Record Office, *Chancery-Signed Bill*, II. Henr. VII., No. 51. “Rymer correctly refers it to 5th March,

1496, the computation of this monarch's reign being from August, 1485. Hakluyt states it to be of 1495 (Vol. III. p. 5), looking, as we may infer, not to the Historical, but to the Legal or Civil Year, which commenced, prior to 1752, on the 25th March.” BIDDLE, *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, p. 71.

CHAPTER II.

TO ascertain when the project of the Cabots was first carried into effect, and the precise character of the results attained, it is necessary to divide into two categories, and examine separately, the testimonies which we possess on the subject, viz.: the evidence furnished by witnesses who obtained or may have obtained their information from John Cabot himself; and the evidence supplied, directly or indirectly, by his son Sebastian.

The first series of proofs comprises three documents, which are :

1. An extract from a letter addressed from London, August 23, 1497, by Lorenzo Pasqualigo to his brothers at Venice ;¹
2. A dispatch sent from London, August 24, 1497, by Raimondo di Soncino to the Duke of Milan ;²
3. Another dispatch from and to the same parties, dated in London, December 18, 1497 ;³

From those documents we gather the following facts :

The expedition consisted originally of a small vessel, manned by eighteen men : "*uno piccolo naviglo e xviii persone.*"⁴

It sailed from Bristol : "*partitisi da Bristo porto occidentale de questo regno,*"⁵ a few months before August, 1497 : "*sono mesi passate.*"⁶

The voyage lasted three months : "*e stato mexi tre sul viazo.*"⁷

When the vessel had reached the west coast of Ireland, it sailed towards the north, then to the east (*sic. pro west*), when, after a few days, the North star was to the right : "*Passato Ibernica più occidentale,*

¹ *Copia de un capitolo scrive in una lettera Ser Lorenzo Pasqualigo fio di Ser Filippo, da Londra adi 23 Agosto, a Ser Alvise e Francesco Pasqualigo suo fradeli in Venetia. Risposta adi 23 Settembre 1497.* In Rawdon BROWN, *Ragguagli sulla vita e sulle opere di Marin Sanuto* ; Venezia, 1837, 8vo, Part I., p. 99 ; *Calendar*, Vol. I., p. 262, No. 752 ; Marin SANUTO, *Diarii*, Venet., 1879, 8vo, Vol. I., p. 806 ; *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. viii., p. 322.

² Rawdon BROWN, *Calendar of State Papers relating to English affairs existing in the archives of Venice*, Vol. I., p. 260, No. 217,

³ *Ubi supra.*

⁴ SONCINO, second dispatch.

⁵ *Ibidem.*

⁶ SONCINO, first dispatch.

⁷ PASQUALIGO.

e poi alzatosi verso el septentrione, cominciò ad navigare ale parte orientale, lassandosi (fra qualche giorni) la tramontana ad mano drita."⁸

After sailing for seven hundred (or only four hundred) leagues, they reached the mainland: "*dice haver trovato lige 700 lontana de qui terra ferma,*" says Pasqualigo.⁹ "*Lontane da linsula de Ingilterra lege 400 per lo camino de ponente,*" reports Soncino.¹⁰

Technically speaking, all that which geographers can infer from those details is that Cabot's landfall was north of 51° 15' north latitude; this being the southern extremity of Ireland. Ireland, however, extends to 55° 15' lat. N. From what point between these two latitudes did he sail westward? Supposing that it was Valencia, and that he continued due west, he would have sighted Belle Isle or its vicinity. But Cabot is said positively to have altered his course and stood to the northward. How far, and where did he again put his vessel on the western tack? We are unable to answer this important question, and can only allege suppositions based upon the following data:

The place where he landed was the mainland: "*captioe in terra ferma.*"¹¹

He then sailed along the coast 300 leagues: "*andato per la costa lige 300.*"¹²

As to the country visited, it is described as being perfect and temperate: "*terra optima et temperata.*" It is supposed to yield Brazil-wood and silk: "*estimanno che vi nasca el brasilio e le sete,*" whilst the sea bathing its shores is filled with fishes: "*quello mare è coperto de pessi.*"¹³

The country is inhabited by people who use snares to catch game, and needles for making nets: "*certi lazi ch'era tesi per prender salva-dexine, e uno ago da far rede e a trovato certi albori tagliati.*"¹⁴

The waters (tides) are slack, and do not flow as they do in England: "*le aque e stanche e non han corso come aqui.*"¹⁵

Barring the gratuitous supposition about the existence of dye-wood and silk, and taking into consideration that the country was discovered in summer, Cabot's description could apply to the entire northern coast of America.

⁸ SONCINO, second dispatch.

⁹ PASQUALIGO.

¹⁰ SONCINO, first dispatch.

¹¹ SONCINO, second dispatch.

¹² PASQUALIGO.

¹³ SONCINO, second dispatch.

¹⁴ PASQUALIGO.

¹⁵ *Ibidem.*

The same may be said concerning the remark about slack tides. It was natural that John Cabot should have been surprised in seeing tides which are only from two and three quarters to four feet, whilst in the vicinity of Bristol they are from thirty-six to forty feet; but this diminutiveness is peculiar to the entire coast from Nova Scotia to Labrador.¹⁶

There is another detail, however, which is of importance. Cabot on his return saw two islands to starboard: "*ale tornar aldreto a visto do ixole.*"¹⁷ Those two islands were unknown before, and are very large and fertile: "*due insule nove grandissime et fructiffere.*"¹⁸ The existence of islands in that vicinity is further confirmed by the fact that Cabot gave one to a native of Burgundy who was his companion, and another to his barber: "*uno Borgognone compagno di mess. Zoanne . . . li ha donato una Isola; et ne ha donato una altra ad suo barbero.*"¹⁹

What can those large islands be? This question we propose to examine afterwards.

"La è terra optima et temperata."

The headlands clad in the pale green of mosses and shrubbery, may have conveyed at a distance to a casual observer the idea of fertility. As to the climate, it was in June and July that Cabot visited those regions. Now, in Labrador, "Summer is brief but lovely."²⁰

He did not see any inhabitant, and therefore we have no specific details enabling us to identify the race of men who inhabited the country. But the needle for making nets, and the snares for catching game, indicate the regular occupation of the Eskimo, whose proper home is from Cape Webeck to Cape Chudleigh; whilst the ingenuity which the making of such implements supposes, agrees perfectly with that race said "to have been able in the manufacture of their tools to develop mechanical skill far surpassing that of savages more favourably situated." Nor should we forget "that judging from the traditions they must have maintained their present characteristic language and mode of life for at least 1,000 years." The Eskimos of Cabot's time may therefore be judged by those of to-day.

But there is a circumstance in John Cabot's conversation with the Milanese ambassador, which is still more convincing. It is evident that

¹⁶ Henry MITCHELL, Survey of the Bays of Fundy and Minas, for the United States Coast Survey (1877?), quoted by Mr. KIDDER.

¹⁷ PASQUALIGO.

¹⁸ SONCINO, first dispatch.

¹⁹ SONCINO, second dispatch.

²⁰ See the excellent article on Labrador, in the last edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*; Prof. HIND, *Explorations of the Labrador Peninsula*, 1863, and translation into French [by SELLIUS] of Henry ELLIS' *Voyage for the Discovery of a North-west Passage*, Paris, 1749, 12mo, Vol. II., p. 164.

FIRST VOYAGE OF JOHN CABOT
(1497)

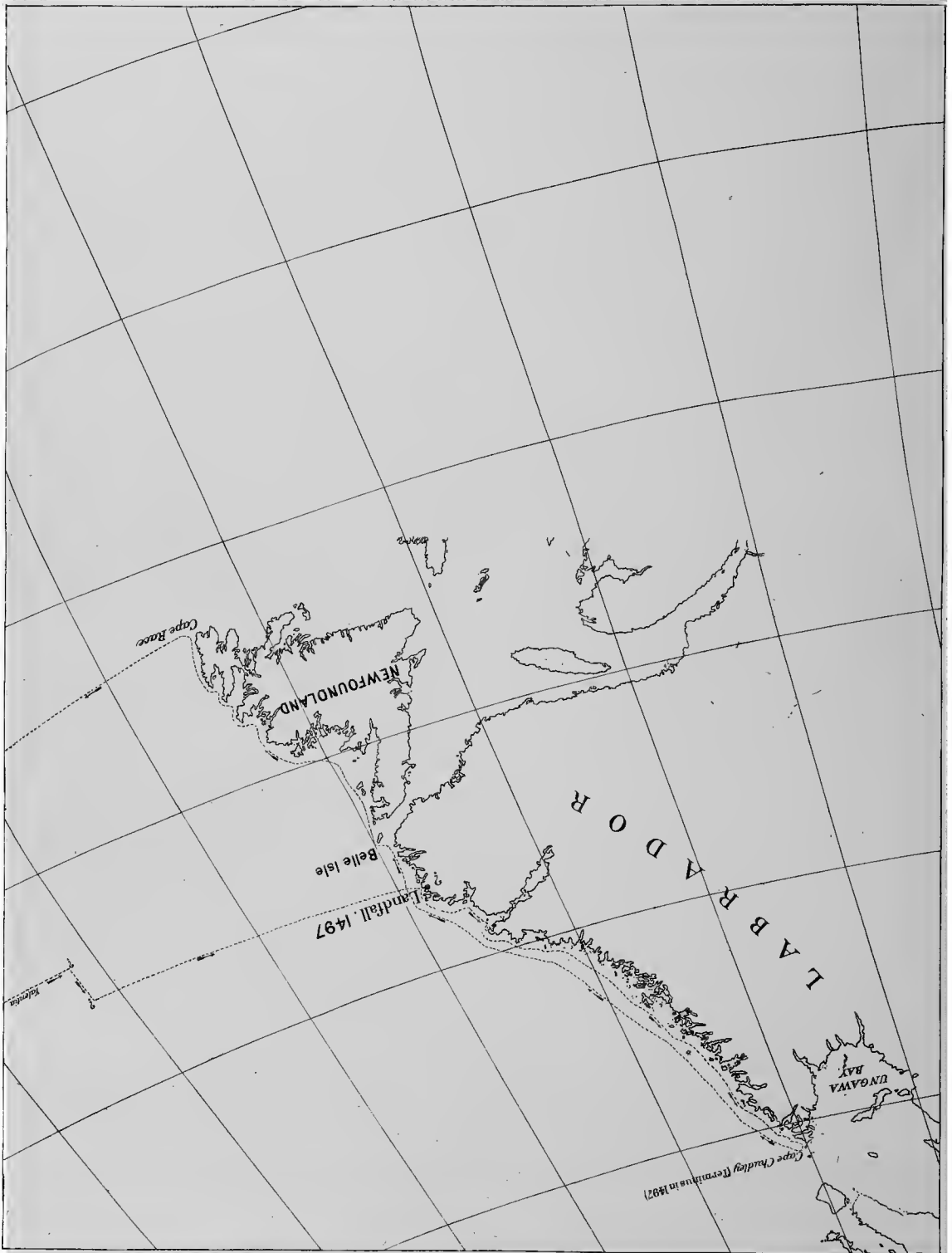


Plate I

the Venetian adventurer and his companions were greatly struck with the enormous quantity of fish which they found in that region. It surpassed anything of the kind they had ever seen, even in the Icelandic sea, where cod then was marvellously plentiful. He dwells at length and with evident complacency on that fortunate peculiarity:

“Quello mare e coperto de pessi li quali se prendenno non solo cum la rete, ma cum le ciste, essendoli alligato uno saxo ad ciò che la cista se imposi in laqua . . . dicono che portaranno tanti pessi che questo regno non haveva più bisogno de Islanda, del quale vene una grandissima mercantia de pessi che si chiamanno stochfissi:—That sea is covered with fishes, which are taken not only with the net, but also with a basket, in which a stone is put so that the basket may plunge into water . . . They say that they will bring thence such a quantity of fish that England will have no further need of Iceland, from which a very great commerce of fish called stockfish is brought.”²¹

It is clear that the existence of vast quantities of cod is a circumstance which can apply to the entire transatlantic coast north of New England. Yet, however plentiful that species of fish may be on the banks of Newfoundland, the quantity is yet surpassed near the entrance of Hudson's Strait. Modern explorers report that, there, cod and salmon “form in many places a living mass, a vast ocean of living slime, which accumulates on the banks of Northern Labrador;”²² and the section which is noted for its “amazing quantity of fish,” is the vicinity of Cape Chudleigh, which the above details and other reasons seem to indicate as the place visited by John Cabot in 1497.

²¹ SONGINO, second dispatch.

²² Prof. HIND, *op. cit.*

CHAPTER III.

THE series of documents containing evidence supplied directly by Sebastian Cabot concerning the voyage of 1497, comprises the following :

1. A description given by Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (usually called simply Peter Martyr), in his third decade.¹
2. An account from some Mantuan gentleman (name unknown), furnished to Ramusio.²
3. An engraved map dated 1544.³

Peter Martyr, relying evidently upon Sebastian Cabot's own statements, says that the latter sailed towards the north; and, in July, being impeded by masses of floating ice, altered his course, and steered west; then southward to about the latitude of Gibraltar, and again west, until he reached an island near the latitude and to the left of Cuba. He coasted those shores, which he called *Baccalaos*.

It is plain that this description, whether it applies to the first voyage or subsequent expeditions, does not enable us to ascertain Cabot's landfall in 1497.

Nor do we find any information on that point in Sebastian's own narrative, as reported by the Mantua gentleman, viz.:

"With two (*sic.*) caravels in 1496 (*sic.*), in the beginning of July, I sailed towards the North-West found that the land ran northwards coasted to the 56th degree, but seeing the coast turned towards the East, I sailed southward (*sic.*) as far as Florida (*sic.*)"

The description in the map above-mentioned is far more explicit, and, for this reason, requires to be examined carefully.

¹ ANGLERIUS (Petr. Martyr.) *De rebus Oceanicis et Orbe nouo Decades tres*; Basileæ, 1533, folio, f. 55, B.

² RAMUSIO, *Discorso sopra varii Viaggi*, in *Primo Volume delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*, Venezia, 1563, folio, f. 374, E.

³ The only copy known is in the Geographical Department of the Paris National Library, and has

been reproduced in facsimile by JOMARD, *Monuments de la Géographie*. The portion relating to Cabot's alleged discoveries, reproduced in facsimile by PILINSKI, is inserted in our *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*. The legends were also facsimiled by Mr. BORELLI (Jomard's son-in-law), but for private circulation, and only a few copies have been lithographed.

That map is the unique and now celebrated planisphere said to have been constructed by Sebastian Cabot in 1544, but which was engraved we do not know when, where, and by whom.

It contains a series of twenty-two legends inscribed on two columns, one on the right, the other on the left of the reader. The legends, which bear the numbers 1—17, are both in Latin and Spanish; that is, the columns set forth first a legend in Spanish, and then a translation into Latin.

Legend 17 is the last numbered one, and bears the titles of *Retulo* (*sic. pro Rotulo*) and of *Epilogus*. The Spanish text begins as follows:

“Sebastian Caboto capitan y piloto mayor de la S.c.c.m. del Imperador don Carlos quinto deste nombre, y Rey nuestro sennor hizo esta figura extensa en plano, anno del nacim[ient]o de nrõ Saluador Iesu Christo de M.D.XLIIII.—Sebastian Caboto, captain and pilot-major of His Sacred Cesarean [Imperial] Majesty the Emperor Don Carlos, the fifth of that name, and the King our Lord, made this figure extended on a plane [surface], in the year of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ 1544.”

The Latin counterpart of the above is somewhat different, viz.:

“Sebastianus Cabotus Dux & archigubernius S.c.c.m. domini Caroli Imperatoris, huius nomini quinti, & Regis Hispaniæ domini nostri, summam mihi manum imposuit, & ad formam hanc protahens, plana figura me delineauit, anno ab orbe redempto, natiuitate Domini nostri Iesu Christi 1544 qui me iuxtâ graduum longitudinem ac latitudinem, uentorumque situm, cum docte tum fideliter:—Sebastian Cabot . . . wishing to achieve to convince me, made for me a plane figure, A.C. 1544, on which he traced for me with as much science and exactness, the degrees of latitude and longitude, and also the direction of the winds.”

Whether the grammatical construction of that legend implies the action of a third person intervening between Sebastian Cabot and the reader, (Dr. Grajales, for instance), or as is more probable, the sentence is only a pedantic prosopopœia by which the map is made to speak as an animated being, we must consider the geographical data inscribed thereon as proceeding from Sebastian Cabot himself.

It has been demonstrated elsewhere⁴ that this map is not based upon Sebastian Cabot's real or fancied own explorations, but upon the Portuguese and French cartographical data which also served for Pierre Descelliers's Dieppe planispheres, and other Franco-Lusitanian maps of the second half of the sixteenth century.

⁴ *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, pp. 80-85.

On Cabot's said map, in a position which, according to its scale, is $48^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude, and about west longitude 63° , there is a promontory, on the north-eastern extremity of which we read: "*Prima tierra vista* :—the first land seen." This cartographical assertion is repeated in the 8th legend, to which reference is made in an inscription placed across the continent, west of the words above quoted.

The legend reads as follows :

"Esta tierra fue descubierta por Ioan Caboto Veneciano, y Sebastian su hijo, anno del nascimiento de nuestro Saluador Iesu Christo de MCCCC.XCIIII. a ueinte y quatro de Iunio por la mannana, a la qual pusieron nõbre *prima tierra uista* :—That land was discovered by John Cabot, a Venetian, and Sebastian Cabot his son, in the year of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ 1494 [*sic. pro 1497*], on the 24th day of June in the morning, and they called it *the first land seen*."

This description and the point marked on the said map, would place Cabot's first landfall at Cape Percé, on the north-east coast of Cape Breton island.

In reality, the landfall on that occasion must have been ten degrees further north at least.

CHAPTER IV.

THE assertions of Sebastian Cabot just quoted are in contradiction with the authentic averments of his father, who states that in the first transatlantic voyage undertaken under the British flag (1497), he sailed from the west of Ireland (which implies a starting point no further south than 51° 15' latitude N.), and that so far from having steered thenceforth in a southern direction, he held first a northward, and then a westward course. Nowhere do we find the least indication that John Cabot sailed, going or returning, south of the latitude of Valentia.

Now the alleged landfall on the Cabotian planisphere of 1544 is only by 48° 30' lat. N. It is also at variance with the very explicit legends which mark on all previous maps the regions discovered by the English on the east coast of North America; and, as a consequence, with certain cartographical declarations set forth previously by or under the direct responsibility of Sebastian Cabot. We allude to the nautical charts which were designed by the cosmographers of Charles V., and to all maps derived, more or less directly from the same. But before describing their North American delineations and legends, it is necessary to give an account of what may be termed the Hydrographical Bureau at Seville, where, in the sixteenth century, those charts originated.

Pilotage and Hydrography were taught in Andalusia at a very early period, especially by Biscayan mariners. An ordinance from Ferdinand and Isabella, dated March 18, 1500, confirms the regulations which until then had been followed in a school of Basque pilots established at Cadiz. The document declares the origin of the school so ancient that "the memory of man runneth not to the contrary:—que de tanto tiempo acá que memoria de hombres non es en contrario."¹

¹ *Real cedula de 18 de marzo de 1500 dada en Sevilla por los Reyes Don Ferdinando y Doña Isabel, confirmando las ordenanzas del colegio de pilotos vizcainos establecido en Cadiz.* Cited by NAVARETE, *Disertacion sobre la Historia de la Náutica*; Madrid, 1846, 4to, p. 357. The most celebrated pilot and cartographer of the time was a Basque, Juan de la

Cosa, who accompanied Christopher Columbus on his first and second voyages. As he lived at Seville and in the Puerto de Santa Maria at least since 1492, his famous map of nearly the entire world, made in 1500, gives us doubtless an exact idea of the method used anciently in Cadiz by his Biscayan countrymen in making sea charts.

On the 20th of January, 1503, their Catholic Majesties created in Seville the *Casa de la Contratacion de las Indias*.² It was a vast State concern which embraced everything pertaining to the administration, laws, trade and maritime affairs in the New World. The *Casa* had its own pilots and cartographers, as well as professors of cosmography, and a technical office where charts were designed, or authenticated.

Cosmography and chart making were nevertheless freely taught outside of the institution, and the probability is that in all the ports of Andalusia there were pilots who made their living by drawing nautical maps, which they sold openly, and without being molested by the Spanish Government.³ But to avoid the dangerous consequences arising from too great a multiplicity of sailing charts, it was ordered, August 6, 1508, that an official pattern, called *Padron Real*, should be established.⁴ For that purpose a commission was named, and composed of the ablest pilots in the kingdom. Americus Vespuccius, for whom the office of Pilot-Major had been created expressly,⁵ became its president. According to Herrera,⁶ Juan Diaz de Solis and Vincente Yañez Pinzon were appointed Royal Pilots then and for the purpose of securing their services in that useful undertaking.

The model which those able mariners were directed to create was to include "all the land and isles of the Indies theretofore discovered and belonging to the Crown." This general map was to be considered official, and all pilots were prohibited from employing any other, under a penalty of 50 doubloons. They were also enjoined to mark on the copy which had been used on their voyages, "all the lands, isles, bays, harbours and other new things worthy of being noted;" and, the moment they landed in Spain, to communicate the chart so amended or annotated to the Pilot-Major.⁷

Whenever the Pilot-Major received new geographical data, they were communicated to the Crown cosmographers, with whom he discussed the expediency of inserting the same in the *Padron Real*. But maps or

² VEYTIA LINAGE, *Norte de la contratacion*, Seville, 1672, folio, lib. i., cap. i., p. 2, and *Primeras Ordenanzas para el establecimiento y gobierno de la Casa de la Contratacion de las Indias*; NAVARRETE, *Coleccion de los viages*, Vol. II., doc. cxlviii, p. 285.

³ See *infra*, the introduction to the *Cartographia Americana Vetustissima*.

⁴ *Real titulo de Piloto mayor*; NAVARRETE, Vol. III., doc. ix., p. 300.

⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. vii., p. 297.

⁶ HERRERA, *Decad. I.*, lib. vii., cap. i, p. 177; where the act is erroneously mentioned under the year 1507.

⁷ NAVARRETE, doc. ix., vol. iii., 199.

copies of that royal pattern were not issued by the *Casa de Contratacion* as they are, for instance, by the U. S. Coast Survey or the English Admiralty. The Pilot-Major and certain Crown pilots, by special appointment, took or caused to be taken copies of the *Padron Real*, which they sold for their own benefit, according to a tariff fixed by the *Casa*.⁸

As to the elements which served for making the first model, they were borrowed from maps then current in Spain, and not from special or actual surveys, even for the New World. And we may take for granted that the *Padron Real* presented entire sections which remained for a century or more totally unaltered, though sometimes erroneous in many respects. But there were also configurations furnished by the Crown pilots or cosmographers, and derived from their own stock of information. Those of Portuguese or Italian origin, like Americus Vespuccius and the Reinels, must have furnished data of that kind.

Now, Sebastian Cabot filled the office in Spain first of Crown pilot, from August 15, 1515, and then of Pilot-Major from February 5, 1518, until October 25, 1525, and from 1533 until at least October, 1547.⁹ Nor should we omit to state that not only by virtue of his office Sebastian was supervisor of the Chair of Cosmography in the *Casa de Contratacion*, and filled the professorship of nautical and cosmographic science in the institution,¹⁰ but was a member of the commission of pilots and geographers who in 1515 were required by King Ferdinand to make a general revision of all maps and charts.¹¹

Under the circumstances, it would prove highly interesting to compare some Sevillian official map made while Sebastian Cabot held the office of Pilot-Major, with the Cabotian planisphere of 1544. Unfortunately, they have all disappeared. The following fact also complicates the question.

Although the *Padron Real* was the object of much solicitude from the government, we find in the ordinances enacted by Charles V., proofs of negligence on the part of the pilots and cosmographers to whom it had been intrusted. They were charged with failing to maintain the hydrography of the New World to the required standard. On the other

⁸ "Por privilegios firmados á 12 de Julio de 1512, se concedió á Juan Vispuche [sic.] y á Juan de Solís que pudieran sacar traslados del padron general de las Indias, y venderlos á los pilotos al precio que dijese los oficiales de la Casa de Contratacion." *Muñoz MSS.*, Vol. XC., f°. 105, v.

⁹ For all those dates, see *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*,

leur origine et leurs voyages; études d'histoire critique; pp. 123, 126, 127, 331-335, 355.

¹⁰ NAVARRETE, *Disertacion sobre la Historia de la Náutica*, p. 134, mentions Sebastian Cabot as first on the list of the professors of cosmography in the *Casa de Contratacion*.

¹¹ HERRERA, *Decad. II.*, lib. I., cap. xii. p. 18.

hand, the sort of monopoly enjoyed first by Solis, then by Juan Vespuccius (Americus' nephew), who alone could dispose of copies of the *Padron Real*, induced unauthorized pilots to make and sell clandestine duplicates, which were necessarily inferior to the original, and probably introduced additional errors. The head pilots complained, as far back as 1513, of those repeated infringements, but no remedy was applied for several years, although the counterfeits not only departed greatly from the *Padron*, but even presented different scales of degrees,¹² and, consequently, a variety of latitudes. At last, Charles V., not in the pecuniary interest of his cosmographers or to increase the State revenue, but to render navigation safer, determined to cure the evil.

On the 6th of October, 1526, Fernando Columbus was commissioned to order Diego Ribero and other competent cosmographers¹³ to construct a sailing chart comprehending all the islands and the continent discovered and to be discovered: "una Carta de navegar en la qual se situen todas las Islas e Tierra firme questhobiesen descubiertas e se descubriesen de ay adelante."¹⁴

This royal order remained nevertheless a dead letter for nine years. At last, Queen Isabella of Portugal, during the absence of her husband Charles V. in Italy, May 20, 1535, enjoined Fernando Columbus to cause that all-important map to be executed at once: "lo acabeis con toda la brevedad, e sinon, entendais luego en que se efetue."¹⁵ We do not know at what time it was completed; but when ready, the Emperor confided the chart to the president and judges of the *Casa de Contratacion*, and ordered the Pilot-Major and cosmographers belonging to that institution to verify it twice a month. Charles V. went further. He authorized all professional cartographers residing at Seville, to design and sell maps of the New World, with no other restriction than to cause the same to be first approved by the Pilot-Major and the cosmographers of the *Casa*. He even permitted the Pilot-Major himself, not only to sell copies of

¹² *Coloquio sobre las dos graduaciones diferentes que las cartas de Indias tienen.* Muñoz MSS., Vol. XLIV., and ascribed to Fernando COLUMBUS. We are indebted to M. de LOLLIS, for copious extracts from the original of that curious dialogue; See, *infra*, in our History of the Lusitano-Germanic Cartography.

¹³ *Real Cedula a Don Hernando Colon*, in the *Coleccion de documentos ineditos de Indias*, Vol. XXXII., p. 512. This ordinance, dated May 20, 1535, refers to the one previously issued by the Em-

peror, in 1526. That junta not only comprised the pilot-major and His Majesty's cosmographers, but more than one hundred experienced pilots, besides other members versed in nautical science: "Más de cien pilotos, muchos de ellos antiguos en la navegacion de las Indias, y otras personas peritas en el arte," says the *Coloquio*. See also HERRERA, Decad. III., lib. x., cap. xi., p. 294.

¹⁴ *Real Cedula* above quoted.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

the *Padron General* (*ex-Padron Real*), but also maps and globes of his own making, provided that trade in such articles was not carried on within the city of Seville.¹⁶

This chart, known thenceforth under the name of *Padron General*, was not a complete innovation, and could be considered only as the *Padron Real* improved. We possess no copy of that standard map; but it doubtless revives in the description which Oviedo has given¹⁷ of the chart made by Alonso de Chaves in 1536.¹⁸ As Ribero died August 16, 1533,¹⁹ Chaves, who stood so high then as a cartographer, must have been entrusted with the task of continuing the work.

The commission to revise the *Padron* was appointed in 1526. On the other hand, Sebastian Cabot received, March 4, 1525,²⁰ the nomination of captain-general to command the fleet intended to visit the Moluccas; and actually sailed April 5, 1526, returning to Spain only in August, 1530.²¹ The maps designed in Seville or copied from the *Padron Real* between those two dates, were therefore commenced and terminated whilst Sebastian Cabot was on the Rio de la Plata. It is necessary nevertheless to examine them with the view of determining the character of their north-eastern configurations, and ascertain whether these must not be attributed, at all events, to Sebastian Cabot, or considered as containing data furnished by him while he filled the office of Pilot-Major.

It is only a quarter of a century after Juan de la Cosa made his celebrated planisphere (1500), that we find a Sevillian or Spanish map exhibiting the north-eastern American regions. This is the mappa-mundi on an equidistant polar projection devised by Juan Vespuccius, engraved in Italy, and of which there are two editions known.²² As the second edition is dated "1524," the map was originally constructed before that year, and at Seville, while Sebastian Cabot still held and exercised there the functions of Pilot-Major; Juan Vespuccius being designated therein under the title of "Pilot to the King," an office from which he was

¹⁶ *Recopilacion de leyes de los reynos de las Indias; Del Piloto Mayor y Cosmografos*, lib. ix., tit. xxiii., laws iii., viii., xii. &c., Madrid, 1681.

¹⁷ OVIEDO, *Historia General*, lib. xxi., cap. x., Vol. II., p. 148 seq.

¹⁸ See *infra* our *Cartographia Americana Vetustissima*, under the year 1536.

¹⁹ *Muñoz MSS.*, Vol. LXXVII., f.º 165, vo.

²⁰ HERRERA, *Decad.* III., lib. ix., cap. iii., p. 259, 260; NAVARRETE, Vol. V., p. 440.

²¹ He returned "poor and shabby:—muy desbaratado e pobre." Letter of Dr. Simão AFFONSO, published by FRANCISCO AD. DE VARNHAGEN, *Historia geral do Brazil*, ed. of 1854, 8vo, Vol. I., p. 439, note.

²² See *infra*, in the *Cartographia Americana Vetustissima*, sub anno 1523.

deprived only March 18, 1525. Now, in that extremely curious map, the *Tera del Bachaglia*, or the Codfish Country, is placed in the extreme north, bordering the Arctic circle, by 55° N. latitude according to its own scale. There are no further designations, but as the northern configurations are all beyond 55°, they embrace necessarily the countries which Sebastian Cabot claimed to have discovered in that part of the New World.

The next map is the one which was engraved at Venice for the readers of the *Libri della historia de l'Indie occidentali*, published in that city by Ramusio in 1534²⁴; but the map itself, or, rather, its prototype, is of an earlier date.

The map states that it was made from two nautical charts designed in Seville by the pilots of His Majesty (Charles V.): "cauata da due carte da'naicare fatte in Sibia da la piloti della Maiesta Cesarea." One of those charts is said in the *Libri* to be the work of Nuño Garcia de Torenó, who ranked among the most reputed Spanish cartographers of his time,²⁵ and to have been the property of Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, who died in 1526. As the *Padron General* was ordered in that year, and required considerable time and labour before it could be ready for use, we may fairly consider the map of the *Libri* as exhibiting data anterior to that year, and derived from the *Padron* as it existed when Sebastian Cabot was yet Pilot-Major. But it is not much older, as the name *Steuã gomez* (Estevam Gomez), inserted by 45° latitude north, carries us to November, 1525, which is the date of the return of that navigator.

It is but an extract, evidently abridged, and makes no explicit mention of the discoveries accomplished by the English in the northern regions of the New World. This omission would be sufficient to thrust it out of our inquiry, if it did not exhibit the configurations of the north-east coast precisely as we find them in all subsequent Sevillian maps, and, for that matter, as they must have been given in the charts copied at the *Casa de Contratacion* when Sebastian Cabot filled the office of Pilot-Major, and vised or otherwise endorsed all such copies.

We now proceed to examine charts which doubtless reproduce the

²³ NAVARRETE, *Coleccion*, Vol. III., p. 306, note.

²⁴ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 190, and *infra* in the *Cartographia*.

²⁵ Pedro Ruiz DE VILLEGAS, as quoted by Andrés Garcia DE CESPEDES, *Regimiento de Navegacion*, Madrid, 1606, folio, f°. 148.

configurations of the *Padron Real*, being the acknowledged works of Royal Cosmographers belonging to the Seville Hydrographic Bureau.

Three such maps yet exist, viz.:

*Carta Universal, en que se contiene todo lo, que del Mundo se a descubierto fasta aora hizola un cosmographo de Sv Majestad Anno MDXXVII. en Sevilla.*²⁶

Here, the configuration of the north-east coast is identically as in the preceding map of Garcia de Torenó, except that where we read *Lauorator* only, the inscription bears in full: *Tierra del laborador*, but with no allusion whatever to English voyages. The legend relating to that region is also placed by 60° north latitude, although the land extends south to 56° N.

The second map is the following:

*Carta Universal en que se contiene todo lo que del mundo Se ha descubierto fasta agora, Hizola Diego Ribero Cosmographo de su magestad: Año de. 1529.*²⁷

This likewise exhibits the same configurations of the north-east coast, placing the Labrador inscription by 60° lat. N., but with the most important additional remark that it was discovered by the English: "*Esta tierra descubrieron los Ingleses.*"

Finally, we possess a duplicate of that map, made by Ribero himself, which marks identical configurations in the same latitudes, but wherein the inscription reads as follows: "*Tierra del Labrador la qual descubrieron los Ingleses DE LA VILLA DE BRISTOL.*"²⁸ This latter specification is certainly a reference to the voyage made by John Cabot in 1497, as the vessel was manned chiefly by Bristol men: "sono quasi tutti inglesi et da Bristo," and sailed from that port.—"partitosi da Bristo."²⁹

Now, what is the latitude ascribed by Ribero to those English discoveries? From 56° to 60° N.

The maps made by Vesconte de Maggiolo in 1527,³⁰ Hieronymo Verrazzano³¹ in 1529, and the Wolfenbüttel map B,³² are, in those

²⁶ KOHL, *Die Beiden Altesten general Karten von Amerika*, Weimar, 1860, large folio; *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, No. II., pp. 172-175.

²⁷ *Ibidem.*

²⁸ THOMASSY, *Les Papes géographes*, Paris, 1852, 8vo, pp. 118. The original is preserved at the Propaganda, at Rome, and bears the arms of Julius II., which means only that it belonged to a member of the De La Rovere family, as the Pope of that name died in 1513.

²⁹ PASQUALIGO, *ubi supra.*

³⁰ *Infra*, facsimile, and *Cartographia*, sub anno, 1527.

³¹ J. CARSON BREVOORT, *Verrazano the Navigator*, New York, 1874, 8vo; HENRY C. MURPHY, *The Voyage of Verrazzano*, New York, 1875, 8vo; CORNELIO DESIMONTI, *Intorno al Fiorentino Giovanni Verrazzano*, Genova, 1881, 8vo, p. 101.

³² *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 186, and *infra*, our *Cartographia*, sub anno, 1530.

particulars, derivatives from Sevillian planispheres, more or less direct. They also place the English discoveries by 56°—60°, in Labrador; the Wolfenbüttel chart referring likewise explicitly to the "*Yngleses de la vila de bristol*."

The filiation is almost complete, and shows that in Seville the cosmographers of Charles V. never located the first transatlantic discoveries, accomplished under the British flag, by 45° north latitude, or at the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence close to Cape Breton Island. On the contrary they marked those discoveries ten degrees at least further north, along the region which cartographers then called Labrador.

Reverting to the Sevillian charts, true it is that the direct agency of Sebastian Cabot in the making of those maps has not yet been shown, inasmuch as he was absent from Spain when they were made. But in respect to the north-east coast, the cartographers of Seville cannot but have acted constantly on information derived from him; as we will endeavour to demonstrate.

What those northern configurations were on the *Padron Real* when Americus Vespuccius and Dias de Solis supervised it, we can only guess; but the reader may rest assured that if they differed from Sebastian Cabot's notions, he did not hesitate to correct them, as was his duty. When he first came to Spain, in 1512, Ferdinand of Aragon engaged his services chiefly on account of the exclusive knowledge which he claimed to possess concerning "la navegacion a los Bacallos;"³³ that is, to the north-east coast of the New Continent. Is it not evident therefore that the first use which he made of his specific experience was to cause the northern regions in official maps to tally with the charts which he or his father had brought from their transatlantic expeditions? It is not less certain that during all the time he had charge of the *Padron Real*, the Baccalaos regions must have been the object of particular attention on his part. Why should his successors in office alter those configurations, or place them in a different latitude? Between the Anglo-Portuguese navigation of 1505,³⁴ and John Rut's voyage of 1527, there have been no English expeditions from which any Spanish cosmographer might have derived data unknown to Sebastian Cabot. Even if, perchance, John Rut

³³ "Sabeis que en Burgos os hablaron de mi parte Conchillos i el Obp. de Palencia sobre la navegacion a los Bacallos e ofrecistes servirnos," wrote King Ferdinand of Aragon, then regent of Castile, to Sebastian

Cabot, September 12th, 1512. *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, No. xiv., p. 331; HERRERA, Decad. I., lib. ix., cap. xiii., p. 254.

³⁴ See *infra*, the concluding chapter.

had discovered any lands, the legends in the maps which we have just described could not apply to that navigator, as he was from Ratclif and sailed from Portsmouth;³⁵ whilst Ribero and his followers state positively that those northern regions were first seen by mariners from Bristol.

As to the inscription which ascribes the discovery simply to "*los Ingleses*," without specifying the port they came from, we must recollect that the Sevillian cartographers of 1527 were not the originators of it, and that the expression only conveys a matter of universal belief at the time. For instance:

In La Cosa's map of 1500, the line of English flags on the coast line bearing the legend "*Mar descubierta por Inglese*," begins with a *Cauo de ynglaterra* which, when reported approximately on our modern charts, corresponds with a point almost as high north as the entrance to Davis Strait. Humboldt³⁶ places the *Cauo de ynglaterra* near the Strait of Belle-Isle, which is by 53°, whilst Kohl³⁷ reduces it to "about 50° N." In either case it is further north than the point given by Sebastian Cabot for his landfall in 1497.

In the portolano of Vesconte de Maggiolo, made in 1511, there is a "*Terra de los Ingres*," which that celebrated cartographer has placed about ten degrees³⁸ even further north than his *Terra de Lavorador de rey de Portugall*, which brings the "Lands of the English," certainly nearer the North Pole than to Cape Breton Island.

In *The forme of a Mappe sent 1527 from Sivil in Spayne by maister Robert Thorne marchaunt to Doctor Ley Embassadour for King Henry the 8. to Charles the Emperour*,³⁹ we notice on the same line with *Noua terra laboratorum dicta*, or Labrador, a legend which reads as follows: "Terra nec ab Anglis primum fuit inuenta:—This land was first discovered by the English." It is inscribed by about 60° north latitude.

So far as we know, the Ribero map is the first in which the legend goes beyond stating that the discovery of Labrador was accomplished by the English, and specifies that they were Englishmen from Bristol. This detail, which must be taken as a direct allusion to the

³⁵ J. S. BREWER, *Calendar*, No. 3203. Letter from Albertus DE PRATO, in PURCHAS, Vol. III., p. 809.

³⁶ In F. W. GHILLANY, *Geschichte des Seefahrers Ritter Martin Behaim*; Nürnberg, 1853, 4to, p. 2.

³⁷ J. G. KOHL, *Documentary History of the State of Maine*; Portland, 1869, 8vo, p. 154.

³⁸ D'AVEZAC, *Atlas hydrographique de 1511*; Paris, 1871, 8vo, p. 13; *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 166.

³⁹ HAKLUYT. *Divers Voyages touching the Discoverie of America and the lands adjacent unto the same, made first of all by an Englishman*; London, 1582, 4to; *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, pp. 93 and 176.

Cabot expedition of 1497, was doubtless derived from Sebastian himself. Diego Ribero held daily intercourse with him at Seville since 1523, as one of the Crown cosmographers entrusted particularly with the making of nautical instruments.⁴⁰ He was also his colleague at the famous council of Badajoz in 1524,⁴¹ where the voyages to our north-east coast must have been constantly mooted, as the intended expedition of Estevam Gomez to discover the North-West passage depended greatly on the ruling of that junta. The cartographical information concerning the northern latitudes had to be furnished to the members of the council by Ribero. Is it not certain that he never communicated a map to the Spanish or Portuguese commissioners without first submitting it to Sebastian Cabot who sat by his side, and who, in the capacity of Pilot-Major, was his superior? Hence, naturally, conversations between those two cosmographers relative to the history of the voyages made by the Cabots to the north-east coast, and details about the agency of British mariners.

All those facts prove that the names, legends and configurations of the northern extremity of the New Continent, as inscribed and depicted in charts emanating from Spanish cosmographers in general, and Diego Ribero in particular, were supplied directly by Sebastian Cabot or through his professional instrumentality, and that during half-a-century he placed his landfall many degrees further north than is the *Prima vista* of the Paris Cabotian planisphere of 1544.

⁴⁰ *Jean et Sébastien Cabot, leur origine et leurs voyages*; pp. 173, 174, 184, note.

⁴¹ NAVARRETE, *Coleccion*, Vol. I., p. 124; HERRERA, *Decad.* III., lib. vi., cap. 6, p. 184.

CHAPTER V.

THE Cabotian planisphere of 1544 is the first map of the sixteenth century which locates the English discoveries and Cabot's landfall so far south as Cape Breton Island. A statement so contrary to all previous knowledge of the matter has prompted the inquiry whether Sebastian Cabot was really the author of that map.

It must be said at the outset that the legends from which we made the above extracts are not, in our opinion, the work of Sebastian Cabot, but of one Dr. Grajales, who wrote them at the Puerto de Santa Maria, shortly after the year 1544;¹ while the translation into Latin seems to have been made by some Dutch or German pedant² of the place where the map was engraved. The cartographical data, however, which served as a basis for those tabular explanations, were certainly furnished by Sebastian Cabot, or published with his assent, particularly as regards the configuration of the north-east coast of the American continent and the alleged landfall at Cape Breton.

In 1544, Charles V. reigned both in Germany and the Netherlands; and whether we consider the Cabotian planisphere as having been published in Spain, at Antwerp, or at Augsburg, it is not likely that anyone would have ventured to palm off on the Emperor's Pilot-Major a forgery of that character, nor add to the plate the Imperial arms. Besides, what proves the genuineness of the publication is the existence and circulation in England of the map while Sebastian Cabot lived and held an official position in that country. The importance of this fact makes it incumbent on us to produce our authorities for the statement.

As to the first assertion, we must recall the circumstance that Sebastian Cabot was still living in 1557; and that Eden, before 1555,

¹ See *infra*, in the appendix of the first part of the *Cartographia Americana Vetustissima*, the note entitled: *Alleged map of Columbus' navigations*.

² The self-laudatory expressions which also lead to think that Cabot did not write the legends, viz: "navi-

gandi arte astronomiaque peritissimus . . . astrorum peritia navigandique arte omnium doctissimus . . . fida doctissimaque magistra;" all three of which are in the Latin version of the Legend XVII, do not exist in the Spanish text, manuscript or printed.

which is the date of the first edition of his English translation of the Decades of Peter Martyr, published in that work certain "notable thynges as tovchyng the Indies," which, he said, were "translated owt of the bookes of Franciscus Lopes [Gomara] . . . and partly also owt of the carde made by Sebastian Cabot."³

The Cabotian planisphere could be seen at Westminster. Purchas, after referring to the voyage of 1497, sums up the eighth tabular legend, and adds: "These are the wordes of the great Map in his Maiestie's priuie Gallerie."⁴

There was also a copy in the castle of the Earl of Bedford: "Cabot's table which the Earle of Bedford hath at Cheynies," says Richard Willes.⁵

The map was re-engraved in 1549 by Clement Adams, schoolmaster to the King's henchmen at Greenwich. Hakluyt calls the eighth legend of that chart "an extract taken out of the mappe of Sebastian Cabot cut by Clement Adams concerning his discovery of the West Indias, which is to be seene in her Maiesties privy gallerie at Westminster."⁶ The original map of 1544 is a complete mappamundi. It is therefore a question whether the words in Hakluyt's caption: "concerning his discovery of the West Indias," which may refer either to an extract made by Hakluyt, or to the map itself, do not imply that Clement Adams only engraved the part relating to the New World, or a portion thereof. As to the date of 1549, we derive it from the marginal note of Purchas (placed on the same line with the quotation above given), viz.: "This map, some say, was taken out of Sir Seb. Cabot's map by Clem. Adams 1549;" which we interpret to mean that Adams' map was said to have been extracted in the year 1549 from "the *great Map* in his Maiesties priuie Gallerie." As Sir Humphrey Gilbert speaks of Cabot's maps in the plural tense: "His *Charts* which *are* yet to be seene in the Queenes Maiesties priuie Gallerie at Whitehall,"⁷ it may be that there could be seen both the map of 1544 or that of 1549, and Clement Adams' edition or supposed abstract. Be that as it may, Nathan Kochhaff saw at Oxford in 1566 one of those Cabotian maps, which bore the inscription: "Plana figura me delineavit 1549."⁸

³ EDEN, *Decades*; London, 1555, 4to, f. 324.

⁴ PURCHAS, *His Pilgrimage*; London, 1625, folio, Vol. III., p. 807.

⁵ WILLES' edition of EDEN's *History of Travayle*; London, 1557, 4to, f. 232.

⁶ *The Third and Last Volume of the Voyages*; London, 1600, folio, p. 6.

⁷ Discourse in HAKLUYT, *op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 24.

⁸ CHYTRÆUS (Kochhaff), *Variorum in Europa Itinerum Deliciae*; Herborn, 1594; 4to, p. 171.

We are inclined to believe that the map which Hakluyt first saw was the edition of 1544, as in the *Principall Navigations* of 1589 he gives for the discovery the erroneous date of 1494. If afterwards he altered it to 1497, we may infer that the change was due to his noticing the latter date on Adams' edition. Nor is it rash to suppose that the date of 1497 is a correction suggested by Cabot himself, as he and Adams certainly knew each other personally. Finally, "the cotype of Gabote's map sett out by Mr. Clemente Adams was in many marchants houses in London."⁹

It is impossible that the wily Venetian should not have been aware of the existence of those maps; and if he had no agency in such publications, or disapproved their cartographical averments, we would find traces of protest and disclaimer in the works of Eden¹⁰ or of Hakluyt;¹¹ nor would they have quoted or used the map.

What could then be Sebastian's object in placing at the southern entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence a landfall which for so many years previous had rightly figured, though it be only by implication, in all charts and portolani on the north-eastern coast of Labrador? Was it his personal interest to do so, and have we any reason to consider him as capable of making wilfully untruthful statements? These grave questions require the critic to examine with care and impartiality the real character of Sebastian Cabot.

⁹ HAKLUYT, *Westerne Planting*, written in 1584, and published for the first time in Vol. II. of the *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, Portland, 1870, 8vo, p. 126. As Clement Adams died only in 1587, Hakluyt who, born circa 1553, lived until 1616, must have known him personally; owing to their living in the same society circle, and devotion to congenial studies.

¹⁰ EDEN, who was personally acquainted with Sebastian Cabot, and derived information from him concerning his voyages (*The Decades of the New Worlde, or West India, conteyning the navigations of the Spanyardes*, London, 1555, preface, p. Ci, and fol. 249, 255, 268), has

seen that map, and, as we have already said, actually republished one of its legends.

¹¹ HAKLUYT also reprinted a legend taken from the same chart, a copy of which he saw hung up "in her Maiesties' priue gallerie at Westminster" (*Principall Navigations*, 1589, p. 511, and 1599, Vol. III. p. 6), and besides, from his language, he must have consulted "all of Sebastian Cabote's own mappes and discourses drawne and written by himselfe, which (he is the first to say) are in the custodie of Master William Worthington who is very willing to suffer them to be overseene."—*Divers voyages*, 1582.

CHAPTER VI.

SEBASTIAN Cabot certainly enjoyed a great reputation in Spain and in England. Ramusio's anonymous informer says that Sebastian had not his equal in Spain as a man versed in navigation and cosmography: "è così valente et patrico delle cose pertinenti alla navigazione et alla cosmographia, ch' in Spagna al presente non v' è un suo pari."¹ Guido Gianeti de Fano writes to Livio Sanuto that Sebastian was held in the highest esteem in England: "all' hora honoratissimo si ritrovara."² Ramusio, who corresponded with Sebastian Cabot, says that he was "a man of large experience, and uncommonly so in the art of navigation and the science of cosmography."³ He enjoyed the confidence of Charles V. during many years, as notwithstanding his disguised flight to England that prince maintained him in the office of Pilot-Major, and even increased his pension.⁴ In the entry of the donation of £200 which he received in March, 1551, from Edward VI., he is also called "Sebastian Caboto, the great Seaman."⁵

The elements of control which we possess do not allow us to account for the reputation which Sebastian Cabot enjoyed as a scientific mariner. Everyone is convinced now that it was his father, not he, who discovered the north-east coast of the American continent in 1497. The expedition to La Plata, which Sebastian commanded in person, proved an absolute failure;⁶ that of Willoughby and Chancellor, planned by himself in 1553, was also disastrous;⁷ and the expectations which Sebastian Cabot had caused the Company of Merchants Adventurers to entertain

¹ RAMUSIO, *Primo Volume*, f. 374.

² SANUTO (M. Livio), *Geografia distinta*, Vinegia, 1588, folio, recto of f. 2.

³ "Huomo di grande esperienza, et raro nell'arte del nauigare, et nella scienza di cosmografia."—RAMUSIO, *Terzo Volume*, Venetia, 1565, folio; Preface, verso of Aiiij.

⁴ Dispatch of Sir Philip HOBY; *Notes and Queries*, London, 3rd series, Vol. I., p. 125.

⁵ STRYPE, *Ecclesiastical memorials*; Oxford, 1822, 8vo, Vol. II., p. 402.

⁶ Letter from Luis RAMIREZ, *Revista Trimensal*, Rio de Janeiro, Vol. XV., pp. 14-21; OVIEDO, *Historia General de las Indias*, Madrid, 1852, Vol. II., p. 176.

⁷ Every one knows the tragic end of Sir Hugh WILLOUGHBY, which is probably the origin of the legend of the Phantom Ship.

when he promoted the voyage of Stephen Burrough were not realised.⁸ Notwithstanding his alleged discovery of the variations of the needle,⁹ and his boast that he had found a new method of ascertaining the longitude at sea,¹⁰ no invention of any sort can be justly ascribed to him; and as to the planisphere of 1544, it is a very indifferent cosmographical performance.¹¹ The probability is that Sebastian Cabot owed his influence and reputation to the simple fact that he claimed to know where there existed a passage to the Pacific Ocean, first by the North-West, then by the South-West, and afterwards by the North-East; and was shrewd enough to make Ferdinand of Aragon, Charles V., Henry VIII., Edward VI., and other influential people believe that he was actually in possession of that secret,—the great desideratum then and since of all maritime nations.¹²

Be that as it may, whether Sebastian Cabot was or was not a great navigator and cosmographer, it is certain that we must consider him as a dishonest man, capable of disguising the truth, whenever it was his interest to do so.

The account of the discovery of the north-east coast given by Peter Martyr is borrowed exclusively from Sebastian Cabot, when the latter was his guest: "Familiarem habeo domi Cabottum ipsum, et contubernalem interdum."¹³ Yet, it contains no mention whatever of John Cabot, and the merit of the discovery is ascribed solely to Sebastian: "Scrutatus est eas Sebastianus Cabotus . . . Duo is sibi navigia propria pecunia in Britannia ipsa instruxit, et primo tendens cum hominibus tercentum ad septentrionem :—These northe seas haue byn searched by one Sebastian Cabot He therfore furnisshed two shippes in England at his own charges: And fyrst with three hundreth men, directed his course" ¹⁴ Had Sebastian ever mentioned his father's name to Peter Martyr in connection with that discovery, the latter would certainly have inserted it in his Decades.

⁸ The expedition commanded by BURROUGH was intended for the discovery of the passage to Cathay. As regards the *Company of Merchant Adventurers*, it is said to have been created by virtue of the charter granted by Queen Mary, February 26th, 1555.—LEMON, *Calendar*, Vol. I. p. 65. Yet in SANSBURY'S *Calendar (East-Indies)*, Vol. I., p. 3, No. 5, in the caption of Willoughby's Journal, under the date of September 18th, 1553, Sebastian Cabot is already called "Governor of the Mystery and Company of the Merchants Adventurers of the city of London."

⁹ Legend 17 of the map of 1544; SANUTO, *Geografia distinta*, f. 2; and the authorities quoted in *Christophe*

Colomb, Vol. I., p. 251, notes 1-3. Columbus in 1492 noticed (after others) the extent of the variation of the needle, and that it was different in various places; Log book or *Derrotero*, in NAVARRETE, *Coleccion de Viajes*, Vol. I. pp. 8, 9.

¹⁰ JEAN TAISNIER, *A very necessarie and profitable Booke concerning navigation . . . translated into Englische by Richard Eden*; London, s. a., 4to; in the *Epistle Dedicatorie*.

¹¹ KOHL, *Documentary History of Maine*, p. 371.

¹² HERRERA, *Decad. I.*, lib. ix., cap. xiii., p. 254.

¹³ ANGHIERA, *Decad. I.*, lib. vi., f. 55, 1.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, c, and EDEN'S translation.

Also in Sebastian's own words, as reported by the Mantua gentleman, it was he alone who accomplished the first voyage, his father being said by him to have been dead when Henry VII. granted the required authorisation to undertake it :

“Mori il padre in quel tempo che venne noua che'l signor don Christophoro Colombo Genouese havea scoperta la costa dell' Indie, et se ne parlava grandemente per tutta la corte del Re Henrico vij, che allhora regnava . . . subito feci intender questo mio pensiero alla Maestà del Re, il qual . . . mi armò due caravelle . . . et cominciai a navigar . . . in capo d'alquanti giorni la discopersi . . . &c.:—When my father died in that time when newes were brought that Don Christopher Colonus Genoese had discovered the coasts of India, whereof was great talke in all the court of King Henry the Seventh, who then raigned . . . I thereupon caused the king to be advertised of my devise, who immediately commanded two caravels to bee furnished with all things . . . and I began therefore to saile . . . After certaine dayes *I found* . . . &c.”¹⁵

Now, Lorenzo Pasqualigo, who was an eye-witness of the navigator's return, and Raimondo di Soncino, who also interviewed him then, and was, moreover, his personal friend,¹⁶ both name him “Zoanne Caboto,” and never mention Sebastian. John Cabot, so far from being dead when the expedition was fitted out, received, personally, from Henry VII. on the 13th of December, 1497, a pension, evidently as a reward for the discovery which he had just accomplished.¹⁷ Furthermore, there was only one discoverer, at least on that occasion, and not several, as the English King, August 10th, 1497, that is, immediately upon the return of the expedition, gave from his privy purse £10 “to *hym* that found the New Isle.”¹⁸ On the other hand, there can be no doubt about the identity of the discoverer whom Henry VII. meant, as in his second letters patent, dated February 3, 1498, he says that “the Londe and Isles of late found,” were discovered “by the seid John Kabotto, Veneciane.”¹⁹

Nay, it is not certain that Sebastian even accompanied his father to the New World, although he is one of the grantees mentioned in the letters patent of 1496, the others being his father and brothers Lewis and Sanctius. Peter Martyr, notwithstanding the fact that he was on friendly terms with Sebastian Cabot, and not prone to disparagement,

¹⁵ RAMUSIO, Vol. I., *loc. cit.*, and HAKLUYT.

¹⁶ “Et per essere io fatto amico de Larmirante.” “The Admiral” is the name John Cabot then popularly went by.

¹⁷ Collection of Privy Seals, No. 40. cited by Mr.

Charles DEANE, *John and Sebastian Cabot*, Cambridge, 1886, 8vo, p. 56.

¹⁸ *Excerpta Historica*, p. 113.

¹⁹ *A Memoir of Sebastian Cabot* [by Richard BIDDLE], Philadelphia, 1831, 8vo, p. 75; and DESIMONI, *Intorno*, p. 56.

confesses that there were Spaniards who denied his having been the discoverer of the Bacallaos region, or that he ever sailed westward: "Ex Castellanis non desunt, qui Cabottum primum fuisse Baccalaorum, reperitorem negent tantumque ad occidentem tetendisse minime assentientur."²⁰

What is more, in March 1521, the twelve great Livery Companies of London having been required by Henry VIII. to furnish a heavy contribution towards fitting out ships of discovery to be placed under the command of Sebastian Cabot, the drapers, who had undertaken to settle the terms and amount for all the parties, made representations to the King, the Lord Cardinal (Wolsey) and the Council, against the projected expedition. Their principal reason was that the intended commander, Sebastian Cabot, could not be trusted, in these very significant words:

"And we thynk it were to sore avent^r to joperd V shipps w^t men and goods vnto the said Iland [the Newe found Iland] vppon the singuler trust of one man callyd as we vnderstoud Sebastyan, whiche Sebastyan as we here say was neu^r in that land hym self, all if he maks reports of many things as he hath hard his Father and other men speke in tymes past . . . trusting to the said Sebastyan, we suppos it were no wysdom to avent^r lyves and goods thider in suche man . . ." ²¹

Cardinal Wolsey, to whom these severe objections were particularly addressed, was twenty six years old when the first English transatlantic expedition sailed from Bristol; and by his position then in the Marquis of Dorset's family, must have known the circumstances attending that voyage, the results of which created such a great sensation in London.²² Moreover, Sebastian Cabot was in England²³ when these representations were lodged in the hands of the competent authorities. That under such circumstances the Livery Companies should have ventured to make so bold a statement, officially, to the King, to Wolsey, and to the Council, is a matter worthy of notice. It proves, at all events, that if Sebastian ever played any part in those expeditions, it must have been very insignificant.

²⁰ ANGHIERA, *De rebus Oceanicis et Orbe nouo decades tres; ubi supra.*

²¹ *Wardens Accounts of the Drapers Company, London*; MSS. Vol. VII., f^o. 87. This important document was first made known by the late William HERBERT, in his highly valuable *History of the twelve great Livery Companies of London*. 1837, 8vo, Vol. I., p. 410. Our text is taken from a copy of the original records, kindly

secured at our request by Miss Mary TOULMIN SMITH. For the complete document, see *infra*, Appendix A.

²² "Vienli [John Cabot] fate grande honor e va vestito de seda e sti Inglexi li vano driedo a mo pazi . . ."—Letter of Lorenzo PASQUALIGO, in Marin SANUTO, *Diarii*, Vol. I., p. 807.

²³ "Hor ritrovandomi ja tre anni, salvo il vero, in Ingelterra."—Dispatch of CONTARINI.

What is worse, if Diego Garcias, a fleet commander, and "marinero insigne," as Barcia calls him,²⁴ is to be trusted, Sebastian Cabot was incapable of leading an expedition of that character, as he could not make even the most elementary calculations: "no supo tomar el rumbo."²⁵ But this we scarcely believe.

In the conversation with the Mantua gentleman, Sebastian ascribed his leaving England and seeking employment in Spain to the "great tumults among the people, and preparation for the war to be carried into Scotland," and mentioned the Catholic King and Queen Isabella as having entertained him at that time:—"Dove giunto trovai grandissimi tumulti di popoli sollevati, et della guerra in Scotia . . . per ilche me ne venni in Spagna al Re Catholico, et alla Regina Isabella, i quali mi raccolsero." He goes so far as to add that Ferdinand and Isabella sent him to discover the coast of Brazil: "mi diedero buona provisione faccendomi navigar dietro la costa del Bresil, per volerla scoprire."²⁶

Whether the fault must be ascribed to Cabot or to his interlocutor, it is difficult to jumble together in a few sentences so many erroneous statements and anachronisms. The great tumults among the people can only be the irruption of the Scots and inroads of the Cornish rebels, who "neere incamped to the citie."²⁷ This occurred in the spring of 1497, as the battle of Black-heath was fought on the 22nd of June, 1497.²⁸ At that time, Cabot was on the coast of Labrador. When he returned to England in August following, the "preparation to carry war into Scotland" had long been over, as, according to Holinshed, "King James had retired without proffer of battle," and Pedro de Ayala²⁹ was negotiating the truce which was finally concluded in the month of January following.³⁰ Cabot, so far from endeavouring to remove to Spain, was then soliciting

²⁴ CARDENAS Z CANO (viz; Andres Gonz. BARCIA), *Ensayo Chronologico para la historia general de la Florida*; Madrid, 1723, folio, 10th leaf.

²⁵ *Loc. cit.*, and HERRERA, Decad. III., lib. x., cap. i., p. 278. See, however, BIDDLE's plausible attempt at vindicating Sebastian Cabot in this respect; *Memoir*, pp. 138-142.

²⁶ RAMUSIO, Vol. I., *ubi supra*.

²⁷ HOLINSHED, *Chronicles*, London, 1586, folio, Vol. II., p. 781.

²⁸ HUME, *History of England*, Boston, 1854, 8vo, Vol. II. p. 541.

²⁹ The English historians call him "Hialyas." He must be the Pedro de Ayala whom Ferdinand and Isabella sent with Lopez de Carbajal as ambassador to the King

of Portugal, on the return of Columbus, relatively to the latter's first voyage, and concerning whom BARROS reports a quaint remark from Joam II.: "Aquella embaixada del Rey nao tinha pès nem cabeça. (Alludindo isto a Pero Dayala que era manco de hum pé, e a dom Garcia por ser homem pouco enleuado et vão.)" Decad. I., lib. iii., cap. xi., f. 57 (edition of 1752). If so, Ayala was quite familiar with Columbus and his discoveries, and the above quoted dispatch which he sent from London concerning John Cabot acquires greater credit still.

³⁰ "Peace with the King of Scotland is in course of negotiation" (Sept. 9th, 1497). "The ambassador from the King of Scotland has arrived to conclude a truce" (Novemb. 28th). "Affairs with the King of Scotland are well nigh pacified" (January 11th, 1498) Rawdon BROWN, *Calendar*, Vol. I., Nos. 754, 760, 763.

a new licence from Henry VII., who granted it February 3, 1498; and preparations were immediately made for the expedition; which set out from Bristol in April next ensuing.

On the other hand, Sebastian Cabot told a different story to Peter Martyr. According to his statement, it was upon the death of Henry VII. that he abandoned the service of England, and removed to Spain: "Vocatus nanque ex Britannia à rege nostro catholico post Henrici maioris Britanniae regis mortem."³¹

This new allegation is just as untrue as the other. Henry VII. died April 22, 1509, and Sebastian Cabot was yet in the employ of the English government, May 12, 1512,³² with his home and wife: "su mujer i casa," still in England on the 20th of October following.³³

As regards his statement that he was sent by Ferdinand and Isabella to make discoveries on the coast of Brazil, it is well to mention that Isabella died November 26, 1504, and Ferdinand January 23, 1516, while the expedition to the Brazilian coast was projected during the summer of 1524, and sailed under the command of Sebastian Cabot April 25, 1526.³⁴

When speaking to Italians, Sebastian Cabot claimed to be a Venetian by birth, who had been brought over to England as a child: "Genere Venetus, sed a parentibus in Britanniam insulam tendentibus . . . transportatus penè infans,"³⁵ he said to Peter Martyr. Ten years later, Sebastian likewise declared to Gaspar Contarini that he was born in Venice, but reared in England: "Per dirve il tutto, io naqui a Venetia ma sum nutrito in Ingelterra."³⁶ He made besides the same statements in writing to the mighty Council of the Ten: "Uno Sebastiano Cabotto *che dice* esser di questa città nostra;"³⁷ which assertion is still corroborated by other evidence,³⁸ and is unquestionably true. But when

³¹ Petr. MARTYR D'ANGHIERA, *ubi supra*.

³² J. S. BREWER, *Calendar domestic and foreign*, Vol. II., part ii., p. 1456.

³³ Dispatch from Ferdinand of Aragon to Luis Caro; *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xviii., p. 332.

³⁴ HERRERA, Decad. III., lib. ix., cap. iii., p. 260; NAVARRETE, Vol. V., p. 440.

³⁵ Peter MARTYR, *ubi supra*.

³⁶ Rawdon BROWN, *Calendar*, Vol. III., No. 607; C. BULLO, *La Vera patria di Nicolo de' Conti e di Giovanni Caboto*; Chioggia, 1880, 8vo, p. 64.

³⁷ Rawdon BROWN, *op. cit.*, No. 558; BULLO, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

³⁸ RAMUSIO (*loc. cit.*), who was in correspondence with Sebastian Cabot calls him "Signor Sebastiano Cabotto cittadino Venetiano." Besides, his Venetian birth

results from the following facts: He must have been of age, that is, at least twenty-one years old, when he was made one of the grantees of the English letters patent of March, 1496, together with his two brothers, one of whom, being named after him, was apparently his junior. Sebastian, therefore, was already born in 1474, at least. Now his father resided then at Venice, as the Senate granted him the naturalisation *de intus et extra*, March 28, 1476, according to law, after a continued residence of fifteen years in Venice; "per habitationem annorum XV. iuxta consuetum." Docs. I. and II., in *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, pp. 2, 309, and 313. See also the allusion to information which the Crown should ask of "maisters and mariners *naturally born* within this Realm of England," in the above cited Memorial of the Livery Companies protesting against the employment of Sebastian CABOT.

twenty-five years afterwards we find him settled in England, receiving or expecting new favours from Edward VI., and speaking to Englishmen, he declares just as positively that he is their countryman: "Sebastian Cabote tould me that he was borne in Bristowe," says Richard Eden."³⁹

So far for the veracity of Sabastian Cabot. Let us now see his moral worth.

The Spanish sovereigns always treated Sebastian Cabot with great consideration and liberality. Ferdinand of Aragon appointed him sea captain,⁴⁰ and to some employ at the Court, as Peter Martyr says he was his colleague: "concurialis noster esset."⁴¹ Charles V. made him Pilot-Major,⁴² which was the highest position which a technical mariner could occupy in Spain, and granted him various salaries amounting to the relatively large sum for the time of 300 ducats per annum.⁴³ Nor should we forget that those appointments and liberalities were prompted chiefly by Sebastian Cabot's alleged assurances that he alone could conduct the Spanish fleets to some mysterious straits leading to the Moluccas. Yet, in 1522, he sent in secrecy to Venice an agent called Hieronymo Marin, for the purpose of selling the pretended secret to the Council of the Ten. We must refer to the dispatches⁴⁴ which were exchanged on that occasion between the Council and Gaspar Contarini, the Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to see the low intrigues and falsehoods which formed the woof and warp of that audacious treachery.

Sebastian Cabot returned from La Plata in disgrace. He had committed nefarious acts,⁴⁵ for which he was arrested on his arrival in Seville in August, 1530, tried and sentenced to two years exile at Oran, in Africa.⁴⁶ He was also the object of other prosecutions of a damaging character on that account.⁴⁷ Charles V., however, restored him to the position of Pilot-Major, in preference to eminent cosmographers of Spanish

³⁹ EDEN's translation of Peter Martyr's *Decades*, ed. of 1555, f^o. 255.

⁴⁰ *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xvii., p. 332.

⁴¹ Peter MARTYR D'ANGHIERA, *ubi supra*.

⁴² On the 5th of February, 1518, upon the death, it is said, of Juan Diaz DE SOLIS. Yet the latter died three years previous, in 1515. HERRERA, *Decad. II.*, lib. i., cap. vii., p. 12.

⁴³ Dispatch of CONTARINI, in BULLO, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

⁴⁴ Rawdon BROWN, *Calendar*, Nos. 557, 558, 607, 632, 666, 670, 750, 1115; and BULLO, pp. 61-70.

⁴⁵ "Sebastian Caboto fue preso à pedimento de algunos parientes de algunas personas, que dicen que es culpado en sus muertes, y por otros que desterró y tambien a pedimento del fiscal, por no haber guardado las instrucciones que llevó: y así fue preso, y dada la corte por cárcel con fianzas."—NAVARRETE, Vol. V., doc. xvii., p. 333. "Cometió con ellos [los capitanes, maestros y pilotos?] muchas atrocidades."—NAVARRETE, *Biblioteca Marítima*, Vol. II., p. 698.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 699.

⁴⁷ Documents mentioned in the *Lista de la Exposición Americanista*; Madrid, 1881, 8vo, B, Nos. 54, 55.

birth, such as Alonso de Chaves, Pedro de Medina, and Alonso de Santa Cruz. A document lately published, seems to indicate that the Emperor soon had occasion to regret this choice. On the 13th of March, 1534,⁴⁸ he ordered that the manner in which Sebastian Cabot performed the duties of Pilot-Major, and particularly his mode of examining pilots for the purpose of granting them the required licence, should be inquired into. The tone of the order authorises us to think that it was prompted by some delinquency on the part of Sebastian Cabot. He was, however, maintained in office.

Notwithstanding the Emperor's kind treatment, Sebastian recommenced intriguing with foreign nations; and in 1547, under the same old pretence that he knew of a shorter sea route to China, managed to obtain from the Privy Council of Edward VI.⁴⁹ that his services should be secured on behalf of England. Pretexting doubtless some private affairs in that country, he obtained from Charles V. leave to absent himself; and, appointing *ad interim* in his place of Pilot-Major Diego Gutierrez, who was a man of the same ilk as himself, repaired to London. Once there, although still in the employ of Spain, and receiving a salary and a pension from the Emperor, he accepted from Edward VI., in 1548, a large annuity⁵⁰ and an important office, if it was not yet the post of Grand-Pilot of England. Thus selling again the alleged secret for which he had already received and continued to receive pay from another, and committing one more breach of trust.

Sebastian Cabot had been living in England only a few years, enjoying high honours and considerable emoluments, when he renewed his intrigues with the Venetian ambassador. Here again, we must refer the reader to diplomatic dispatches⁵¹ for details concerning this third attempt from Sebastian Cabot at betraying a sovereign in whose employ he was, and notwithstanding the favours which he continued to receive from him.

⁴⁸ *Real Cédula à los Oficiales de Sevilla mandandoles fagan ynformacion para averiguar los derechos quel Capitan Sebastian Caboto lleva por el exámen de los Pilotos; cómo e de qué manera los a examinado e examina.*—In the *Coleccion de documentos inéditos de Indias*, Vol. XXXII., p. 479.

⁴⁹ *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxxiv., p. 358.

⁵⁰ HAKLUYT, *The Third and Last Volume of the Voyages . . . and Discoveries of the English Nation*, p. 10.

⁵¹ Rawdon BROWN, *Calendar*, Vol. V., No. 711; *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxxv., p. 361; Wm. B. TURNBULL, *Calendar*, p. 171, No. 444; Sir Thomas HARDY, *Report on the documents in the archives of Venice*, 1866, p. 8.

Those documents exhibit likewise the duplicity which was so striking on similar occasions.⁵²

Such proofs of constant mendacity and treason show that Sebastian Cabot was capable of swerving from the truth whenever it might profit him.

What then were the interested motives which could prompt him in 1544 to locate at the southern entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence a landfall which in reality had been effected ten degrees further north? The absence of documents, and difficulty to scrutinize the inner incentives of anyone, compel us to answer this question only by resorting to hypothesis.

In 1544, a great change had taken place relatively to the importance of the more northern coast of the new continent. The seas which bathed those regions were no longer a mere common fishing ground frequented by the smacks of Portugal, Biscay, Brittany, Normandy, and England. The successful explorations accomplished by Jacques Cartier, from 1534 until 1543, had been followed by the planting of French colonies. The site selected was not Labrador, on which, in all the maps of the time, was inscribed the uninviting legend: "No ay en ella cosa de provecho:—Here there is nothing that can be of any use," but around the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the island of Cape Breton, which the reports of Cartier and Roberval to Francis I. represented to be a beautiful and fertile country, with rich copper mines, fine ports and the most navigable rivers in the world. Gomara, in a work written before 1551, and addressed to Charles V., says of that region: "The French are settling or will settle the country, for it is just as good a land as France:—Dicen que [los Franceses] pueblan allí ó que poblarán, por ser tan buena tierra como Francia."⁵³

The voyage of Master Hore in 1536, favoured by Henry VIII., was doubtless prompted by the news of Cartier's first successful results;

⁵² Sebastian Cabot is also charged with having "résisté à payer les 10,000 maravédís à la veuve de Vespucci, jusqu'à ce que l'on l'y eut contraint." VARNHAGEN, *Amerigo Vespucci*, p. 119, note. The facts, however, are as follows: When VESPUCCIUS died, February 22nd, 1512, Juan Diaz DE SOLIS succeeded him in the office of pilot-major; but under the express condition that out of his salary, he should pay to Maria CEREZO, VESPUCCIUS' widow, during her life-time, annually, 10,000 mrs., which he did faithfully. Sebastian CABOT was appointed to the post, February 5th, 1518 (NAVARRETE, *Bibliotheca Maritima*, Vol. II., p. 308). But as the warrant omitted to

mention the pension, the officials of the Casa de Contratacion,—apparently at the suggestion of Sebastian CABOT,—Maria CEREZO appealed to Charles V., who declared that it was a charge on the office of pilot-major, and ordered the five years' arrears to be liquidated at once, and the annuity to be paid until her death, regularly. She died, December 26th, 1524, without her leaving any other heir than a sister, which is a proof that Americus VESPUCCIUS left no children. See document xiv. in NAVARRETE, *Coleccion de viages*, Vol. III., p. 308.

⁵³ GOMARA, *Primera y segunda parte de la Historia de las Indias*, p. 178.

and although it was not followed, so far as we know, by other English expeditions, Sebastian Cabot's cartographical statement, as embodied in the planisphere of 1544, may well have been a suggestion for British claims, and a bid for the King of England's favour. To place within the Gulf of St. Lawrence the landfall of 1497, was tantamount to declaring that region to be English dominion, as the discovery had been accomplished by vessels sailing under the British flag: "sub banneris vexillis et insigniis nostris," and whose commander, by virtue of a royal commission, had actually planted that flag when landing on those shores for the first time.⁵⁴ Nor was the hint conveyed at an unseasonable time; Henry VIII. being then and remaining at war with Francis I. until 1547. At all events, it is certain that "the Title which England has to that part of America, which is from Florida to 67 degrees northward," is or was derived "from the letters patent granted to John Cabote and his three sons," to use the language of Hakluyt.⁵⁵

Such underhand dealings were also in keeping with Sebastian Cabot's natural disposition, as we have shown him constantly engaged in plotting and corresponding in secret with foreign rulers to advance his own interest. The planisphere was only designed in 1544: "hizo esta figura anno de MDXLIIII.;" and the engraving at a great distance from Seville, where Sebastian then lived, may have retarded its publication until a year or eighteen months after that date. Now, there is in the Council Register of Edward VI., a £100 warrant, dated October 7th, 1547, "for the transporting of one Shabot (*sic.*), a Pilot, to come out of Hispain to serve and inhabit in England."⁵⁶ This individual is unquestionably Sebastian Cabot, inasmuch as in 1549, we see Charles V. request sternly the English ambassador to cause the return to Spain of "one Sebastian Gabote, his generall pilot, presently in England."⁵⁷ The order and warrant were then only the results of a series of efforts and

⁵⁴ Henry VII., in his letters patent of February 3rd, 1498, says that the "Londe and Iles were founde by the seid John [Kabotto] in oure name and by oure commandemente." Original text of those letters patent first published by Richard BIDDLE, *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, p. 75.

⁵⁵ HAKLUYT, *Divers voyages*; London, 1582, in the dedication to Sir Philip Sydney. The earliest assumption of that character which we have found, is in the long argument written in 1580, by John DEE, on the back of his map of America (British Museum, MSS., *Cott. Aug.*

I., *i.*, *art. 1*), where he bases on the discoveries or voyages of Cabot, Robert Thorn and Eliot, "the Queenes Maiesties Title Royale to these foreyn Regions and Islands."

⁵⁶ *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxxiv., p. 358. An imperfect transcription of the name (viz.: *S. Cabot* misspelled *Shabot*) easily accounts for the above erroneous spelling, or *lapsus pennæ*.

⁵⁷ *Notes and Queries*, London. 3d Series, Vol. I., p. 125, where the Emperor's demand is carefully printed from the original text by Mr. Cl. HOOPER.

intrigues on the part of Sebastian Cabot, to leave the service of Charles V. and obtain a better position in England. The time required for the endeavours and correspondence brings us very near the date when the planisphere must have reached London. It is difficult to see a mere coincidence between those facts; and they certainly constitute important elements to ascertain the motives of Sebastian Cabot for placing the landfall of the English in a fertile country which was then being colonised by a rival nation.

It follows that the placing of Cabot's landfall at Cape Breton was an afterthought. If in connection with this fact we recollect that during forty-four years previous, all the maps locate expressly or by implication the first discoveries of the English in the New World ten degrees further north; that witnesses of undoubted veracity and entirely disinterested testify having heard John Cabot declare that he sailed westward of Ireland, without alluding to a change southward in the course of the ship, at any time during the voyage, we feel constrained to place his *prima tierra vista*, in 1497, beyond $51^{\circ} 15'$ latitude north.

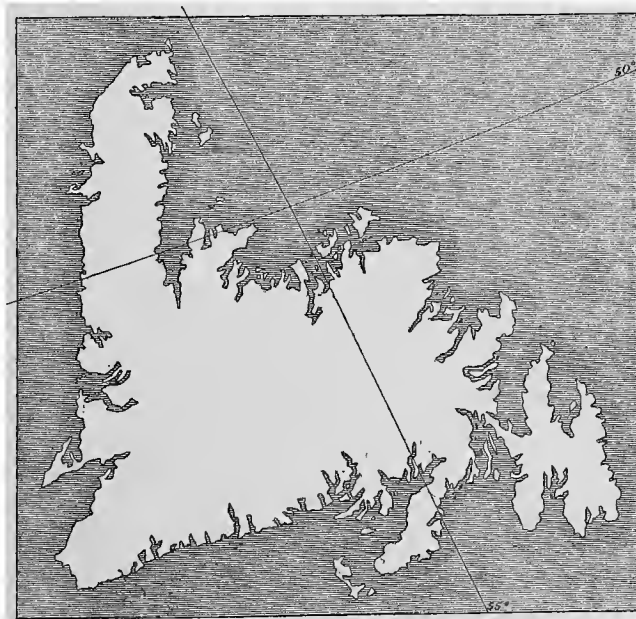
Taking moreover into consideration that, according to the same contemporary and unimpeached evidence, John Cabot not only did not sail in his first expedition towards the south after he had proceeded westward from a point which was at or above $51^{\circ} 15'$ latitude north, but on the contrary thence stood to the northward, and afterwards steered in a due westerly direction, the critic must place the landfall on some point of the north coast of Labrador, probably between the headlands of Sandwich Bay and Cape Chudleigh.

The other data, however spare and vague, might lead us to suppose that John Cabot entered Hudson's Strait, followed the southern border of the *Meta Incognita*, retraced his course before going far into that direction, and came out at Cape Chudleigh, whence he would have sailed straight back to Bristol.

A serious objection to this latter hypothesis is the fact that John Cabot, when homeward bound, saw two islands of considerable size to starboard. Pasqualigo does not specify the character of those islands, as he says only: "al tornar aldreto a visto do ixole." Soncino is more explicit. "The two islands were extremely large:—due insule grandissime." According to Professor Hind, that coast of North Labrador "is

fringed with a vast multitude of islands;"⁵⁸ but nautical charts begin to mark large isles only at the entrance of Hudson's Strait. Of the two islands in Ungava Bay, one, Akpatok, is very large, but the other, Green, is rather small. Then, according to this hypothetic route, John Cabot, when reaching the headland at Cape Chudleigh, would have launched into what must have looked to him to be the open sea (as between Chudleigh and Resolution Island the gap is 45 miles wide), instead of hugging the shore and doubling the cape, which, owing to his small craft and the lack of provision, he would have been induced to do in preference. Is it not more probable, then, that after following up his supposed landfall in Labrador (somewhere about Sandwich Bay or Invuctoke), as far west as Cape Chudleigh, he turned his prow easterly, and when on the east shore of Newfoundland, mistook for mere islands the two large or other peninsulas which project on that side from the main body of the isle?

The latter hypothesis is so much the more plausible that the east coast of Newfoundland is indented with bays running, in some instances, 80 or 90 miles inland, and at no great distance from each other.⁵⁹ The peninsula of Avalon, pointing south-east, is even almost severed from the principal portion of the island, the connection being a narrow isthmus, in one place but three miles wide.



⁵⁸ Lieut. Ed. CHAPPELL, *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson's bay*; London, 1817.

⁵⁹ Rev. M. HARVEY, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XVII., p. 382.

In fact, it was those deceptive profiles which caused all cartographers of the first half of the sixteenth century to represent Newfoundland as an archipelago.⁶⁰ Even in the Cabotian map of 1544, the isle is yet broken up into eleven large fragments. We should also recollect that the bays there have their shores clad in dark green forests to the water's edge; and, as Cabot says himself that he merely sighted those islands⁶¹ without circumnavigating them, the supposed mistake is perfectly accountable.

If so, the adjoining map would represent the itinerary of John Cabot in the expedition of 1497.

⁶⁰ Indeed, the number of fragments is almost the test to ascertain the antiquity of the configurations ascribed to Newfoundland in the maps of the first half of the sixteenth century. The only exception, perhaps, is the *Terra Nova* of Johannes RUYSCHE in the mappamundi of the Ptolemy published at Rome in 1508, which makes of that region a peninsula of one piece, soldered to the American continent. This partially correct conception of the island remained, nevertheless, unheeded

by all geographers for more than fifty years afterwards. The discovery of the Strait of Belle-Isle, by Jacques Cartier, only confirmed them in that erroneous opinion.

⁶¹ "E al tornar aldreto » visto do ixole ma non ha voluto desender per non perder tempo che la vituaria li mancava." Letter of Lorenzo PASQUALIGO, addressed to his brothers, and dated London, August 3, 1497, in our *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. viii., p. 322.



SECOND VOYAGE OF JOHN CABOT
(1498-1499 ?.)

BOOK SECOND.

The Second Voyage of John Cabot.

1498-1499 (?).

CHAPTER I.

VERY soon after his return, John Cabot petitioned Henry VII. for new letters patent, authorising him to visit again the country which he had just discovered. The King granted his request on the 3rd of February, 1498.¹

There is no ground whatever for the assertion,² frequently repeated, that John Cabot did not command this second expedition, or that it was undertaken after his death. On the contrary, Pasqualigo³ and Soncino⁴ mention him by name exclusively as the party to whom Henry VII. intended to entrust the fleet. Besides, this time, John Cabot is the only grantee, and the new letters patent omit altogether the names of Sebastian and of his brothers. Moreover, John explained in person to Soncino⁵ his plans for the second voyage; and July 25, 1498, Puebla and Ayala⁶ announced officially to the Spanish Sovereigns that the vessels had actually sailed out "con otro ginoves como Colon," which description does not apply certainly to Sebastian, but to John Cabot, as we know from corroborative evidence already stated.

The fact is that the name of Sebastian Cabot appears in connection with those voyages, for the first time, in Peter Martyr's account, printed

¹ BIDDLE, *op. cit.*, p. 75; DESIMONI, *Intorno*, p. 56.

² BIDDLE, *ibidem*, p. 80; George BANCROFT, in *Appleton's Encyclopædia*, article on Cabot.

³ "El re le ha promesso a tempo novo navil X. e armati come lui vorà . . . El qual sechiamo Zuam Talbot."—PASQUALIGO, in our *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. viii.

⁴ "La Maesta de Re questo primo bono tempo gli

vole mandare XV. in XX. navili."—SONCINO, in *op. cit.*, doc. ix. "Chiamato Zoanne Caboto;" doc. x.

⁵ "Et dice . . . Et fa questo argumento . . . Et dicello per modo . . ."—SONCINO, doc. x.

⁶ "El Rey de Inglaterra embio cinco naos armadas con otro ginoves como colon . . . dizen que seran venydos para el setiembre."—PUEBLA, doc. xii. "El ginoves tiro su camino . . . El Rey de Ynglaterra me ha hablado algunas vezes sobre ello."—AYALA, doc. xiii.

twenty years after the event,⁷ and taken from Sebastian's own lips; which, as we have shown, is not a recommendation. In England, his name reveals itself as regards the discovery of the New World at a still later period, in John Stow's *Chronicle*, published in 1580.⁸ And, although both that historian and Hakluyt⁹ quote as their authority for the statement a manuscript copy of Robert Fabian's *Chronicle*, everything tends to show that the name of Sebastian Cabot is a sheer interpolation.

The citation given by Stow and Hakluyt is not to be found in any of the editions of Fabian's *Chronicle*,¹⁰ nor in any of the MSS. quoted by Sir Henry Ellis for his edition;¹¹ but this, we grant, is not a decisive argument, as the first edition does not extend beyond the reign of Richard III., whilst the additions, which in the second year reach so late as 1509, are only brief notes. By comparing, however, the texts of Stow and of Hakluyt with the manuscript *Cronicon regum Angliæ* in the British Museum,¹² which is in every respect of the beginning of the sixteenth century,¹³ it is easily shown that the said manuscript has been the prototype either of Fabian or of the chronicle, whatever it may be, from which Stow and Hakluyt have derived their information concerning Cabot's voyage. For instance:

| CRONICON. | STOW. | HAKLUYT. |
|--|---|---|
| <p>"This yere . . . made hym self expert in knowyng of the world caused the Kyng to manne a ship w^t vytaill and other necessaries for to seche an Iland whereyn the said Straunger surmysed to be grete commodities &c., &c."</p> | <p>"Thys yeare . . . professing himselfe to be experte in knowledge of the circuite of the worlde . . . caused the King to man and victual a shippe . . . to search for an ilande whiche he knewe to be replenished with rich commodities . . . &c., &c."</p> | <p>"This yeere . . . made himselfe very expert . . . in knowledge of the worlde . . . caused to man and victuall a shippe . . . to search for an Ilande, which hee saide hee knewe well was riche and replenished with rich commodities . . . &c., &c."</p> |

But there is an important difference, viz.: where those two last-named historians insert "one Sebastian Gabato," or ascribe the discovery to

⁷ ANGHIERA, *De Orbe Novo Decades*; Alcalá, 1516, fol., Decad. III., lib. vi.; in the Basle edition of 1533, f^o. 55, D.

⁸ *The Chronicle of England, from Brute unto the present yeare of Christ 1580*, London, 4to, p. 862.

⁹ HAKLUYT, *Divers voyages touching the discoverie of America*, London, 1582, 4to.

¹⁰ London, 1516, 1533, 1542, 1559, folio.

¹¹ London, 1811. The copy of FABIAN in the reading room of the British Museum contains a MS. note, as follows: "A third MS. in the Holkham Library." We have vainly sought for it.

¹² *MS. Cott. Vitellius, A XIV.*, f. 173.

¹³ Mr. GAIRDNER, who kindly re-examined that valuable MS. at our request, wrote to us in 1882 that it was unquestionably a codex of the time, adding: "The early part of this chronicle is derived from a common source with several other London chronicles, such as Gregory's. The latter part has something in common with Fabian, but there is a good deal in it for the reign of Henry VII. not to be found in any printed source." See *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, pp. 315-317, for a literal transcript taken from the MS.

“Sebastian Gabote,” the original *Cronicon* describes the “Conditor of the saide Flete,” simply as “a straunger venisian,” and omits the name of Sebastian Cabot altogether.

The expedition was composed of five vessels,¹⁴ fitted out at the expense of John Cabot or of his friends: “payng for theym and every of theym.” We have not the exact date when the fleet sailed. It was after April 1, 1498, as on that day Henry VII. loaned £30 to Thomas Bradley and Lancelot Thirkill, “going to the New Isle.” On the other hand, Pedro de Ayala already states, July 25, 1498,¹⁶ that news had been received of the expedition, which was obliged to leave behind, in Ireland, one of the ships, owing to a severe storm. The vessels therefore set out (from Bristol?) in May or June. Puebla states that they were expected back in the month of September following: “Dizen que seran venydos para el Setiembre;”¹⁷ yet, the vessels had taken supplies for one year: “fueron proueydas por hun año.” We possess no direct information concerning this voyage, nor do we know when Cabot returned to England. It is important to note, however, that the expeditions of 1497 and 1498, are the only ones which in the fifteenth century sailed to the New World under the British flag, and comprise, therefore, all the transatlantic discoveries made by Cabot before the year 1500.

Our only data concerning the north-west coast which the Venetian navigator may have visited in the course of his second voyage, are to be found in the map drawn by Juan de la Cosa in the year 1500, but after the month of February,¹⁸ as before that time the great Biscayan pilot was with Alonso de Hojeda exploring the Gulf of Paria and Venezuela

¹⁴ SONCINO says that the intention of the King was to send this time from fifteen to twenty vessels: “gli vole mandare XV. in XX. navili.”—*Jean et Sébast. Cabot*, doc. ix., p. 323; Rawdon BROWN, *Calendar*, Vol. III., p. 260, No. 759. The letters patent authorise Cabot only to “take at his pleasure vj. Englishe shippes of the bourdeyn of cc. tonnes or under;” but PUEBLA and AYALA write that five vessels were sent: “embio cinco naos armadas.” One of those vessels apparently belonged to Lanslot Thirkill of London, to whom Henry VII. loaned £20, March 22nd, 1498, “for his ship going towards the new Ilande.”

¹⁵ *Excerpta Historica*, p. 116; DESIMONI, *Intorno a Giovanni Caboto genovese scopritore del Labrador e di altre regioni dell' Alta America*, p. 61; *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, pp. 102, 256.

¹⁶ BERGENROTH, *Calendar*, Vol. I., No. 210, p. 176; *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xiii., p. 329.

¹⁷ *Jean et Sébast. Cabot*, doc. xii., p. 328.

¹⁸ NAVARRETE, *Coleccion*, Vol. II., p. 122, states that La Cosa, who had accompanied Alonso de Hojeda, returned to Spain “a mediados de Junio de 1500.” Mr. DE LEGUINA, *Juan de la Cosa*, Madrid, 1877, 8vo, p. 70, says that, according to the manuscript records of the *Casa de Contratacion*, it was “en Febrero de 1500;” but gives neither the text nor precise indications to find it. His date, however, is certainly erroneous, as, according to LAS CASAS, *Historia de las Indias*, lib. i., cap. clxv., Vol. II., p. 427, Hojeda and La Cosa did not leave the island of Hispaniola “sino cuasi en fin de Febrero, entrante el año de 500, y aún creo que en Marzo.”

coast. In that celebrated chart, there is, in the proximity and west of Cuba, an unbroken coast line, delineated like a continent, and extending northward to the extremity of the map. On the northern portion of that seaboard La Cosa has placed a continuous line of British flags, commencing at the south with the inscription; "*Mar descubierta por ingleses;*" and terminating at the north with "Cape of England:—*Cauo de ynglaterra.*" Unfortunately, those cartographical data are not sufficiently precise to enable us to locate the landfalls with adequate exactness. Nor is the kind of projection adopted,¹⁹ without explicit degrees of latitude, of such a character as to aid us much in determining positions. We are compelled, therefore, to resort to inferences.

The north-western portion of La Cosa's map sets forth twenty inscriptions, seven of which are the names of capes, whilst one refers to a river (*r^o longo*), another to an island (*isla de la trinidad*), and a third to a lake (*lago fore?*). Although many of those designations convey no meaning to us (apparently on account of imperfect transcriptions), and are not to be found on any other map, they must be considered as proving that the coast had been actually visited before 1500. On the other hand, the northernmost names represent certainly the points marked by Cabot during his first voyage, whether we place them on the north coast of Labrador or on the east shores of Newfoundland. But as the line of English flagstuffs covers a space by far too extensive for the voyage of 1497, which lasted only three months, the legends placed further south necessarily apply to the expedition of 1498.

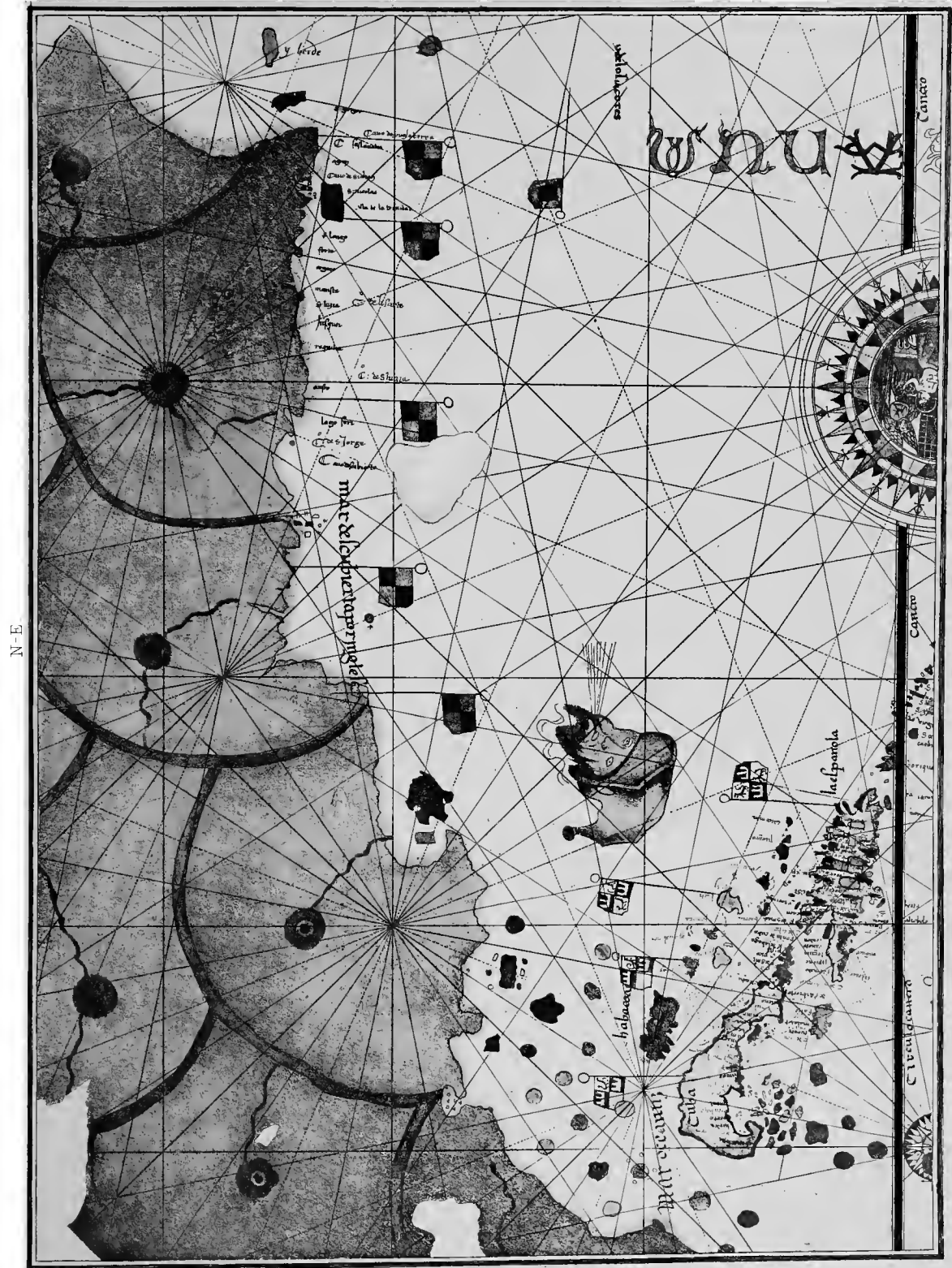
When preparing himself to return to the newly discovered regions, John Cabot told Raimondo di Soncino that his intention was to pursue the undertaking as follows:—

"From the place already possessed [discovered] he would proceed by constantly following the shore, until he reached the east, and was opposite an island called Cipango, situate in the equinoctial region:—Messer Zoanne ha posto l'animo ad maggior cosa perche pensa, da quello loco occupato andarsene sempre a Riva Riva più verso el Levante, tanto chel sia al opposto de una Isola da lui chiamata Cipango, posta in la regione equinoctiale."²⁰

All that is clear in this vague description, and which must be retained just now, is that John Cabot's ultimate objective, when he set out from England in 1498, was an equatorial or southern region:—"la regione

¹⁹ NAVARRETE, *Biblioteca Maritima*. Vol. I., p. 212.

²⁰ *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. x., p. 325.



THE NORTH-EAST COAST IN THE MAP OF LA COSA
(1500)

equinoctiale," situate south of the point reached by him in 1497. To this interpretation must be added the fact that the line of British flags in La Cosa's map, corroborates such an intention, as it indicates plainly a southward coasting.

How far south then did John Cabot go in 1498? Taking the distance from the equator to the extreme north in La Cosa's map as a criterion for measuring distances, and comparing relatively the points named therein with points corresponding for the same latitude on modern planispheres, the last English flagstaff in the southern direction seems to indicate a vicinity south of the Carolinas.

This hypothetical estimate finds a sort of corollary in Sebastian Cabot's account, as reported by Peter Martyr. In describing his alleged north-western discoveries, Sebastian said that icebergs having compelled him to alter his course, he steered southwardly, and followed the coast until he reached about the latitude of Gibraltar: "Quare coactus fuit, uti ait, vela vertere et occidentum sequi tetendique tamen ad meridiem, littore sese incurvante, ut Herculei freti latitudinis ferè gradus . . ." ²¹ This statement was made at the latest in 1515. ²² Several years afterwards, Sebastian Cabot again mentioned the matter in his conversation with the Mantua gentleman; but this time he extended the exploration of the north-west coast five degrees further south, naming Florida as his terminus, and the point whence he sailed homeward: "Venni sino à quella parte che chiamano al presente Florida, et mancandomi già la vettovaglia, presi partito di ritornarmene in Inghilterra." ²³

True it is that assertions from Sebastian Cabot, particularly when calculated to enhance his merits in the eyes of others, must always be taken with a mental reservation; but, excepting his unfilial custom of ascribing to himself a credit which belonged to his father, we see no good reasons for rejecting his description in this instance. The statement confirms John Cabot's project as disclosed to Soncino, and is justified by the import of the expedition of 1498, which was on a much greater scale than that of 1497.

It is also corroborated by Ferdinand and Isabella's order to Alonso de Hojeda, when on the eve of sailing for the Caribbean Sea, to stop

²¹ Peter MARTYR, *ubi supra*.

²² In the same decade, Peter Martyr, alluding to a projected expedition in search of the North-West Passage,

says: "Martio mense anni futuri MDXVI. puto ad explorandum discessurum."—Decad. III., lib. vi., f^o 56, A.

²³ RAMUSIO, Vol. III., f^o 374.

the progress of the English in their exploration of the newly-found continent.²⁴ The letters patent which contain this injunction are dated June, 1501; that is, three years after Their Catholic Majesties had been informed by Puebla and Ayala of the results of John Cabot's first voyage, and at a time when there had yet been no other expeditions under the British flag across the Atlantic, except that of 1498 just quoted.

We must mention, however, a circumstance which at first sight might militate against Sebastian Cabot's exactness in this respect. Twenty years after his conversation with Peter Martyr, he was summoned as a witness on behalf of Luis Columbus, who had brought suit against the Crown, in vindication of certain rights acquired by his grandfather Christopher. Sebastian then declared, under oath before the Council of the Indies, December 31, 1535, that he did not know whether the mainland continued northward or not from Florida to the Bacallaos region: "que desde el rio de Santi Spiritus [the delta of the Mississippi] en adelante, la Florida e los Bacallaos, no se determina si es todo una tierra firme ó no."²⁵

Strictly speaking, the phrase may be construed as implying that Sebastian Cabot possessed no information whatever relative to the countries south of his first landfall; which, however, could not be the case if, as he averred, he had followed the coast "littore sese incurvante," down to the latitude of Gibraltar, or to that of Florida. Sebastian might nevertheless give a dubitative answer in case the American coast surveys of his time still left a gap, however insignificant, between the Gulf of Mexico and 36° latitude north. His answer, therefore, does not, in the main, absolutely contradict the statement reported by Peter Martyr. Withal, it is difficult to reconcile its general bearing with facts which Sebastian Cabot, by virtue of his official position, was bound to know, to record, and to disseminate. Thus in 1535, which is the time when his deposition was taken, he could not be ignorant of the nature of the coast which lines the northern part of the Gulf of Mexico, as in the Seville map of 1527 that region bears the legend: "*Tierra que aora va a poblar panfilo de narvaes* :—This is the land which Pamphilo de Narvaez is going to settle;" whilst on Ribero's (1529), we also read: "*Tierra de*

²⁴ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., doc. x., p. 86, and *infra*, lib. v., chapter x.

²⁵ *Probanza*, of December 31st, 1536. It was on this occasion that they declared him to be "50 years of age and upwards :—de más de 50 años." It should be "de

más de 60 años," for Sebastian Cabot was certainly twenty-one years old, at least, in 1496; else he could not figure as grantee in such an act as the letters patent issued by the British Crown at that date.—See the document in DESIMONI, *op. cit.*

Garay," which locates the exploration accomplished by Alonso Alvarez Pineda in 1519. Besides, he had been certainly informed of the sailing of Antonio de Alaminos when despatched from Vera Cruz by Cortes in the latter year, and which must have doubled Cape Sable and hugged the Florida coast at least as high as Georgia, considering that when in the Bahama Channel, Alaminos "metiendo se al norte."²⁶ He must also have been familiar with the expedition of Juan Ponce de Leon in 1513 from 29° to 30° north latitude,²⁷ and then south to 25°. Nor could he fail to be aware of the sailing of Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon in 1526, along the Carolina and Virginia coasts.²⁸ Finally, he was cognizant of the discoveries accomplished by Estevam Gomez in 1525, which ranged from 40° to 42° 30' north latitude,²⁹ and established the connection between Ayllon's and John Cabot's own explorations, at all events. This continuous coast line was so well known to exist that it is specifically marked on the very maps entrusted to Sebastian Cabot, and which were not permitted to be drawn or copied without having been first approved by him as Pilot-Major. How could he then depose and say in 1535 that he did not know whether the region extending from the Gulf of Mexico to Nova Scotia, or to Labrador, formed part of a continent? We suspect in Sebastian's dubious answer some interested motives, as usual, but which the documents do not permit us yet to fathom.

Be that as it may, those contradictions are not of such a character as to compel the critic to reject the statements made by Sebastian Cabot to Peter Martyr, and to the Mantua gentleman, concerning the coast which his father or both visited during a voyage which was necessarily accomplished in 1498-1499. The adjoining map exhibits the route probably followed on that occasion.

²⁶ Bernal DIAZ, *Historia Verdadera*; Madrid, 1862, book liv., p. 48; HERRERA, Decad. II., lib. v., cap. xiv., p. 132.

²⁷ PESCHEL, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, Stuttgart, 1858, 8vo, p. 521.

²⁸ "Cien leguas mas al Norte de la Florida." —

HERRERA, Decad. III., lib. viii., cap. viii., p. 241.

"Treinta y cinco, y treinta y seis, y treinta y siete grados norte-sur."—NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 153.

²⁹ "Desde quaranta é un grados hasta quarenta é dos y medio."—OVEDO, *Historia General*, Vol. II., lib. xxi., cap. x., p. 147.

CHAPTER II.

WE cannot dismiss the present subject without endeavouring to ascertain whether other expeditions were not sent to the New World under the British flag, in the twenty years which followed the Cabotian voyages and discoveries.

That such expeditions were meditated and prepared does not admit of a doubt; but, if ever accomplished, the results are not to be found mentioned in chronicles or histories, nor even in any unpublished document so far as known at this day. These, likewise, have left no record. We find, now and then, a few succinct indications, from which the critic infers attempts of that character. It is those brief notes which we now propose to examine.

On the 19th of March, 1501, Henry VII. granted letters patent to Richard Warde, Thomas Ashehurst, and John Thomas, Bristol merchants, who were associated for the undertaking with Joam and Francisco Fernandez and Joam Gonzales, gentlemen of the Azores: "Armigeris in Insulis de Surrys sub obediencia Regis Portugalix oriundis."¹ Certain entries in the account of the privy purse expenses of Henry VII., under the dates of January 7 and September 30, 1502,² as well as a reference in Stow's Annals under the latter year to "three men taken in the Newfound Ilandes, and who were brought unto the King," indicate that the voyage was actually carried out.

On the 9th of December, 1502, letters patent to the same effect were granted to Thomas Ashehurst, Joam Gonzales, Francisco Fernandez, and Hugh Elliott.³ We possess no other information concerning this projected voyage. But the entry: "1503. Sept. 30. To the merchants of Bristoll that have bene in the Newfounde Lande, £20,"⁴ may refer to that expedition, in which seems to have been Nicholas Thorne, the father of Robert, as he had for a companion then "a merchant of Bristowe named Hugh Eliot."⁵

¹ BIDDLE, *Memoir*, pp. 222, 312-320.

² N. H. NICOLAS, *Excerpta Historica; or, Illustrations of English History*, p. 126.

³ RYMER, *Fœdera*, Vol. XIII., p. 37.

⁴ *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 129, 130.

⁵ HAKLUYT, *Principall Navigations*, Vol. I., p. 219.

The gift made April 8, 1504, of £2 "to a preste that goeth to the new Ilande,"⁶ implies an English expedition undertaken in that year.

We do not now feel so confident as regards the entry of September (?) 25, 1505, where mention is made of £5 which were given to "Portyngales that brought popyngais and cattis of the mountaigne with other stuf [from the Newfound Island] to the Kinges grace,"⁷ and which were taken to Richmond. There are neither parrots nor catamounts in Newfoundland; and these perhaps refer to animals and objects brought from Brazil by some Portuguese seamen, who, on their return to Portugal, may have shipped at Lisbon for some English port, carrying with them their birds and wild cats, as is frequently the case with sailors.

We find then, about this time, the expedition of Sir Thomas Pert, or Spert.⁸ Whether the project dates of the years 1508-1509,⁹ or 1517,¹⁰ it does not seem to have been carried into effect.

Towards the close of the month of February, 1521, the wardens of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London, as we have already stated, were informed officially by two members of the King's Council, Sir Robert Wyncfeld and Sir Wolston Brown, that Henry VIII. required of them five vessels for a maritime expedition:

"To furnysche v. shippis after this maner The Kings Grace to prepare them in takyll ordenaunce and all other necessaries at his charge. And also the King to bere the adventour of the said shippis, And the merchaunts and companys to be at the charge of the vitaylling and mennys wage of the same shippis for one hole yere and the shippis not to be above vj^{xx} ton apece. And that this Citie of London shabe as hede Reulers for all the hole realm for as many Cites and Townes as be mynded to prepare any shippis forwards for the same purpos and viage, as the Town of Bristowe hath sent vp there knowledge that they wyll prepare ij. shippis."¹¹

The promised reward for the outlay was "that x yere aft there shall no nacion haue the trate but [the said companies] and to haue respyte for there custom xv monthes and xv monthes."

The required vessels were intended "for a viage to be made into the newefound Iland;" and to be commanded by "one man callyd as understoud Sebastyan," who was no one else than Sebastian Cabot, although the latter's family name is not mentioned in the records.

⁶ *Excerpta Historica*, p. 131.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 133.

⁸ H. R. FOX BOURNE, *English Seamen under the Tudors*, London, 1868, Vol. I., p. 43.

⁹ *Frobisher's Voyages*, Hakluyt Society's reprints, 1867, 8vo, p. 41.

¹⁰ EDEN, *Treatise of the Newe India*, London, 1553, 4to, dedicace.

¹¹ This and the following quotations are taken from the manuscript *Wardens' Accounts of the Drapers Company of London*. See *supra*, p. 29, note 21, and *infra*, Appendix A.

A meeting was held March 1, 1521, to consider the demand, which met with decided opposition on the part of the liveries; the Drapers' Company assuming the leadership, and being intrusted, as it seems, with the task of speaking in the name of the "other auncyaunt ffeliships."

On the 11th of March, the report drawn up by the wardens of the Drapers and of the Mercers, was read at a meeting of "the hole body of the ffeliship, ryche and poure." They objected to the King's demand on the plea that as regarded the intended expedition His Majesty, the Cardinal (Wolsey), and the Royal Council, "were not duely and substancially enformed in suche manner as perfite knowledge myght be had by credible reporte of maisters and mariners naturally born within this Realm of England having experience and excersided in and about the for said Iland." This evidently aimed at the foreign nationality of Sebastian Cabot, whom they did not consider as being "naturally born within the realm of England."

The wardens then expressed the greatest reluctance to the appointment of Sebastian as commander of the expedition, in most energetic terms, which we have already quoted, and based upon their conviction that he had never been before to the New World, although arrogating to himself discoveries made by his father, in relating facts the knowledge of which he held from the latter and other people.

Finally, they expressed willingness "in furnysshing of ij shippys and suppos to furnyssh the thryd." This decision having been communicated to the authorities, "the commissioners brought aunswere fro my lord Cardynall that the King wold haue the premisses to go furth and to take effect. And there vppon my lord the maire was send for to speke w^t the King for the same matier, so that his grace wold haue no nay there in, but spak sharpely to the Maire to see it putt in execucion to the best of his power."

On the 26th of March, the Mayor of London summoned before him the entire company at the Draper's hall, "where was w^t grete labo^r and diligence and many diuers warnyngs grunted first and last ij C mcs. [200 marks] presentyd by a byll to the maire the 19th day of Aprill."

What could be the object and destination of the voyage? Must the words: "Newefounde Iland" be interpreted as meaning the island of Newfoundland or any point of our American east coast? We are not prepared to give an affirmative answer.

As has been already stated, Sebastian Cabot, who was constantly plotting, intriguing, and betraying his employers, had proposed in 1522 to go to Venice, for the purpose of selling to the Republic secret information relative to a North-West Passage, which he claimed to have discovered: "come è il vero che io l' ho ritrovata." The Council of the Ten sent the entire correspondence to Gaspar Contarini, the Venetian ambassador at the Court of Spain, with instructions to interview Cabot. In their conversation, the latter, to enhance the value of the proposed enterprise, said that three years before, whilst being in England, Cardinal Wolsey had made great efforts to induce him to take the command of an important expedition to discover new countries, and had actually expended 30,000 ducats in equipping the fleet: "Hor ritrovandomi ja tre anni, salvo il vero, in Inghilterra, quel Reverendissimo Cardinal mi volea far grandi partiti che io navigasse cum una sua armada per discoprir paesi novi la quale era quasi in ordine, et haveano preparati per spender in essa ducati 30 m."¹²

The words "paesi novi" do not apply, we think, to a western passage, but to new countries which Cardinal Wolsey, hoped to discover, perhaps in the tracks of the Spanish navigators. There may be an inkling of such intention in one of the arguments used by the wardens of the Drapers' company against the expediency of the enterprise, when they said: "Also we thynk it is dowbtfull that any English ship shalbe sufferd to laid [*sic.*] in Spayn and in other countres by reason of suche acts and statuts."

It was in October, 1522, that Sebastian Cabot made those statements to Contarini, and ascribed to Wolsey's proposals a date corresponding with the years 1519-1520. This is sufficiently near the spring of 1521, in a general conversation, to authorise the belief that the demands of Henry VIII. were intended for the expedition which he wished to entrust to Sebastian Cabot, in the three years next preceding the latter's interview with the Venetian ambassador.

The Drapers paid their share of the expenses, for the records contain a list of names and the sums which each gave on that account. "My lord the Maire, Sir John Brugge," heads it with £8. This first list of "Masters and livery" contains seventy-eight names. There is a second list of forty-six "Bachillers," who give smaller sums; one gives £3 6s. 8d., the next 5 marks, then 40 shillings, down to many at 3s. 4d., 20d., and 12d. only. But the expedition never set out from England. We

¹² C. BULLO, *La Vera patria di Nivolo de' Conti e di Gioranni Caboto*, Studj e Documenti, Chioggia, 1880, p. 64, and *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xxviii., p. 348.

have related elsewhere¹³ how Sebastian Cabot plumed himself on having declined the proffered honour, and advised Charles V. to refuse the necessary authorisation for his leaving Spain on that account.

Henry VIII. was, nevertheless, anxious to carry the British flag beyond the known regions. In 1525, he promised Paulo Centurione, a noted Genoese navigator and cosmographer, to equip several vessels for a voyage of discovery: "Et Paulo poi passo in Inghilterra, et fu ben veduto dal Re, il quale li prometteua alquanti nauì per andare a discoprir paesi noui." The project failed on account of the untimely death of Centurione: "ma il bono et laborioso Paulo amfalo in Londra, et ando a cercare i paesi dell' altro mondo," adds Agostino Giustiniani,¹⁴ somewhat jocularly. Centurione seems to have entertained the notion which in 1553 prompted the expedition of Willoughby and Chancellor: "that noble adventure of seeking for a passage into the eastern parts of the World, through the unknown and dangerous seas of the North,"¹⁵ and to the establishment of the Muscovy Company in 1555. The project of Centurione is stated in these words: "Condur le speciarie e le altre mercanzie di Colocut e di Tauris in le parti nostre di Europa per via di Moscovia," so that even in this instance the idea cannot be said to have originated with Sebastian Cabot.

¹³ *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 116.

¹⁴ GIUSTINIANI, *Castigatissimi Annali*, Genova, 1537, folio, lib. vi., f^o. cclxxviii.

¹⁵ STRYPE, *Historical Memorials*, Vol. II., p. 402; HAKLUYT, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, I., 243.

BOOK THIRD.

The Portuguese in the Fifteenth Century.

CHAPTER I.

NO nation in the fifteenth century exhibited so great a spirit of maritime enterprise as the Portuguese. Their discoveries on the west coast of Africa prompted them to probe the Atlantic Ocean in every direction. So early as 1431, we see Prince Henry the Navigator send Gonçalo Velho Cabral¹ in search of the islands marked on the map which Dom Pedro, the son of King Joam I., had brought from Italy in 1428.² Although imaginary, they led to the discovery of a portion of the Azores. So with regard to the geographical notions of Diogo de Teive, who, in 1452, sailed one hundred and fifty leagues south-west of Fayal, to find the Antillia island, claimed to have been sighted by a Portuguese vessel in the time of that enlightened prince.³

Five years later, December 10, 1457, his nephew, Dom Fernando, Duke of Beja, receives from Affonso V. letters patent granting him the islands which he hopes to discover in the Atlantic Ocean.⁴ Still believing in the reality of the western isles depicted on Majorcan and Italian charts, that King grants to Joam Vogado, February 19, 1462, two oceanic islands which he claims to have discovered, and thinks to be Ova and Capraria.⁵ On the 29th of October following, Dom Fernam receives the ownership of another fantastic island which Gonçalo Fernandez reports to have seen to the north-west of the Canaries.⁶ Portuguese mariners, particularly those

¹ Antonio CORDEYRO, *Historia Insulana*, Lisboa, 1717, folio, lib. iv., cap. i., p. 97; CANDIDO LUSITANO (José FREIRE), *Vida do Infante D. Henrique*, Lisboa, 1758, 4to.

² Antonio GALVAM, *Tratado dos diversos e desuayrados caminhos*, Lisboa, 1563, 8vo, and 1730, folio, p. 22.

³ Ernesto DO CANTO, *Arquivo dos Açores*, Ponta Delgada, 8vo, Vol. I., No. III., p. 250; *Les Cortes Reales*, p. 311.

⁴ José DE TORRES, *Memoria a cerca da originalidade da Navegação do Oceano Atlantico*, in the *Revista dos Açores*, Ponta Delgada, 1851, 8vo, Vol. I., p. 290.

⁵ B. J. DE SENNA FREITAS, *Memoria historica sobre o intentado descobrimento de uma supposta ilha ao norte da Terceira nos annos 1649-1770, com muitas notas*; Lisboa, 1845, 8vo, pp. 62-73, docs. B and G.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 82, doc. G.

living in the Azores, continued to entertain delusions of that character; and June 21, 1473, Ruy Gonçaves da Camera obtains letters patent conveying to him the islands which he proposes to discover in the ocean.⁷ But about that time, the belief which suggested all those efforts, evolves to its full extent, and the conviction gains ground that by sailing due west the east coast of Asia can be reached. Affonso V. directs his chaplain, Fernam Martins, to consult the great Florentine astronomer, Toscanelli, on the subject; and June 25, 1474, the latter sends him a map and explanations already presenting all the arguments which Christopher Columbus was to adduce ten years later to enlist Ferdinand and Isabella in his projects.⁸ Meanwhile, certain Portuguese still cling to their first notion; and in the hope of discovering islands in the Atlantic, solicit privileges to that effect. On the 28th of January, 1475, Fernam Tellez receives letters patent, first limiting his explorations to the latitude of Guinea, and then, November 10, extending the right to the imaginary island of the Seven Cities.⁹

Although a number of enterprising inhabitants of the Azores, such, for instance, as Alvaro and Joam da Fonte, lose their entire fortunes in such ventures,¹⁰ the Portuguese islanders are not discouraged, and Antonio Leme, of Madeira, but of Dutch origin, sets sail, and affirms on returning that he has discovered three islands west of Terceira.¹¹ In 1484, another Madeiran petitions Joam II. to entrust him with a caravel for the purpose of taking possession of an island which he pretended to have seen west of the Azores.¹² On the 30th of June in that year, a countryman of his (if it be not the same adventurer), called Fernam Dominguez de Arco, is made governor of the island which he hopes to discover in the Atlantic Ocean.¹³ Two years afterwards, March 3, 1486, Fernam d'Ulmo receives from Joam II., letters patent covering not only isles, but a continent even, which himself or his agents propose to find westward.¹⁴

Attempts in that direction continued to be made during several years, as we have the testimony of two witnesses to the effect that Christopher

⁷ DE TORRES, *ubi supra*.

⁸ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, Additions, pp. xv.-xviii.

⁹ DE SENNA FREITAS, *op. cit.*, doc. E., p. 77, and F. Adolfo DE VARNHAGEN, *La Verdadera Guanahani de Colon*, Santiago, 1864, 8vo, p. 114.

¹⁰ Gaspar FRUCTUOSO, *Historia genealogica de San Miguel*, in his *As Saudades da Terra*, Ponta Delgada, 1876, 8vo, p. 73. (This publication is different from the

Saudades edited by Dr. A. R. DE AZEVEDO, Funchal, 1873, 8vo.)

¹¹ Bartolomé DE LAS CASAS, *Historia de las Indias*, Madrid, 1875, 8vo, Vol. I., p. 98.

¹² Journal of Columbus, in NAVARRETE, *Coleccion*, Vol. I., p. 5.

¹³ DE TORRES, *op. cit.*, p. 290; *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. I., p. 310, note 2.

¹⁴ DE VARNHAGEN, *op. cit.*, p. 116, docs. iv., v., and vi.; *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. I., p. 312, note 2.

Columbus and Martin Alonso Pinzon went to interrogate one Pedro Vázquez de la Frontera, who claimed to have accompanied an infant of Portugal on a voyage of discovery, which, however, failed owing to vast fields of sea weeds (the Sargasso Sea).¹⁵ Finally, the King of Portugal, according to the testimony of Juan Rodriguez de Mafra, actually sent out one or two expeditions in search of those western lands.¹⁶

Under the circumstances, we can readily understand why but little attention was paid to the projects which Christopher Columbus proposed while in Lisbon. The theory advocated by the great Genoese was not new to the Portuguese, and the reasons which he alleged in support of the proposed enterprise were only a repetition of what Toscanelli had written to the King's chaplain years previous. Had Affonso V. or Joam II. felt disposed to send vessels westward in search of the east coast of China, he would not have stood in need of a foreigner to command the expedition.¹⁷ The time was past when Portugal depended for maritime explorations upon Italian mariners. Joam de Santarem, Pedro de Escovar, and their pilots Martin Fernandez and Alvaro Esteves, who explored the coast of Guinea in 1470-72; Diogo Cam, who reached the Congo in 1484, and afterwards 22° latitude south; Bartholomew Diaz and Joam Infante, who actually rounded the Stormy Cape in 1486; nay, Vasco da Gama, who then already enjoyed so great a reputation that he had received instructions in 1487 to attempt to reach India by the new route, when Joam II. died,¹⁸ were competent, it seems, to conduct Lusitanian vessels across the Atlantic.¹⁹

On the other hand, if the success achieved by Columbus caused the Portuguese to regret their want of faith or tardiness, they certainly considered, upon reflection, that the discovery of the New World confirmed geographical hypothesis, however crude, which, as we have shown, had been current more or less for a number of years at the Courts of Affonso V. and of Joam II., as well as among the inhabitants of the

¹⁵ Depositions of Alonso Veléz de Allid and Alonso Gallego, *Probanzas* of Nov. 1, 1532, and Dec. 22, 1535. See also the account of the attempts of Vincente Diaz: "tres y quatro veces à buscar la dicha tierra hasta ciento y tantas leguas," at the cost of a wealthy Genoese merchant of Terceira, called Lúcas de Cazana; *LAS CASAS*, lib. i., cap. xiii., Vol. I., p. 101.

¹⁶ "El rei de Portugal avia armado una o dos veces." Interrogatory of the pilot MAFRA, in VARNHAGEN, *La Verdadera Guanahani*, p. 109.

¹⁷ "No le fué credito, porque el Rey de Portugal tenia

muy altos y bien fundados marineros, que no lo estimaron, y presumian en el mundo no haber otros mayores descubridores que ellos."—Andres BERNALDEZ, *Historia de los Reyes Católicos*, Sevilla, 1870, 8vo, cap. cxviii., Vol. I., p. 358.

¹⁸ Garcia DE RESENDE, *Livro das Obras*, Lisboa, 1555, fol., f^o xcvi.

¹⁹ AZURARA, Valentim FERNANDEZ, &c., &c., in E. A. DE BETTENCOURT, *Descobrimientos, guerras, e conquistas dos Portuguezes em terras do ultramar nos seculos XV. e XVI.*; Lisboa, 1881-1882, large 4to, lithographed.

Azores. It is fair to presume, therefore, that the results of Columbus' first voyage gave a new impetus to hopes and projects which they had thus far vainly attempted to realise. The critic is also justified in supposing that the memorable expedition of 1492, which claimed to have embraced "the Islands of India beyond the Ganges:—de Insulis Indiae supra Gangem nuper inventis," induced them to forge new theories concerning the distance and configurations of what they imagined to be the Asiatic coast and archipelagos. What those surmises were exactly is a question to which hypothetical answers only can be given. Nor is it probable that much light will ever be thrown on the subject; should we even discover the diplomatic notes which may have been exchanged between the Holy See and Cardinal Bernardino de Carvajal²⁰ on the side of Spain, and Pedro da Silva²¹ on behalf of Portugal, when the papal bulls of May 3 and 4, 1494, were issued. We must be permitted to expatiate on this point.

It is well known that by virtue of the donation of the Western World, alleged to have been made by Constantine to St. Silvester, coupled, however, with the apostolical plenitude of the Pope's power, no newly-discovered lands could belong to any sovereign without his being first invested with the sovereignty of the same by the Pontiff.²² Nay, whenever a new Pope was elected, all the Christian Kings had again to do homage for their possessions, old and recent. The Embassy of Obedience sent on behalf of Spain when Alexander VI.²³ ascended the papal chair, was entrusted to Diego Lopez de Haro, who made his entry in Rome only June 12, 1493;²⁴ but the news of the great discovery was known in Rome so early as April 11, a week at least before

²⁰ It was Carvajal who, on the occasion of that embassy, delivered a sermon at Rome, June 19, 1493, where we find the earliest allusion (outside of accounts of the voyage) to the discovery which Columbus had just accomplished.—*Bibliot. Am. Vetust.*, No. 11.

²¹ GARCÍA DE RESENDE, *op. cit.*, cap. clxij., f^o. xcviij., seems to indicate that Joam II. sent his ambassadors to Rome very soon after August 17, 1492, which is the date when he heard of the death of Innocent VIII. Fernando de Almeida was adjoined to Pedro da Silva, and delivered likewise a sermon, where mention is made of the maritime discoveries accomplished by the Portuguese, but, of course, only in Africa.—*B. A. V.*, *Additions*, p. 1, note.

²² GIBBON, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Boston, 1855, 8vo, cap. xlix., Vol. VI., p. 161; *Excerpta Colombiniana*, p. 177, No. 234, article on the book of

Lorenzo VALLA. Adrian IV., in investing Henry II. with the sovereignty over Ireland, said: "Omnes insulæ quibus Sol justitiæ, Christus, illuxit, ad jus Sancti Petri et Sacro Sanctæ Ecclesiæ pertinent."

²³ The inscription on the tomb of Innocent VIII. says: "Novi orbis suo ævo inventi gloria;" but that Pope died July 25, 1492, whilst the New World was discovered nearly three months afterwards, October 11–12 following.

²⁴ BURCHARD, *Diarium*, THUSASNE'S Edition, Paris, 1884, 8vo, Vol. II., p. 80. We were in hopes that the Journal of the Master of Ceremonies of Alexander VI. would contain some information concerning Columbus and his achievements, but the discovery is not mentioned, even in the curious and bold discourse pronounced by Lopez de HARO in the public consistory which was held immediately after he had taken the oath.

Columbus reached Barcelona,²⁵ it having been sent to the Holy See direct from Portugal.²⁶ On the other hand, Bernardino de Carvajal, who was the Spanish envoy since 1484, must have communicated the information officially, towards the end of April, for the purpose of obtaining from the Pope the required investiture. No time was lost, as the first bull came forth from the Vatican, May 3, 1493.

When reading that document with attention, it appears to have been drafted by the Holy See with no other object than to grant in general terms to Spain, for the newly discovered lands, rights similar to those which had been already granted or confirmed to Portugal by five or six Popes,²⁷ relatively to the discoveries accomplished on the west coast of Africa. As soon as issued, the bull was found to be vague in its terms, and calculated on that account to create difficulties between Spain and Portugal. Whether it was at the suggestion of Bernardino de Carvajal or of Pedro da Silva, we are unable to say, but on the next day, May 4, the Pope published a second bull.²⁸ This, after reciting again the technicalities of the first, omits the passage relating to Portugal,²⁹ inserts a compliment to Columbus,³⁰ and then proceeds to state where the new dominion of Spain shall commence, viz.: one hundred leagues west of the Azores, and extend in longitude from pole to pole.

Ferdinand and Isabella's prayer to obtain the required investiture is not likely to have been coupled either on their part or on that of Columbus, with suggestions concerning the establishment of a line of demarcation; else the text of the first bull would have set forth maritime limits. Besides, it was not the interest of Spain to circumscribe its action in this respect. It is not probable, therefore, that maps or nautical charts were forwarded to Rome then; or if the ambassadors were consulted, that geographical data could be found among their notes and dispatches. Such must have been also the case with the bull of

²⁵ Domenico MALIPIERO in his *Annali Veneti (Archivio Storico Italiano)*, Firenze, 1843, Vol. VII., Part I., pp. 313-314) already gives a full description of Columbus' voyage in an entry dated: "1493. A' 11 d'Avril."

²⁶ "1493. A di 18 April fo lettere di Roma nel legato, con avisi di Portogallo di le insule havene trovate . . ." Marin SANUDO, *Summarii di Storia Veneziana*; MS., in our *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. II., p. 117, note.

²⁷ Martin V. (?), Eugene IV., in 1438; Nicolas V., in 1454; Calixtus III., in 1456; Pius II., in 1459; Sixtus IV., in 1481.—*Historia e Memorias da Academia*

R. das Sciencias de Lisboa, Vol. IX., 1825, 4to, p. 239. The great *Bullarium*, Romæ, 1743, folio, contains only the bull of Nicolas V., Vol. III., Part III., p. 70.

²⁸ One of the original printed copies of that papal bull was sold at auction by Puttick and Simpson, May 24th, 1854, and bought by Rich, but no one knows what has become of that all-important *Americanum*.

²⁹ "Et quia etiam nonnulli Portugallie Reges in partibus Africæ . . ."—NAVARRETE, Vol. II., p. 26.

³⁰ "Virum utique dignum, et plurimum commendalum, ac tanto negotio aptum."—NAVARRETE, Vol. II., p. 30.

September 25, 1493,³¹ which still more vaguely extends the dominion of Spain: "hacia el Occidente y el Mediodia."

Be that as it may, Portugal was not satisfied with one hundred leagues; and soon commenced negotiating with Spain for a further extension of the line westward. The reader is aware that by the treaty of Tordesillas, June 7, 1494, the line was removed three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape de Verd islands.³² This treaty was signed during the absence of Christopher Columbus. Ferdinand and Isabella sent it to him by the first vessel,³³ requiring his approbation, as the treaty disposed of his share as well. But it is a curious fact, heretofore unnoticed, that he never assented to the concession made *ex parte* to the King of Portugal, and which, in reality, deprived Columbus of "one-tenth of all pearls, precious stones, gold, silver, spices, and all other articles, in whatever manner found or gained," in Brazil, which was discovered in his life-time, six years afterwards. The documents show, tacitly, this want of consent. In instituting the sort of entail called a *Mayorazgo*, February 22, 1498, the great Genoese speaks of the line of demarcation as a "raya imaginaria sobre las islas de Cabo Verde, y aquellas de los Azores CIEN leguas."³⁴ Eight years later, on the eve of his death, in the codicil of May 19, 1506, having occasion to mention the extent of his rights, he says still: "My share of the Indies are west, one hundred leagues from the Azores:—mi parte de las Indias, islas è tierra firme, que son al Poniente de una raya que [S. S. A. A.] mandaron marcar sobre las Islas de los Azores y aquellas del Cabo Verde, CIEN leguas, la cual pasa de Polo á Polo."³⁵

Here again, notwithstanding the details contained in the lengthy treaty of Tordesillas, and the fact that the negotiators were seconded by the most learned cosmographers and men versed in navigation that could be found in the two kingdoms,³⁶ there are in the documents no traces of geographical data enabling us to ascertain what were the cosmographical notions entertained then on the subject by the advisers of Joam II. Yet, it would be important to know the hypothesis which they formed touching the configurations of the east coast of Asia, for

³¹ NAVARRETE, Vol. II., p. 404, Appendix.

³² *Ibidem*, doc. lxxv., Vol. II., pp. 130-143.

³³ LAS CASAS, lib. i., cap. lxxxvii., Vol. I., p. 18.

³⁴ NAVARRETE, doc. cxxvi., Vol. II., p. 226.

³⁵ NAVARRETE, doc. clviii., Vol. II., p. 213.

³⁶ "Muchas personas que sabian de cosmografia y

astrologia, puesto que habia harto pocos entonces en aquellos reinos, y las personas de la mar que se pudieron haber (no pude saber los nombres dellas ni quién fueron)."—LAS CASAS, lib. i., cap. lxxxviii., Vol. II., p. 16. But see the witty remark of Peter Martyr concerning the Junta of 1524.—*Opus Epist.*, Epist. DCCXCVII., p. 471 (Elzevirean edition).

the purpose of determining the route which the mariners of Portugal adopted when they engaged in that new field of maritime discoveries.

On this point we only possess circumstantial evidence, derived from what is known of the state of geographical science at the time, and the maps then in use, several of which are still in existence.

The Portuguese, as a matter of course, then—but for a short time—shared the error and illusions of Christopher Columbus concerning the geography of the New World. Like him, they believed that the newly-discovered countries were the east coast of Asia.³⁷ It is certain, therefore, that as soon as informed of the event, which they knew before any one else in Europe,³⁸ the cosmographers of Portugal sought on their charts the isles and continent which he claimed to have discovered, and first directed their attention to the *Oceanus Indiæ superioris*, then, in the opinion of all, embracing the eastern extremity of the Asiatic regions. Whether they consulted globes, like the one framed by Martin Behaim, Majorcan charts, or a duplicate of Fra Mauro's map, which was to Portuguese geographers a sort of prototype ever since the year 1459, when Affonso V. ordered it from Venice,³⁹ they must have noticed how, according to those cosmographical documents, the coast south of the Equator recedes towards the west, whilst north of the *Tropicus Cancræ*, numerous isles dotted the sea in an easterly direction, almost in the latitude of and not far from the west coast of Ireland.⁴⁰

We can justly presume, then, that in endeavouring to have the line of demarcation removed much further to the west, the Portuguese kept in view those fanciful geographical configurations, and hoped to acquire rights over the "Gulf of the 353 happy and prosperous isles,"⁴¹ or similar

³⁷ "Christovam Colombo Italiano, que vynha do descobrimento das Ilhas de Cipango, e d'Antilia."—Ruy DE PINA, *Chronica d'el Rey D. Joam II.*, in the *Collecção de livros ineditos de Historia Portugueza*, Lisboa, 1792, 4to, Vol. II., p. 177. Ruy de Pina, born in 1440, and living in Lisbon at the time of the meeting of Columbus with the King of Portugal at Valparaiso, was a member of the Commission which prepared the Treaty of Tordesillas. His account of the bull of demarcation (*op. cit.*, p. 180), which has been copied by all subsequent Portuguese historians, contains no specific details.

³⁸ Columbus cast anchor at Cascaes, in the Tagus, March 4th, and had an interview with the King of Portugal, on the 9th, at Valparaiso, nine leagues from Lisbon.

³⁹ Documents quoted in Placido ZURLA, *Il Mappamondo di fra Mauro*, Venezia, 1806, sm. folio, cap. 53, p. 84.

⁴⁰ "Behaim transporte ce groupe au nord-est, ce qui a influé sur les opinions des navigateurs à la fin du quinzième siècle."—HUMBOLDT, *Examen Critique*.

⁴¹ "Disegnazi eziandio l'Irlanda, nella quale all' occaso si marca un gran golfo, e vi si scrive: gulffo de issolle cclviii. beate et fortunate."—Description of one of the maps of Marin Sanuto (Torsellus) in ZURLA, *Di Marco Polo*, Venezia, 1818, 4to, Vol. II., Appendix, p. 307. This legendary archipelago continued in various forms to figure in maps for many years afterwards, viz.: "I. fortunate I. beate 368" (Marciana, MS., *Cl. IV.*, *Cod.* 213). "Ile fortunate ubissime" (*Id. Cod.* 9). "I. Sancte beate. I. fortunate isole cclxviii." (*Id. Cod.* 493). "Ubi sunt insulæ quæ dicuntur insulæ sanctæ, beatæ cclxvii," in the chart of 1437, of Giorgio CALLAPODA (*Id. Cod.* 61), and in Gracioso BENINCASA'S of 1461 (Florence, State Archives) and 1467 (Paris National Library), all of which

oceanic regions⁴² quite as enticing and imaginary as the Atlantic islands which they had so often attempted to reach and conquer. In support of those expectations should be mentioned the general belief that the northerly portion of the Asiatic continent stranded towards the east, and that the earth was about one-third smaller than it really is, whilst six parts out of seven were dry land.

Erroneous inferences such as these lead us to assume that when the Portuguese, availing themselves of the treaty of Tordesillas, sent out expeditions in search of undiscovered countries, they turned the prow of their caravels north-westerly. We have also good reasons to think that no time was lost in equipping ships for the great venture, particularly in the Azores. Thus far, however, we have failed to find in the chronicles of the time and archives of the Torre do Tombo proofs of such transatlantic schemes anterior to the royal grant⁴³ from King Manoel in favour of Joam Fernandez, of Terceira, issued October 28, 1499.⁴⁴ Whether the privilege was actually followed up by the fitting out of an expedition; and, if so, where the vessels went, or what success attended the effort, can only be conjectured. Judging from the reasons already given, and the object of the letters patent granted by Henry VII., March 19, 1501, to certain Bristol merchants⁴⁵ associated with three Azoreans, one of whom is designated as "John Fernandus, borne in the Isle of Surrys [Azores] under the obeisaunce of the Kynge of Portingale,"⁴⁶ and who, to all appearances, is the identical "Joham Fernandez morador em Ilha Terceyra" above mentioned, it is almost certain that on those occasions the Portuguese ships steered in a north-westerly direction.

are placed to the west of Ireland. These fantastical islands must have found great credence with the Portuguese, especially when they read in the copy of Affonso V. of Fra Mauro's mappamundi, by the latitude of Norway and about 22° long. W.: "in questo Oceano son molte insule lo qual non ho notado per non haver luogo."

⁴² See the legends west of Ireland in the Catalan map of Charles V. BUCHON and TASTU, *Notices et Extraits*, of the *Acad. des Inscriptions*, Vol. XIV., p. 43, ascribe the origin of the notion to the *Dita mundi* of FAZIO degli UBERTI (printed at Vicentia, 1474, folio). This is not possible, as the "Gulf of the 358 Islands"

already figures in Sanuto's chart, which is of the year 1321, whilst Fazio wrote only between 1355 and 1367.

⁴³ The Portuguese Government sent several expeditions westward in 1493, but they were prompted solely by a desire to find the countries which Columbus had just discovered.—See *infra*, in the *Chronology*.

⁴⁴ The text is to be found in *Les Corte-Real*, p. 44, note 1.

⁴⁵ "Richard Warde, Thomas Asshehurst, and John Thomas, merchants of the Towne of Bristowe."—BIDDLE, *Memoir*, p. 306.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, doc. D., pp. 306-314.

BOOK FOURTH.

Voyages of the Corte-Reals.

1500-1502 AND BEFORE.

CHAPTER I.

IN the letters patent granted by King Manoel to Gaspar Corte-Real, May 12, 1500, we notice the following passage :

“Whereas Gaspar Corte-Real, a nobleman of ours, formerly did make great efforts, of his own free will and at his own cost, with vessels and men, spending his fortune, and at the peril of his life, to discover islands and a continent; and that, hoping to succeed, he desires at present to continue and do everything possible to find the said isles and continent. Now, therefore, &c., &c., &c.”¹

This extract shows that Gaspar Corte-Real had made unsuccessful attempts² to discover transatlantic lands before May, 1500, and that expeditions were actually³ undertaken by the Portuguese about the time when the treaty of Tordesillas extended the maritime domain of Portugal westward, and perhaps at an earlier date still. It may also be that the sentence: “hyr buscar e descobrir algumas Ilhas de nossa conquista,” in the letters patent granted previously to Joam Fernandez,⁴ implies a right based, not on that treaty, but on explorations made independently under the Portuguese flag.

Gaspar Corte-Real was the youngest son of Joam Vaz Corte-Real, who, from April 2, 1474, until May 4, 1483, held the position of Captain-

¹ “Por quanto Gaspar Corterreal fidalguo da nossa casa os dias pasados se trabalhou per sy e a sua custa com navyos e homes de buscar e descubrir e achar com muyto seu trabalho e despesa de sua fazemda e peryguo de sua pesoa algumas ilhas e tierra firme e pelo comsyguymte o quer aimda comthenuar e por em hobra e fazer niso quanto poder por achar as ditas ilhas e terra . . .” E. A. de BETHENCOURT, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-141; *Archivo dos Açores*, Vol. III., No. XVII., p. 405; *Les Corte-Real*, doc. xii., p. 196.

² The word “muyto” and the mention in the plural of “navyos,” coupled with the expression “despesa de sua fazemda,” may be interpreted as alluding not to one only, but to several previous efforts of that kind on the part of Gaspar Corte-Real.

³ The expeditions ascribed to Joam Vaz Corte-Real (Gaspar’s father), without a shadow of proof, are absolutely unauthentic; see *Les Corte-Real*, chapter ii., p. 23-24.

⁴ *Supra*, page 58.

General of the southern part of Terceira island.⁵ He was born towards the middle of the fifteenth century, before 1455.⁶ We know very little concerning his early life. Damiam de Goes says that Gaspar lived with King Manoel when yet only Duke of Beja.⁷ His father, Joam Vaz Corte-Real, was a great land-stealer, who acquired by unlawful means a vast property in the Azores. The probability is that as his eldest sons, Vasqueanes and Miguel, filled important offices at the Court,⁸ he caused Gaspar to remove to Terceira for the purpose of managing his landed estate. In June, 1480,⁹ we see Gaspar receive from his father a large tract of land in Terceira, taken from one Joam Leonardes, which the heirs of the latter succeeded in recovering back by legal process, July 31, 1503.¹⁰

The Azores, which Joam Vas Corte-Real governed in parts during twenty-two years, first at Angra, and after 1843 at St. George,¹¹ were, as we have shown, the hot-bed of notions about Oceanic discoveries. Gaspar was doubtless familiar from his youth with the projects formed by so many enterprising Azoreans. Let us add that the sister of his brother-in-law, Jobst de Hürter, was the wife of Martin Behaim, who lived at Fayal, in the Azores, from at least 1486 until 1490, and from 1494 to the time of his death.¹² Those circumstances permit the supposition that Gaspar was amongst the earliest Azoreans who availed themselves of the rights now possessed by the crown of Portugal, to launch into maritime enterprises across the ocean; but we know nothing of the extent or precise place of his undertakings westward previous to

⁵ On the 17th of February 1474, Terceira was divided into two captainships. Alvaro Martins was appointed to the one, and Joam Vaz Corte-Real to the other. See the letters patent in F. F. DRUMMOND, *Annaes da Ilha Terceira, Publicados pela Camera Municipal d'Angra do Heroismo*; Angra, 1854-64, 4 vols., 8vo, Vol. I., pp. 490-493; and *Les Corte-Real*, doc. ii., p. 180.

⁶ In June, 1480, Gaspar Corte-Real is named as grantee in a deed of gift, which would have been attacked on the plea of legal incapacity to hold, in the suit brought afterwards to recover the estate conveyed (*Les Corte-Real*, doc. xxii.), if he had not been of age. Let us add that in 1475, Gaspar Corte-Real became the father of a child; Diogo DAS CHAGAS, *Espelho Cristiano*; MS., in DRUMMOND, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 29, and *Les Corte-Real*, pp. 35-37.

⁷ Damiam DE GOES, *Chronica do Felic. Rei dom Emanuel*; Lisboa, 1566, folio, f^o. 65. If so, Gaspar Corte-Real held that position at a time when he was

nineteen years older than his master, as King Manoel was born June 1, 1469.

⁸ Vasqueanes Corte-Real III., was King Manoel's Intendant (*Vedor*) and Alcade Mayor of Tavira. Miguel Corte-Real held in 1531 the position of Chief Usher (*Porteiro mór*); but as far back as October 25, 1495, he received a pension for services rendered to Joam II.

⁹ Diogo DAS CHAGAS, dans DRUMMOND, doc. F., and *Les Corte-Real*, p. 219.

¹⁰ *Les Corte-Real*, doc. xxii.

¹¹ *Archivo dos Açores*, Vol. III., p. 13. and *Les Corte-Real*, docs. iv. and vi.

¹² F. W. GHILLANY, *Geschichte des Seefahrers Ritter Martin Behaim*, pp. 36 and 106; MURR, *Histoire diplomatique*, p. 107. Izabel Corte-Real (Gaspar's youngest sister) married Jobst de Hürter II., whose sister, Joanna de Macedo, became in 1486 the wife of Martin Behaim. *Archivo dos Açores*, Vol. I., p. 154, and *Les Corte-Real*, p. 13, note 4.

the time when letters patent were first granted to him. He was then already fifty years old.

Very little could be ascertained relatively to the expedition which Gaspar Corte-Real organised by virtue of the letters patent of May, 1500. It was equipped, not at his sole expense, as De Goes says,¹³ but in partnership with his brother Miguel,¹⁴ and was composed of two vessels, which set sail from Lisbon or from Terceira,¹⁵ but more likely from the latter place, early in the summer of 1500.¹⁶

But in what direction exactly did they steer then; and where was the landfall? We scarcely possess any details on that point. Pasqualigo, in his description of the second voyage, recalls that the year previous (1500), Gaspar Corte-Real was prevented from reaching the mainland on account of the ice and snow. He finally succeeded in landing. Where? Antonio Galvam says it was by 50° north latitude: "foy a quella clima que está debaixo do norte em circoenta graos d'altura." We do not know what were Galvam's means of information. He spent nearly all his entire life in the East Indies, and when the injustice of the King brought him back to Portugal, in 1545, that great and good man lived in abject poverty, the inmate of a hospital¹⁷ to the end of his life. Under the circumstances, Galvam is not likely to have had access to the State archives, or, if perchance he did, he cannot have consulted documents which should have escaped Damiam de Goes, who was Custodian-Major (Guarda m'or) of the Torre do Tombo. The probability is that he borrowed his geographical averment in this respect from some Portuguese charts of the beginning of the sixteenth century, which all place the *Terra de Corte-Real* between 49° and 55° north latitude.¹⁸ At all events, from the fact that Gaspar Corte-Real was prevented from pursuing his course northwardly on account of the ice, we must infer that he turned the prow southward, and, for the reasons stated in the next chapter of

¹³ DE GOES, *Chronica*, f^o 65.

¹⁴ "E despesa de sua fazenda no dito descubrimento asy nos ditos navynos que ho dito seu irmaão pera ella armou por a primeira vez que a dita terra achou." Letters patent in favour of Miguel Corte-Real, January 2nd, 1502; KUNSTMANN, *Die Entdeckung America's*, p. 93, note 120; *Les Corte-Real* doc. xx., p. 214.

¹⁵ "Partio do porto de Lisboa," DE GOES. "Partio da ilha Terceira," GALVAM, *Tratado*, first edition (Lisboa, 1563, 8vo), f^o 29 verso.

¹⁶ "No começo do veraõ do anno de mil e quinhentos," says Damiaõ DE GOES.

¹⁷ "In an hospitall, where he was kept seventeene yeeres vntill the hower of his death." HAKLUYT'S translation of FRANCISCO DE SOUSA TAVAREZ'S prologue to GALVAM'S *Tratado*, in *The Discoveries* . . . , London, G. Bishop, 1601, 4to.

¹⁸ PESCHEL, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 331; KOHL, *Documentary History of Maine*, plate viii., for one of those charts. GALVAM'S remark: "He terra que se agora chama de seu nome," implies as much. He may have borrowed his latitude from the *Historia de las Indias* of GOMARA (first printed in 1552), which says: "en mas de cincuenta grados."

the present work, reached the east coast of Newfoundland, in the vicinity of the landfall named by Galvam.

The latitude of 50°, given by that historian, corresponds with Notre-Dame Bay, in Newfoundland; but those figures are only approximate, and may well come within one or two degrees of the real positions, not only in the present instance, but whenever mention is made of a geographical point in any chart of that time. The other scanty details we owe to De Goes, who says that the country was a very cold one, covered with large trees, and which, on that account, he called the green land: "huma terra que por ser muito fresca, e de grãdes aruoredos, quomo ho sam todas has que jazé per aquella bãda, lhe pos nome terra verde." This description, however succinct, applies perfectly to the east coast of Newfoundland, particularly as regards the vegetation in August,¹⁹ as there "the bays frequently present scenes of much beauty, having their shore forests clad in dark green to the water's edge."²⁰ This is all we know concerning Gaspar Corte-Real's first authorised voyage; for the details tacked on by all writers belong to his second expedition, as we shall soon show.

The adjoining map exhibits the route probably followed, and the lands discovered in the first official expedition of Gaspar Corte-Real, during the summer of the year 1500.

¹⁹⁻²⁰ "There the white pine grows to the height of diameter."—Rev. M. HARVEY, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XVII., p. 382.
70 or 80 feet in some places, and is 3 or 4 feet in





SECOND VOYAGE OF GASPAR CORTE-REAL
(1500)

CHAPTER II.

WE do not know when Gaspar Corte-Real returned from his first authorised voyage. The probability is that it was in the autumn or beginning of the winter of 1500.

Early in the spring of 1501 he equipped a new expedition, again in partnership with his brother Miguel, who was to receive one-half of the lands to be discovered: "le prometera de partir com elle la dita terra que asy descobrisse."¹ On the 21st of April we see him embark his supplies,² and three weeks thereafter, May 15, set sail from Lisbon.³

Cantino,⁴ Pasqualigo,⁵ Gomara,⁶ Ramusio,⁷ and, by implication, Galvam,⁸ state that the expedition was composed of two ships only. But we have the positive language used by King Manoel in an official document to the effect that Gaspar Corte-Real led then a small squadron composed of three vessels: "com tres nauyos."⁹ This assertion is corroborated by the return of one of the caravels, October 8: "A di viii. del presente" (PASQUALIGO, Letter), or October 9: "A di 9" (PASQUALIGO, Dispatch), and of a second caravel, October 11: "Cusi hora alli undece del presente" (CANTINO), whilst the third vessel, which was under the command of Gaspar Corte-Real, never returned. On the other hand, how is it that Cantino, who wrote on the 11th, does not mention the arrival of the first caravel two or three days previous? Is it that the ship which he refers to is the same spoken of by Pasqualigo? This is not likely. Pasqualigo speaks of only seven aborigines brought to Lisbon, and adds that fifty are expected hourly by the other vessel; whilst Cantino asserts that he saw, touched, and examined fifty of those savages:

¹ Letters patent of January 3, 1502; and KUNSTMANN, p. 93; *Les Corte-Real*, doc. xx., p. 24.

² *Les Corte-Real, Post Scriptum*, p. 7.

³ Relying upon a statement contained in the letter addressed October 17, 1501, by Alberto Cantino to the Duke of Ferrara, wherein it is said that then Gaspar Corte-Real had been at sea nine months, we thought the date of his leaving Lisbon was in January, 1501. Documents consulted since, and published in our *Post Scriptum*, allow us to correct the mistake.

⁴ Letter of October 17, 1501; *Les Corte-Real*, p. 204.

⁵ PASQUALIGO's Dispatch, *Diarii di Marin Samuto*, Vol. IV., p. 200.

⁶ GOMARA, *Historia General de las Indias*, p. 177 of Vedia's edition.

⁷ RAMUSIO, *Terzo Volume*, f^o 417, A.

⁸ GALVAM, *Tratado que compos o nobre e notauel capitaõ* . . . ed. of 1563, f^o 29, verso.

⁹ Letters patent of January 15, 1502, in KUNSTMANN, p. 93, note 120, and *Les Corte-Real*, doc. xx.

“cinquanta . . . li quali io ho visti, tochi et contemplati.” These were evidently the aborigines expected by the ship which entered the port of Lisbon two or three days after the first.

The only reliable and direct sources of information concerning this voyage consist of descriptions given by two eye-witnesses of the return of those caravels. They are to be found in the following documents, viz.:

1. A budget of news forwarded from Lisbon, October 17, 1501, to the Duke of Ferrara, by Alberto Cantino, his envoy to the court of Portugal.¹⁰
2. A dispatch addressed by Pietro Pasqualigo, the Venetian ambassador in Portugal, to his government, October 18, 1501.¹¹
3. A private letter written by the said Pasqualigo on the following day, to his brothers in Venice.¹²
4. A planisphere drawn at Cantino's request in Lisbon, and sent by him to the Duke of Ferrara, November 19, 1502.¹³

The very meagre accounts given in the earliest historical works, such as Lopez de Gomara¹⁴ and Ramusio,¹⁵ are borrowed from the letter of Pasqualigo to his brothers, which was frequently published, and translated into four languages.¹⁶ They also made use, doubtless, of the numerous charts depicting the *Terra Corte-Realis*.

As to the works of the Portuguese historians, Antonio Galvam,¹⁷ Damiam de Goes,¹⁸ and Hieronymo Osorio,¹⁹ they contain scarcely a single phrase concerning that voyage. De Goes does not even seem to be aware of the return of the two caravels: “mas no que nesta viagem passou se nam sabe, porque nunca mais appareço, nem se soube delle noua,” says that writer,²⁰ speaking of the latter expedition.

The accounts given by Pasqualigo and Cantino, and the documents from the Torre do Tombo above quoted, bear out the following analytical description of Gaspar Corte-Real's second voyage:

¹⁰ *Supra*, p. 63, note 4.

¹¹ *Supra*, p. 63, note 5.

¹² *Paesi Nouamente retrouati*, Vicentia, 1507, 4to, verso of Aii, and *Les Corte-Real*, doc. xviii.

¹³ The part relating to the New World has been published in facsimile with *Les Corte-Real*, and *infra*, plate.

¹⁴ *Supra*, p. 63, note 6.

¹⁵ *Supra*, p. 63, note 7.

¹⁶ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, Nos. 48, 55, 58, 70, 90, 94, 109, &c., &c.

¹⁷ *Supra*, p. 63, note 8.

¹⁸ Damiam DE GOES, *Chronica do Felicissimo Re dom Emanuel*, f^o. 65.

¹⁹ OSORIO, *De rebus Emmanvelis*, lib. ii., p. 84, and *Histoire de Portugal*, f^o. 59, verso.

²⁰ We must infer from the silence of DE GOES in this respect that the Portuguese archives contain no official account of Corte-Real's second voyage, as that historian was General Custodian of the Torre do Tombo, from 1548 (DA SILVA) or 1558 (DENIS) until 1571. The probability is that as Gaspar Corte-Real intended to return home soon after sending back the two caravels, his intention was to bring the written account himself.

It was a voyage of discovery towards the North: "*terra verso tramontana . . . alle parte de tramontana.*"

They met with enormous icebergs: "*masse grandissime de concreta neve andare mosse da londe sopra il mare a galla,*" and then a frozen sea. These obstacles compelled them to alter their course, and steer in a north-westerly direction: "*ritrovarno el mar gelato . . . cominciaro a circondare verso maestro et ponente.*"

After a long and laborious voyage,²¹ Gaspar Corte-Real sighted between the north and west an extensive country: "*fra questi dui venti, dun grandissimo paese.*"

The country discovered was distant from Portugal, to the west and north-west, two thousand miles, and, until then, wholly unknown: "*II. M. miglia lonzi da qui [Lisboa] tra maestro et ponente qual mai auanti fo cognita ad alcun.*"

They saw many large rivers which flowed into the sea, and sailed up one of these about one mile: "*Et correndo molti et grandi fiumi dolci per quella regione al mare, per uno de epsi, forse una legha fra terra intrarno.*"

Leaving the river, they followed up the coast between six and seven hundred miles without coming to an end: "*per la costa de la qual scorreno forse miglia. dc. in. dec. ne mai trouoreno fin.*"

They went ashore, and found a great quantity and variety of most excellent fruit, as well as pine and other trees extremely high: "*copia de suavissimi et diversi fructi, et albori, et pini de si smisurata alteza et grosseza*" (CANTINO). "*Et piena de pini et altri legni optimi*" (PASQUALIGO, Dispatch).

The country was very populous. The inhabitants lived in houses constructed with timber of great length, and covered with fish skins: "*molto popolata et le case de li habitanti sonno de alcuni legni longissimi coperte de forauia de pelle de pessi*" (PASQUALIGO, Letter).

The natives bore a great resemblance to Gypsies. They were all well formed, somewhat taller than our race, with long, flowing locks, and painted their faces like [East-] Indians; "*Sonno de equal colore, figura, statura, et aspecto simililimi a cingani*" (PASQUALIGO, Letter). "*Sono*

²¹ The expressions in the letter of CANTINO: "quatro mesi continui," followed by "ove tre mesi," must be taken in the sense of a long voyage, but which could not have taken seven months, as he says, considering that

two of the vessels which had left Lisbon May 15, were back home in the second week of October following, after landing in the New World. See also the letter of PASQUALIGO.

alquanto più grandi del nostro naturale, li capilli de maschij sono lunghi, et pendeno con certe inhanctate volveture, et hanno il volto con gran signi segnato, et li segni sono como quelli de li Indiani" (CANTINO).

They lived by fishing and hunting, as there were vast numbers of animals in the country, such as extremely large deer with very long hair, wolves, foxes, tigers, and sable: "*cervi grandissimi vistiti di longissimo pelo, et cusi lupi, volpe, tigri, et zebellini*" (CANTINO).

Now, a north-western country, on the way to which you meet with icebergs in June or July, where there are large trees, particularly pine, wild fruit, deer of great size, foxes, wolves, and marten or sable; which is watered with extensive rivers, and whose inhabitants, in the sixteenth century, had a red skin, long black hair, the face painted, and lived by fishing and hunting, is a description which would apply equally well to the entire northern region of America, from New England to Hudson Strait. The accounts given by Pasqualigo and Cantino are not sufficient, therefore, of themselves, to enable the critic to ascertain the landfall, or even the precise country which in 1501 was visited by Gaspar Corte-Real. We are constrained, consequently, to resort to further analysis and discussion.

The oldest map known which mentions the Corte-Reals is the planisphere made at Lisbon for the Duke of Ferrara, in 1502. It was ordered by Alberto Cantino, and accompanied the description of Gaspar Corte-Real's second voyage, sent by that zealous correspondent to his master. Critics must consider it, therefore, as intended to illustrate the discoveries accomplished by that navigator in 1501.

Emerging from the northernmost portion of the map, and descending beyond the *Circulus arcticus*, we notice a large peninsula, which, according to our mode of calculating distances,²² based upon the leading positions and general contexture of the map itself, is by about 62° north latitude, and 37° west longitude. East of this peninsula, and on a line with its apex, there is an island denominated Islanda. This vast promontory bears the name of "A ponta d[Asia]," but is, in reality, as Dr. Norden-skiöld has justly said "an independent and wonderfully correct formation of Greenland, though it is laid somewhat too northerly."²³

²² *Les Corte-Real*, chapter ii., pages 73-77.

²³ A. E. NORDENSKIÖLD, *Om en märklig globkarta*

från början af sextonde seklet; Stockholm, 1884, 8vo, p. 6; and English translation, New York, 1884.

On each side we see the Portuguese flag, and between them, inscribed on a scroll, the following legend :

“Esta terra he descober[ta] per mandado do muy escelentissimo p[ri]ncepe dom Manuel Rey de portugall aquall se cree ser esta a ponta dasia. E os que a descobriam nam chegarõ a terra mais vironla z nam viram senam serras muyto espessas polla quall segum a opinyom dos cosmofircos se cree ser a ponta dasia :—This land, which was discovered by order of the Most Excellent Prince Dom Manoel, King of Portugal, is that end of Asia. Those who made the discovery did not go ashore, but saw the land, and remarked nothing but very abrupt mountains. That is the reason why, following the opinion of cosmographers, it is believed to be the extremity of Asia.”²⁴

What is that land? Cartographically speaking, it can only be the country now called Greenland. We are compelled, nevertheless, to carry our investigation beyond a geographical aspect, however convincing it may appear to all observers at first sight.

When Cantino and Pasqualigo wrote their accounts, Gaspar Corte-Real had already accomplished a voyage in those regions, as we have stated, and in course of which he sighted a land different from the one where afterwards a landing was effected. Is that the first transatlantic country depicted on the Cantino chart? If so, the configuration would belong to the cosmographical data obtained during the voyage of 1500. Our opinion is that Pasqualigo's remark applies not to that peninsula, but to the country where Gaspar Corte-Real ultimately landed in 1500, though the landfall then was further to the south. One of the reasons is that, according to the legend in the map, if Gaspar did not land then and there, it was on account of the uninviting appearance of the country; whilst the letter of the Venetian ambassador speaks of the impossibility to effect a landing on account of the frozen sea: “Non posseno ariuar fin la, per esser el Mar agliazato.” We have also the fact that the landfall in 1501 was the inaccessible land of 1500, which Gaspar is said to have ranged for a very long distance. This, if exact, would place the discoveries accomplished in 1501 not in Newfoundland, but along the eastern shores of Baffin Bay. Nor should the reader forget that the map containing those delineations was made expressly to illustrate the voyage performed by Corte-Real in 1501, a relation of which Cantino sent to the Duke of Ferrara at the same time.

We now notice, west of Greenland, upon the line of demarcation, and near, but south of the *Circulus arcticus*, a large isolated country,

²⁴ *Les Corte-Real*, p. 93.

covered with enormous trees, and greatly indented on its eastern coast. It is designated as the Land of the King of Portugal: "*Terra del Rey de portugall*," and bears upon the northern extremity the following legend:

"Esta terra he descoberta per mandado do muy alto excelentissimo Sr. principe Rey dom Manuell Rey de portugall aquall descobrio Gaspar de Corte Real caualleiro na cassa do dito Rey, oquall qua[n]do a descobrio mandou hu[m] naujo com çertos omes z molheres que achou na dita terra z elle ficou com outro naujo z nu[n]ca mais veio z crese que he perdido z aquj ha muitos mastos:—This land was discovered by order of the Most High and Excellent Prince King Dom Manoel of Portugall. It was found by Gaspar de Corte-Real, one of his noblemen, who, upon discovering it, sent [thence] a vessel with men and women of that country. He remained with the other vessel, but never returned [home], and the belief is that he was lost. That country contains much mast-timber."²⁵

This, of course, is the country which Gaspar Corte-Real discovered after leaving Greenland; where he actually landed, and to which apply the descriptions given by Pasqualigo and Cantino. But what region is it in reality?

The aspect, distance, and position of the aforesaid peninsula and of that new land, when viewed together on the Cantino map, correspond perfectly with Greenland, and (owing chiefly to the latitude) with the east coast of Labrador as depicted on modern plane charts. Must we infer that Labrador is the country which Gaspar Corte-Real discovered and visited before parting with two of his caravels in September, 1501? Is it not rather the east coast of Newfoundland? Apparently, on the map, it is Labrador, but certain details given by Pasqualigo and Cantino cannot apply to the latter country, whilst they answer in a remarkable degree the geography of Newfoundland.

When reading the accounts of Pasqualigo and Cantino, we notice that the discoverers were particularly struck with two geographical characteristics. One was the great number of large rivers which ran out of the country into the Atlantic Ocean:

"Their opinion [that the newly-discovered land is a continent] is confirmed, says Pasqualigo, by the multitude of large rivers which they found, as no island, certainly, could contain so many streams and of such importance:—*La moltitudine de fiumare grossissime che hanno trouate la, che certo de una Insula non haria mai tante et cosi grosse.*"

We also read in Cantino:

"They saw many large rivers of fresh water, which emptied themselves into the sea:—*et correndo molti et grandi fiumi dolci per quella regione al mare.*"

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 92.

Now, one of the distinctive traits of the Atlantic coast of Labrador is its lack of rivers. With one single exception, the Labradorian fluvial basins all front to the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and of Hudson Bay, where Gaspar Corte-Real is not supposed to have been, at least before September, 1501. The only river which he could call large, when ranging the east coast, was the Ashwampi; and to find it, he would have had first to sail through Hamilton Inlet and Lake Melville, which was certainly not the case. Newfoundland, on the contrary, is noted for its great number of extensive streams, particularly the east shore. Besides the several branches of the Gander, which drain an area of 2,500 square miles, and the Exploits, 200 miles in length, there are the Traytown, the Terra Nova, the Gambo, &c., &c., which, with their wooded vicinity, answer the descriptions given by Pasqualigo and Cantino.

We infer from these facts that Corte-Real did not steer due west, say from Cape Farewell, which would have taken him to Hudson Strait, where there is no such country as his captains described, but south-west, inasmuch as his first course northward was impeded by a frozen sea: "el mar gelato." If so, he must have fallen in with the east shore of Newfoundland, between 47° and 49° north latitude, a region which strands eastward, and where we find the greatest number of rivers in the island.

The other characteristic extolled by those two writers is the size and quality of the timber, as seen from the coast. Cantino writes:

"They found pine and other trees of such height and diameter that they would be too large to make masts, even for the largest ships afloat:—*albori et pini de si smisurata alteza et grosseza, che serebbeno troppo per arboro de la piu gran nave che vadi in mare.*"

Pasqualigo says:

"They have a large quantity of timber, especially pine trees, well adapted to make masts and yards. The King expects to derive great advantage from this timber for ships:—*hanno etiam gram copia de legnami, et fo sopra tutto de Pini dafare arbori et antenne de naue: per el che questo S. Re desegna hauere grandissimo vtile cum dicta terra si per li legni de nave*"

Finally, the legend on the map, although very succinct, ends with speaking also of the quantity of timber for masts: "aqui ha muitos mastos."

Compare this description with what competent authors write about Labrador in this respect:

"The Atlantic coast of Labrador is the edge of a vast solitude of rocky hills, split and blasted by frost and beaten by the waves Dark and yellow headlands towering above

the waters are ever in sight,—some grim and naked, others clad in the pale green of mosses and dwarf shrubbery.”²⁶

On the other hand, see what they say of Newfoundland on that point:

“The bays frequently present scenes of great beauty, having their shores forest clad in dark green to the water’s edge The white pine grows to the height of 70 or 80 feet in some places, and is 3 or 4 feet in diameter.”²⁷

The other details which Pasqualigo and Cantino derived from eye-witnesses corroborate in a great measure the above deductions, although they apply to Labrador almost as well as to Newfoundland. Those writers say that the country yields a quantity of fruit, and contains vast numbers of deer of large size, covered with long hair, wolves, foxes, and sable, and a multitude of falcons. This corresponds with what travellers report about Newfoundland, where the berry-bearing plants cover large areas of the island, whilst the caribou or reindeer, wolves, black, silver-grey, and red foxes, weasels or marten, and falcons, are by no means rare even at the present day.²⁸

Take also the description which those two Italian correspondents gave of the aborigines seen by Corte-Real and his companions :

“They have the colour, figure, size, and aspect of Gypsies. The men wear the hair long, in flowing locks. They puncture the face, bearing eight or more marks. They are clothed with the skins of different animals; in summer the hairy side is worn outwards, but inside in winter. Their disposition is quite gentle, and they have a strong sense of shame. The skin of the women is rather whitish, but the men are more tawny. They live exclusively by fishing and hunting:—*Questi homeni de aspeto, figura et statura somigliano cingani; hanno signada la faza in diversi logi, chi de più chi de mancho segni, vestiti di pelle de diversi animali, ma precipue di ladrar . . . de instade uoltano el pello i suso, et de inuerno al contrario . . . sonno molto uergognosi* (PASQUALIGO’S Dispatch and Letter).—*Li capilli de maschij sono longi, et pendeno con certe inhanelate volveture . . . La dona tien un viso assai gentile, il colore de le quale più presto se puó dire bianco cha altro, ma il maschio è assai più negro*” (CANTINO).

Although all the North American Indians possess several of those traits in common, yet, as a whole, the description answers the Eskimos better than the Micmacs, Etchemins, or other members of the north-eastern branch of the Algonquins, who, in those days, lived in Nova Scotia and the northern borders of Canada.

²⁶ *Labrador*, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

²⁷ Rev. M. HARVEY, *Encyclop. Britan.*, Vol. XVII.

²⁸ We borrow these details from Rev. M. HARVEY’S excellent article on *Newfoundland*.

The latest ethnographical authorities, summed up by Dr. Robert Brown, agree in representing the Eskimos as having remained a very homogeneous race for, at least, 1,000 years; and that, although scattered over an immense region, their mode of life presents very little diversity, so much so that the idiom spoken by them, from Greenland to North-Eastern Siberia, is, with a few exceptions, the same. We may say, therefore, that the Eskimos of to-day exhibit the leading characteristics of the Eskimos of the sixteenth century. They are described as follows:

“The men wear coarse black hair, which they allow to hang loose and unkempt behind. . . They are not so small as they have been represented, being quite up to the average of the coast Indians, from five feet four inches to five feet ten inches, and in rare cases even six feet . . . They dress entirely in skins, and have two suits of clothes, one with the hair inside, the other with it outside. They have a pleasing, good-humoured, and not unfrequently even handsome cast of countenance. Any sort of licentiousness or indecency which might give rise to public offence is rare among them. The skin is only so slightly brown that red shows in the cheeks of the children and young women. They are solely hunters and fishers.”²⁹ Another traveller adds: “Their face is also painted with wide strokes, three or four on each side.”³⁰

The reader will doubtless recognise a very great similitude between the description of Pasqualigo and that of modern ethnographers. True it is that we have no precise information concerning the race of Indians who lived in Newfoundland when Corte-Real visited the country, and even for a century afterwards. Neither John Rut, who landed on the south-east coast (1527), nor Jacques Cartier, who passed through the Strait of Belle-Isle (1534), nor Roberval, who was at St. John's (1541), nor Sir Humphrey Gilbert (1583), nor Sylvester Wyet (1594), nor Whitbourne (1615), all of whom mention the Newfoundland Indians more or less, give any detail enabling us to ascertain the race to which they belonged. By implication, however, we may believe that they were Eskimos, as the entire north coast of Labrador was always considered as the “proper home” of a large class of those aborigines. The Strait of Belle-Isle, which separates Newfoundland from the continent is extremely narrow; whilst south of the island, across the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, lived the Micmacs and several other tribes of the warlike Algonquin race, who were and are still their most bitter enemies. This does not show that Gaspar Corte-Real's landfall, in 1501, was Newfoundland rather than Labrador, as Eskimos occupied both those

²⁹ See Dr. BROWN'S valuable article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. VIII., p. 544.

³⁰ H. W. KLUTSCHAK, *Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos*, plates on pp. 76 and 80.

two sections of the country ; but neither does it contradict our inference that the Portuguese navigator landed further south than the Labradorian peninsula, on the east shore of Newfoundland, though he may afterwards have coasted Labrador, with his three caravels, to a pretty high latitude, as we think he did.

This deduction is borne out by the King chart,³¹ which is the oldest map known where Newfoundland bears a name of place, and exhibits geographical information on that point, obtained October, 1501, and September, 1502. In that chart, the region corresponding with the *Terra del Rey de Portugall* of the Cantino planisphere is called *Terra Cortereal*, and absolutely identified with our Newfoundland, notwithstanding its outlandish position, by the name inscribed on the south-eastern extremity, viz.:—*Capo Raso*, or the Flat Cape. This designation has remained thenceforth attached to that headland, and it is now universally known under its present name of Cape Race.

What course did Gaspar Corte-Real then follow? The geographical notions or illusions prevalent at the time, as exhibited in the Majorcan and Italian charts, together with the Atlantic region allotted to Portugal by the treaty of Tordesillas were, as we have shown,³² data which certainly caused the Portuguese to locate their sphere of operations relatively far to the north. Another reason, given by Damiam de Goes, was that southward many discoveries had already been accomplished: “*propos de ir descobrir terras perà banda do Norte, porque perà do Sùl tinhaõ ja outros descubertas muitas.*”³³

This reasoning is partially corroborated by a passage of the letter of Pasqualigo, implying that the six or seven hundred miles which Gaspar coasted in the course of his second voyage, were north of the land sighted in 1500:

“*Credeho che sia terra ferma: laqual continue in una altra terra che lanno passato fo discoperta sotto la tramontana, le qual caruelle non posseno ariuar fin la, per esser el mare agliazato et infinita copia de neue:—This land is a continuation of the other land which they discovered last year, at the North, and could not [then] reach on account of the sea which was frozen, and the great quantity of snow.*” He also says in his official dispatch: “*Conjungersi con altra terra, la qual l’anno passato soto la tramontana fu discoperta da l’altre caravelle de questa majestà, licet non potesseno arivar a quella, per esser el mar lì agiazato con grandissima*

³¹ This interesting map was found among the papers of Arthur KING, the English traveller, and first described by Dr. E. T. HAMY, *Notice sur une mappemonde portugaise anonyme de 1502*, in the *Bulletin de Geographie*

historique for 1886, No. 4, pp. 147-160. See *infra*, plate, and the *Cartographia Americana Vetustissima*.

³² *Supra*, Book III, p. 57.

³³ DE GOES, *Chronica do Rei dom Emanuel*, f^o 65.

quantita di neve, in modo ch'è monti qual terra :—That country is connected with the other land which last year was discovered at the north, by His Majesty's other ship, but which could not be reached owing to the frozen sea and immense quantities of snow, forming mountains such as are on land."

If Corte-Real was not to go south because he feared to encroach on the rights of Spain, and was deterred also from sailing southward on account of the numerous discoveries already achieved in that direction, he must have gone towards the north, and beyond the coasts which he had visited the year previous. The fact of his having now ascertained that the land first discovered and the land lately explored are connected, implies as much.

Those terms locate the landfall of 1501 in a more northerly region than the landfall of 1500. They also imply a ranging of the north-east coast of Labrador, perhaps as far as Cape Chudleigh. If so, the region explored by Gaspar Corte-Real in the summer of 1501 is the very country which was discovered by John Cabot four years previous, in 1497. A curious circumstance strengthens this surmise. Pasqualigo says that one of the young savages brought by the caravel which returned to Lisbon on the 8th or 9th of October, 1501, had in his ears two silver discs made certainly in Venice: "hauera ale orechie dui tondini de arzeno, che senza dubio pareno sta facti a Venetia," and that the commander brought thence a portion of a gilt sword, which unquestionably came originally from Italy: "uno pezo de spada rotta dorata, la qual certo par facta in Italia." Now, the only voyages known to have been made thither previous to that time by Europeans since the Scandinavians, are those which were accomplished by John Cabot.

As to the precise locality of the landfall, we have no means of information on that point; but we can guess where Gaspar Corte-Real directed his course after sending home the two caravels.

His intention, as reported by the captain whom Cantino interviewed, was to proceed along the coast until he had ascertained whether the newly-discovered country was a continent or an island: "Ha deliberato andar tanto per quella costa, che vole intendere se quella è insula, o pur terra ferma." Under the circumstances, after admitting the inferences above stated, Gaspar doubtless explored the coast of Labrador still further north, and rounded probably Cape Chudleigh. If so, Hudson Strait or, perhaps, Hudson Bay is the place where he met his untimely death.

The explorations of Hudson Bay by the *Alert*, in 1885 and 1886, show that the ice blockading the entrance, at Port Laperrière, disappears during the last week in August, and that the bay remains entirely free until the middle of October. The probability is that Gaspar Corte-Real entered the bay in September, and found it blockaded at Nottingham island when he endeavoured to return home.

To sum up. The data which we have just analysed lead to the conclusion that, in his first successful voyage (1500), Gaspar Corte-Real went direct from Lisbon or Terceira to a point in the vicinity of the north-east coast of Newfoundland, not far from Belle-Isle Strait. But not being able to approach the land on account of the frozen sea and icebergs, he turned his prow southward, explored the seaboard, landing, perhaps, at Bona Vista, whence he sailed homeward. That was in the summer of 1500.

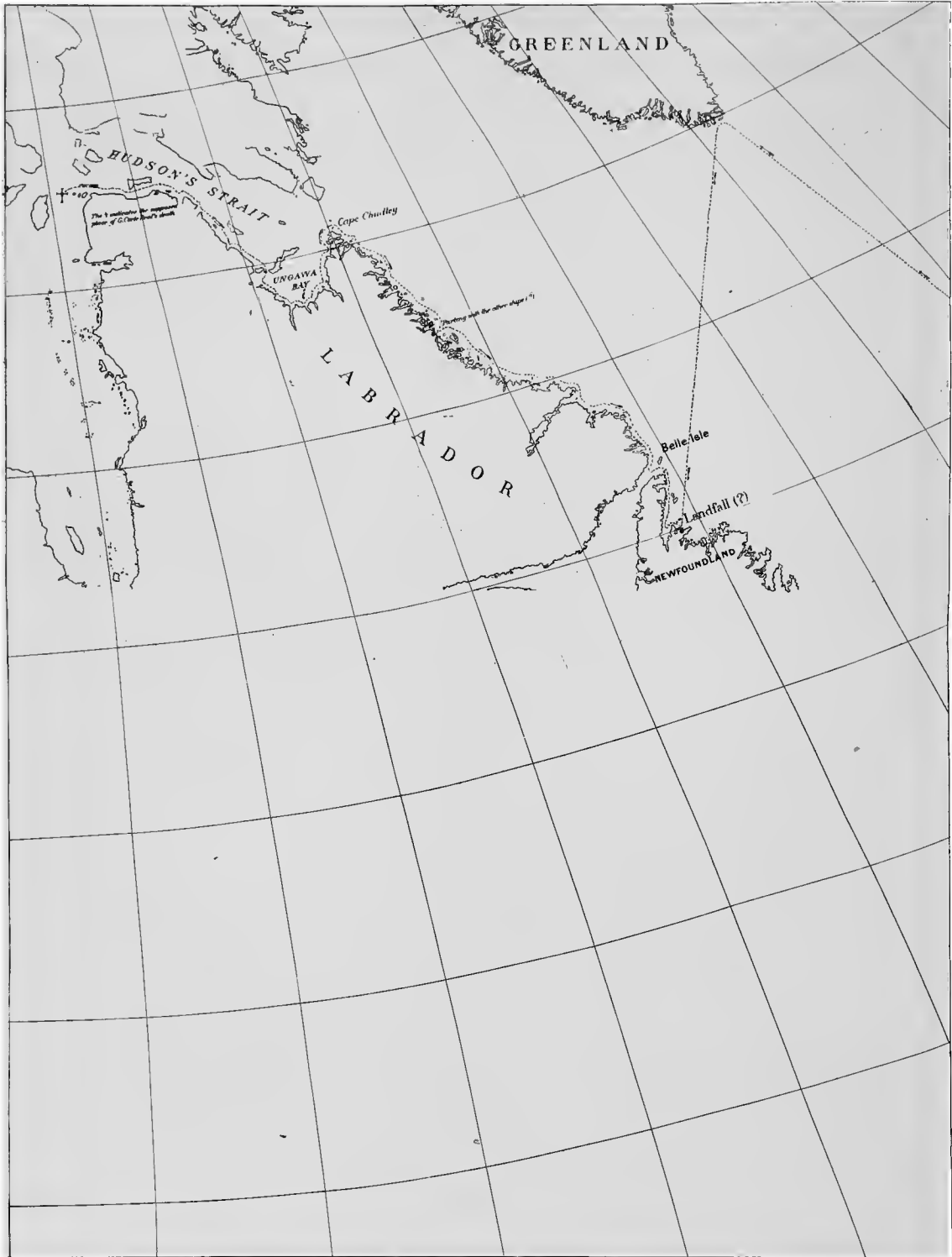
For reasons as yet unknown, Gaspar Corte-Real seemed to be bent on reaching a more northern point than he had succeeded in attaining; having been driven thence by the ice. In 1501, therefore, the bold navigator directed his course more to the northward of his last landfall, and thus fell in with Greenland, sighting Cape Farewell, from which he turned away.³⁴ He then steered south-west, as we suppose, effecting the landfall on the east coast of Newfoundland. Where that was exactly, we do not know; but, judging from the description of the country given by the captains who returned home, it must have been south of Belle Isle.

The fleet, from that point, ranged the coast northwardly, no one can tell how far, nor at what latitude Gaspar Corte-Real sent two of his caravels back to Portugal; whilst he continued alone the exploration towards the north-west, from which he never returned.

The adjoining map represents his probable itinerary after sending home two of his ships.

³⁴ Hence perhaps the legend in Kunstmann No. III; *C. de mirame et lezame*.—"Cape to look at but to avoid." See *infra*, in the *Cartographia Americana Vetusissima*; under the years 1502-1503.

Plate V.



LAST VOYAGE OF GASPAR CORTE-REAL
(1501)

CHAPTER III.

COMBINING a hope to rescue his brother Gaspar with the desire of accomplishing also transatlantic discoveries, Miguel Corte-Real obtained for himself letters patent from King Manoel, and fitted out an expedition. The grant, dated January 15, 1502, conveys to him all the continent and islands which he may discover during the year: "toda a terra firme e ilhas que elle per si nouamente neste anno de quinhentos e dous descobrir lhe fazemos della doaçam."¹

The little we know concerning this voyage is to be found in the works of Damiam de Goes² and Antonio Galvam.⁴ The latter, in Hakluyt's version, writes as follows:

"Wherefore his brother, Michael Cortereal, went to seeke him with three ships⁴ well appointed at his owne cost; and when they came vnto that coast, and found so many entrances of riuers and hauens, euery ship went into her seuerall riuer, with this rule and order, that they all three should meete again the 20 day of August. The two other ships did so, and they, seing that Michael Cortereal was not come at the day appointed, nor yet afterwards in a certaine time, returned backe into the realme of Portugall, and neuer heard any more newes of him, nor yet any other memorie. But that country is called the land of Cortereal vnto this day."⁵

The account of De Goes gives the date when Miguel set sail from Lisbon, viz.: May 10, 1502, but limits the expedition to two vessels only.

As to the country visited on that occasion, Galvam's description, however brief, shows that it was the land discovered the year previous by Gaspar Corte-Real, which, on account of its green forests, he called *Terra verde*; but it must not be confounded with our Greenland.⁶ We

¹ Letters patent of January 15, 1502, in KUNSTMANN, p. 93, note 120.

² DE GOES, *Chronica do Rei dom Emanuel*, cap. lxvi., *De quomo el Rei mandou duas naos em busca dos Corte Reaes, q. se perderam indo a descobrir perá banda do Norte*.

³ *Tratado*, f^o 29 verso. GALVAM seems to us to have borrowed his information from GOMARA (Vedia's edition, p. 177).

⁴ DE GOES says that the expedition of Miguel Corte-Real was composed of only two vessels: "duas naos."

⁵ Publication of the *Hakluyt Society*, 1862, p. 97.

⁶ According to the Sagas, that promontory was named Greenland as far back as 986 by Eric the Red. At all events we already read in the mappamundi of 1417, preserved at Florence, on a north-eastern peninsula far stretching into the Atlantic Ocean; the name of "Grinlandia." BORGHINI'S description, in ZURLA, *Di Marco Polo*, Vol. II., p. 399. The fact that according to the Cantino chart, Gaspar Corte-Real saw there "nothing but abrupt cliffs:—nam viram senam serras muyto espessas," shows that his *Terra verde* is not our Greenland, but the region where he afterwards landed, and which is described as being a very verdant country.

can then consult a Portuguese map made before the year 1520,⁷ and, for the east coast of the New World, with data borrowed from the prototype, or from subsequent imitations of the Cantino planisphere. Like the latter, it inscribes on a sort of peninsula, which is certainly intended for Greenland: "Terram istam portugalenses viderunt atamen non intraverunt:—This country was sighted by the Portuguese, but they did not enter it." On the continent there is another inscription, which recalls to us that the land was discovered by Gaspar Corte-Real, and ends with the significant sentence: "Qui anno sequenti naufragium perpeusus nunquam rediit sic et fratri ejus Micaele anno sequenti contigit:—In the year following he was shipwrecked, and did not return. His brother Miguel, a year afterwards, met a similar fate."

In connection with this voyage, we should recall that mention is also made by De Goes of numerous rivers: "muitas bocas de rios." Such a peculiarity, together with the cartographical outlines and positions of that map, show clearly that the east coast of Newfoundland is the region explored by Miguel Corte-Real, and where he lost his life.

De Goes says that in a moment of royal pity: "mouido de seu real e piedaso moto," the King equipped two vessels which were sent from Lisbon in 1503 to ascertain the fate of Gaspar and Miguel Corte-Real, but that the ships returned without finding any traces of those unfortunate navigators.⁸ We have no details whatever concerning the region which they explored on that sad errand. But officers and men of the caravels which returned to Lisbon in September or October, 1502, were doubtless enlisted for that voyage, and, as they came back, the Portuguese Admiralty must have possessed positive information about the localities which had been seen or discovered by both the Corte-Reals. Unfortunately, no signs of such knowledge have yet been found among the documents of the Torre do Tombo.

⁷ KUNSTMANN, *Die Entdeckung America's*, Atlas, No. iv.; KOHL, *Discovery of Maine*, No. x.; and *Les Corte-Real*, No. 9, page 167.

⁸ DE GOES, *op. cit.*, f^o 65. verso.

BOOK FIFTH.

Unknown Navigators.

CHAPTER I.

HERCULES d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, was an enlightened prince, who took the greatest interest in maritime discoveries. In reply to the letter of Alberto Cantino, his envoy to the Court of Portugal, dated October 17, 1501, and wherein that zealous correspondent had informed him of the successful expedition of Gaspar Corte-Real to the north-east coast of the New World, he expressed the wish to obtain a nautical chart illustrating the transatlantic voyages which up to that time had been accomplished. Cantino ordered the map at once, from a cartographer living in Lisbon. That most valuable document has come down to us, and is now preserved in the Este Library at Modena.¹

It is a planisphere setting forth the latest geographical data, as it mentions the landfall of Pedro Alvarez Cabral on the coast of Brazil, and the results of the second successful voyage of Gaspar Corte-Real, according to news brought to Lisbon in the month of October, 1501.

Limiting our description to the section which comprises the West Indies and the region corresponding *a priori* with the north-east coast of the new continent, we notice first: "The King of Castile's Antillies:—Has antilhas del Rey de Castella," the discovery of which is duly ascribed to Columbus: "Descoberto por Colonbo almjrante," and exhibiting the almost entire archipelago, from Marigalante to the westernmost island in the group, viz.: Cuba, here called, erroneously, but as in nearly all the maps of the time, "Ilha yssabella," properly situated north of Jamaica, and westerly on a line with the "Ilha Espanholla," or Santo Domingo. This Isabella, or Cuba, is delineated running from east to west, long, rather narrow, contracted in two places, its western extremity trending

¹ *Les Corte-Real*, p. 69, *sequitur*.

southward, and forming a sort of gulf. The general appearance of the island shows that it was not borrowed from the La Cosa chart, and, being more elongated, is truer than the outline in the latter.²

We now observe, emerging from the north-western border of the map, a continent, the southern end of which projects in the direction of Cuba. The coast line then runs from that peninsula due north, to a point where the cartographer has waved his lines and shades to indicate no further geographical knowledge.³

That sea-board which, according to the scale inscribed in the map of Nicolas de Canerio,⁴ and which will be our standard for measuring distances in the present Modena map, covers from 37° to 54° north latitude.⁵ It is notched and indented throughout with representations of gulfs, estuaries, and capes, while on the mainland there are meadows, clusters of trees, and several large rivers which empty into the Atlantic Ocean, here called *Oceanus occidentalis*. The entire country is studded with geographical designations, no less than twenty-two names being given to water-courses (*rios*), capes (*cabos*), lakes (*lagos*), and headlands (*puntas*).

When we compare that continental outline, its shape, latitude, and relative longitude, with the northern part of the Western Hemisphere as depicted in modern maps, we notice the extraordinary resemblance which it bears to the east coast of North America, and cannot but deem, at first sight, that region to represent the coast line, extending in reality from the Florida peninsula to the Delaware or Hudson River.

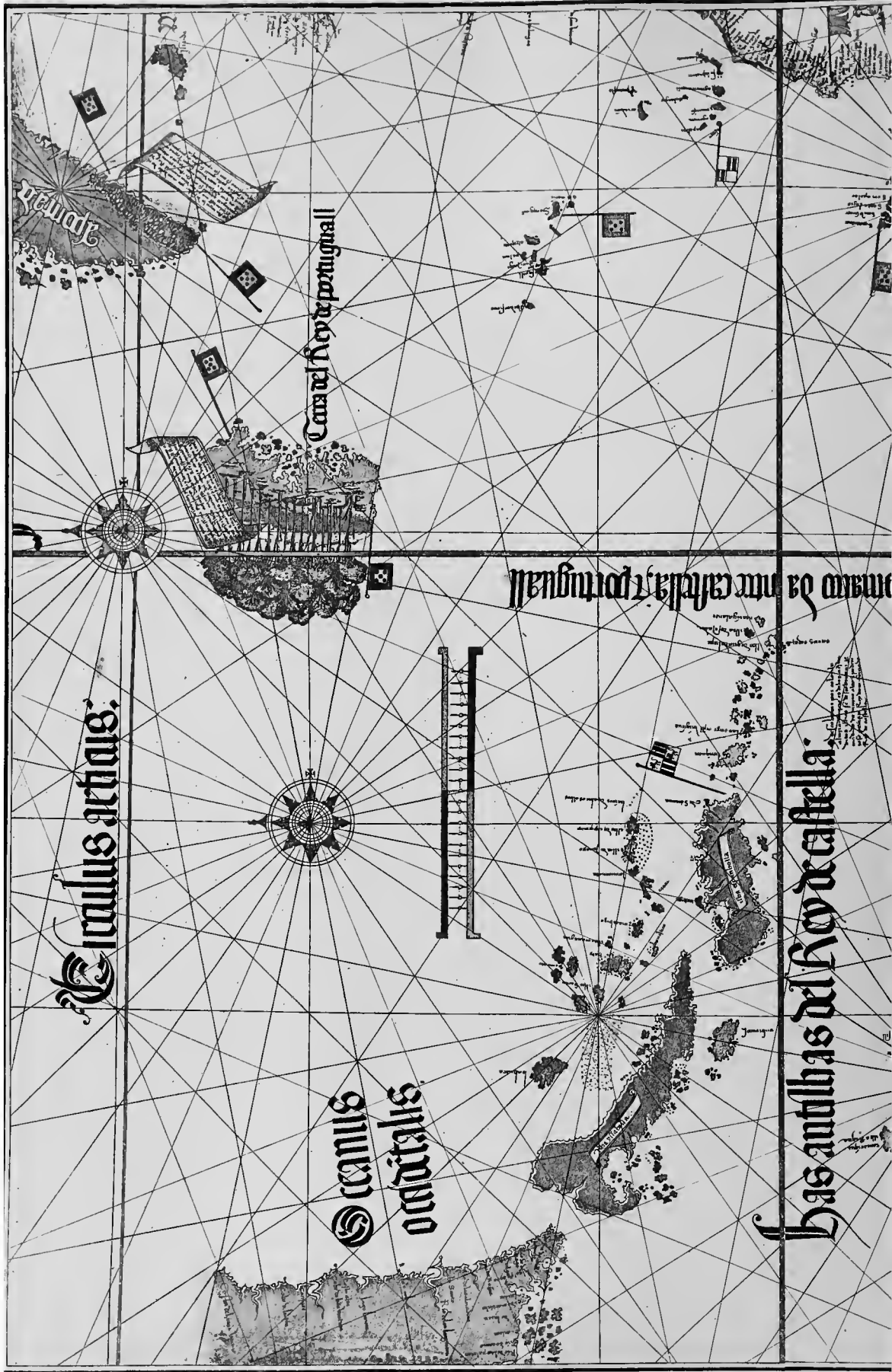
A conclusion so much at variance with commonly received notions in matters of geographical history, cannot be accepted without being first subjected to severe tests and analysis. In fact, it subverts the general belief that the Atlantic shores of the Southern and Middle States of the present republic of North America were not sighted or trodden by Europeans (excepting the Northmen) before Juan Ponce de Leon in 1512 or 1513, Giovanni da Verrazzano in 1523, Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon in 1520-1524, and Estevam Gomez in 1525. The care with which critics should venture to differ from prevailing notions, even on the subject of ancient geography and cartography, together with the unexpected character of the data exhibited in that respect in the Cantino chart, prompts us to examine the question under all its different aspects.

² See *infra*, the plate representing, in facsimile, the six earliest delineations of Cuba.

³ See also *infra*, the facsimile of the entire north-west coast in the map of Alberto Cantino.

⁴ *Infra*, in the *Cartographia Americ. Vetustissima*.

⁵ In reality it ranges from about 25° to about 45° N. latitude, taking the north-west coast of Cuba as a starting point.



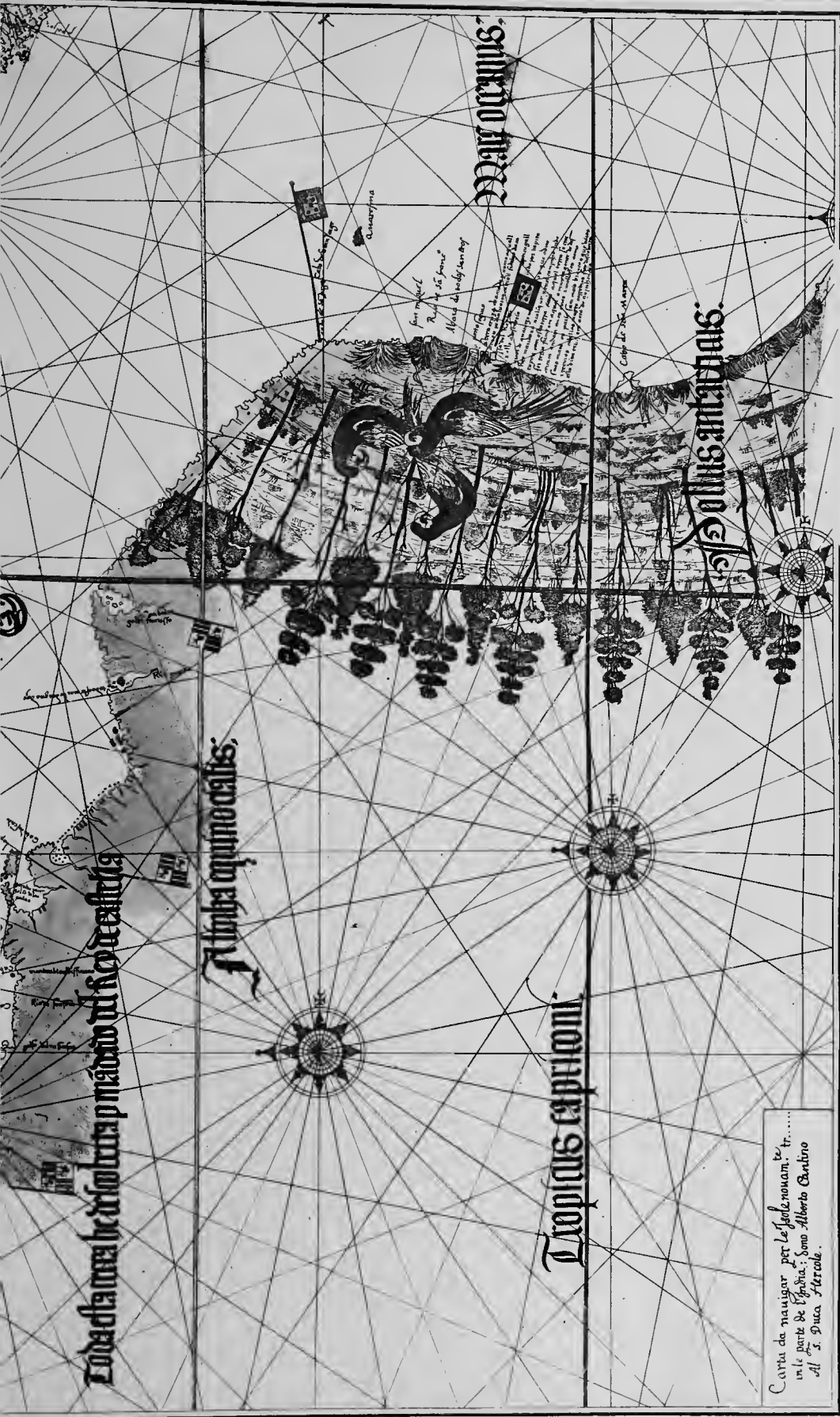
Insulas archais.

Casas del Rey de portugall

Insulas del Rey de castella

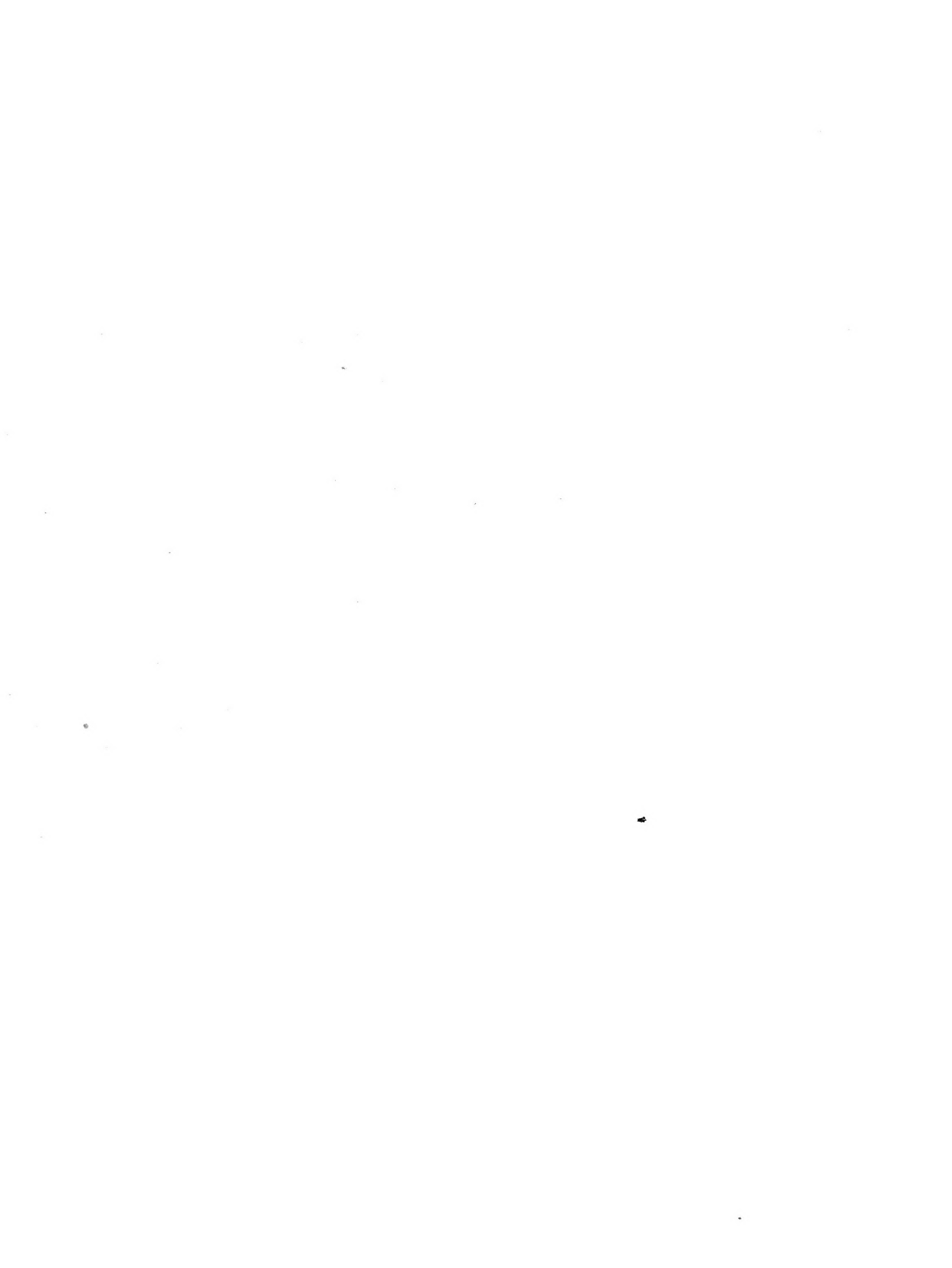
Insulas occidentales

Insulas del Rey de castella



Carta de navigar per le Indes orientales. fr.
 in la parte de l'India; Sono Alberto Chabino
 Al. S. Duca Ferrale.

THE NEW WORLD IN THE CANTINO CHART
 (1501-1502)



The first supposition was that the said coast line might be a continuation of the eastern sea-boards of Asia,—as when rolling up a planisphere we bring its right and left sides contiguous. This surmise had to be rejected, for the Cantino map already sets forth clearly the Asiatic coasts in their proper place, besides exhibiting all over the latter region well-known legends and names which belong to Asia exclusively.⁶

The second hypothesis consisted in viewing that region as identical with the Yucatan peninsula, which, by some unaccountable mistake of the cartographer, would have been inserted upside down,—this being a supposition already made by certain critics regarding the same configurations in the map of Waldseemüller, which, as we will hereafter show, belongs to the same cartographical family as the Cantino chart, although derived from another prototype. To this, the first answer was that it would prove still more difficult, at the outset, to account for any direct geographical knowledge of Yucatan before 1502, considering that, as far as is known, the country was not visited by Europeans until Francisco Hernandez de Cordoba returned to Cuba from his expedition to that coast in 1517.⁷ Even if we assume, with Herrera,⁸ that Yucatan was sighted by Solis and Pinzon, it brings us back only to 1506, that is, four years after the map was already in the hands of the Duke of Ferrara. This would be simply shifting the question without solving it.

On the other hand, the fact that historians and even leading cartographers may not have been aware of certain maritime discoveries is, we grant, no absolute argument against the actual existence of such discoveries. But, in the present case, the configurations alleged to be those of Yucatan do not at all coincide with the geographical realities of that country, and the attribution based upon such a supposed wondrous error is for the present merely hypothetical.

This hypothesis requires besides, on the part of critics, concessions which they would find it extremely difficult to make. The idea that at the beginning of the sixteenth century, a continental region, claimed to have been actually explored by Lusitanian or Spanish mariners, should be depicted by a contemporaneous and skilful Portuguese cartographer as

⁶ See *infra*, the large facsimile of the Asiatic coast in the Cantino chart.

⁷ True it is that when the regidor VALDIVIA was wrecked on the reefs about Jamaica in 1512, he escaped in boats with his crew to Yucatan; but nothing was

known of the event until Fernand CORTEZ rescued one of the only survivors (Gerónimo DE AGUILAR) in the summer of 1519. *Carta de la Justicia y Regimiento de la Vera Cruz à la reina doña Juana*, July 10, 1519.

⁸ HERRERA, Decad. 1., lib. vi., p. 170.

running up from 25° to 45°, when in reality it runs down 22° to 12° or 10° latitude, and that such an egregious mistake should continue to be imitated and copied all over Europe by the most celebrated geographers for twenty-five years or more, even after Yucatan had been actually visited, conquered, and faithfully depicted in maps, demands ample documentary proofs, which, thus far, have not been produced.

Admitting, even for the sake of argument, that the thoughtless cartographer should have placed his Yucatan upside down, the great probability is that in such a case, we would not see in the other Portuguese charts of the time, like Kunstmann Nos. II. and III., and the King map, the enormous gap which they exhibit west and north of Maracaybo.

The theory that the tall continental region in the *Ptolemies* of 1508 and 1513 was Yucatan, first became the object of discussion during the controversy which was carried on in 1858 between Mr. d'Avezac and Adolfo de Varnhagen concerning the authenticity of the first voyage of Americus Vespuccius.⁹

Mr. d'Avezac was too serious a critic not to see at a glance that the Cantinean continental region in Ruysch's map, which then furnished the basis of that debate, represented a special and separate country, which in no possible way could be confounded with any of the islands belonging to the West Indies group, and particularly with the island of Cuba.¹⁰ He advanced the supposition that it represented Yucatan. But his hypothesis was based altogether upon the erroneous belief that the said continental region appeared for the first time in the mappamundi of Ruysch, constructed at Rome in 1508, that is, just in time to embrace the alleged discovery of the Yucatanic peninsula by Solís and Pinzon the year preceding:—

⁹ D'AVEZAC, *Considérations géographiques sur l'Histoire du Brésil*; in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, Paris, Nos. for August and September, 1857. VARNHAGEN, *Vespuce et son premier voyage*; in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, Nos. for January and February, 1858. VARNHAGEN, *Examen de quelques points de l'Histoire Géographique du Brésil*; same *Bulletin*, Nos. for March and April, 1858. D'AVEZAC, *Les Voyages de Améric Vespuce au compte de l'Espagne*; same *Bulletin*, Nos. for September and October, 1858.

¹⁰ "On serait bien tenté de croire que la dénomination de cap de la fin d'avril qui se trouve inscrite à l'angle de cette terre le plus voisin de l'île Espagnole, désigne en effet le cap oriental de l'île de Cuba, celui qu'on appelle cap Maisy. Il n'en est rien, cependant, et M. de Varnhagen fait observer avec raison que l'île de Cuba a été oubliée sur la carte de Ruysch."—D'AVEZAC, *Les Voyages d'Améric Vespuce au compte de l'Espagne, et les mesures itinéraires employées par les marins espagnols et portugais*; Paris, 1858, 8vo, 48 p.

“Il nous semble,” says Mr. d’Avezac, “sauf meilleur avis, que la carte de Ruysch, dont il est avéré pour nous que la publication n’a pas devancé l’année 1508, offre probablement en cette partie les renseignements qui avaient pu parvenir jusqu’à Rome sur la découverte du Yucatan par Solis et Pinçon en 1507 :—It seems to us, in the absence of better information, that Ruysch’s map, which, we are convinced, was not published before the year 1508, presents probably in that part [of the map], the intelligence which may have reached as far as Rome concerning the discovery of Yucatan by Solis and Pinzon in 1507.”¹¹

And so as to better limit the basis of his appreciation to a discovery of Yucatan accomplished in 1507, the erudite and painstaking critic quotes the passage of Marcus Beneventanus to the effect that Spanish mariners had recently discovered under the tropic of Cancer another island of considerable size:—“Habet item Oceanus insulam quamdam quam hodiè Spagnolam vocant . . . Est alia insula noviter a Gaditanis inventa, nondum tamen tota. Miræ tamen magnitudinis est ea portio quæ innotuit . . . sub tropicum Cancrî . . . ”¹²

Mr. d’Avezac was far from imagining then that there existed an authentic map, constructed long before 1508, which represented that very region in all its details. His entire theory and argumentation naturally crumble down, now that the Cantino chart shows the existence of that continent already ascertained and depicted six years at least before the country which he seeks to identify with it was discovered. We may rest assured that were the worthy geographer still living, he would adopt a very different hypothesis, even if he knew of the following data, which tend to carry several years still further back some actual knowledge of Yucatan.¹³

In the description of Veragua written by Bartholomew Columbus,¹⁴ and presented by him to a canon of Latran while at Rome between 1506 and 1508,¹⁵ he states that being once in the vicinity of an island called Banassa, apparently on the coast of Honduras, the Spaniards seized a native vessel loaded with merchandise and cotton clothing, which claimed to come from a country called Maiam or Iuncatam.

“In questo loco [Insula Banassa] pigliarono una nave loro carica di mercantia et merce la quale dicevono veniva da una cierta provintia chiamata MAIAM vel IUNCATAM con molte veste di bambasio de le quale ne erano il forcio di sede di diversi colori.”

The expressions *Maiam* and *Iuncatam* resemble so much *Maya* and

¹¹ D’AVEZAC, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

¹² MARCUS BENEVENTANUS, *Nova Orbis descriptio ac nova Oceani navigatio qua Lisbona ad Indic. perven. pelag.*, in the Ptolemy of 1508.

¹³ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetust.*, p. 471.

¹⁴ *Informatione di Bartolomeo Colombo della naviga-*

tione di Ponente et Garbin di Beraqua nel Mondo Novo; in the *B. A. V.*, Appendix, p. 473.

¹⁵ The text begins thus: “Del 1505 essendo Bartolamio Colombo fratello di Christophoro Colombo da poi la sua morte andato a Romà . . . ” which shows that the date of 1505 is erroneous.

Yucatan, and the locality where the ship was taken is so near the country known under the latter names that they may be considered as identical. This information, however, cannot have been obtained by Bartholomew Columbus before the summer of 1502, as it was only during the fourth voyage of his brother that he visited the Honduras country, and even the continental regions of the New World. The description of the cargo also indicates that the vessel seized was not a European ship, but some Indian canoe, and from which could not be obtained the cartographical data used for the Cantino chart, which, at all events, had long found its way into the Ferrara collection when news was received in Spain of the landing of Columbus on the Honduras coast.

A third interpretation was to consider that coast line as wholly imaginary, and derived from a vague notion, already entertained by Columbus, that, west of the islands which he had just discovered, there was a continent abounding in gold and spice. This might be admitted if the map exhibited delineations entirely nameless; but it is hardly possible to share such a belief when we remember that along the said coast there are as many as twenty-two names. As Dr. Kohl justly says:

“Though some of those names look like corruptions, still the greater part do not look like inventions. On the contrary, they appear to be such as a navigator might well have distributed on an unknown coast discovered by him . . . I do not believe that the Spanish, Italian, and German map-makers of the time of Columbus, and soon after him, were in the habit of inventing new names. They gave them as they found them . . . It is probable that they were the work of some Spanish navigator, perhaps a private adventurer, whose name has not reached us.”¹⁶

These remarks of Kohl were prompted by the sight of the north-eastern continental region and nomenclature on the globe constructed by Schöner in 1520; but they apply to the map of Cantino just as well, for Schöner has only copied in that respect a Portuguese chart of the same origin as Cantino's, as we will hereafter demonstrate.

Those names and geographical data also attracted the attention of Humboldt, who not only anticipated Kohl's reasons, but had the prescience, so to speak, to state that the configurations and nomenclature on Schöner's globe were, with respect to America, copies of an old chart “hidden, perhaps, in the archives of Italy or Spain,”¹⁷ suggesting, as Kohl says, that they must have been borrowed from some original, believed to be authentic and correct.

¹⁶ KOHL, *Documentary History of Maine*, p. 162.

¹⁷ HUMBOLDT, *Examen critique*, Vol. II., p. 23.

Another interpretation has been lately advanced. It is to the effect that the continental coast line which emerges from the north-western side of the Cantino planisphere, is Cuba, although that island already figures on the map in its own proper place among the Antillies. Thus far, not a particle of evidence has been adduced in support of the assertion. We will, nevertheless, examine this bare averment with as much care as if it reposed on facts, documents, or cogent reasons.

It will be shown hereafter that, when the Cantino chart was made, cartographers, in Spain as well as in Portugal, properly considered Cuba as an island. They depicted it as such on their maps as early as the year 1500, with many names and an outline sufficiently exact to warrant the belief that the data used by those map-makers were originally obtained *de visu*.

Christopher Columbus at first also believed in the insularity of Cuba, as in his Journal he invariably mentions it as "la isla de Cuba." But he soon afterwards changed his opinion, and, June 12, 1494, compelled his officers and crews to declare that Cuba was a continent.¹⁸ January 14, 1495, and even at a later period, he continued to profess such an erroneous belief. And, as we shall show hereafter, Columbus being alone of that opinion, if the configuration which we are discussing ever was intended to represent the island of Cuba it must have been borrowed from one of his early maps.

A priori, such a cartographical operation is not impossible. We are able to realise how a planisphere can have been first constructed, in Lisbon or elsewhere, setting forth the results of Columbus' earliest voyages, and delineating Cuba according to geographical misconceptions, which he still maintained in 1495. To this primary map would have been added, several years afterwards, the Venezuelan and Brazilian coasts, borrowed from charts brought by Hojeda or La Cosa, Niño or Guerra, Cabral or De Lemos, and the pilots of Gaspar Corte-Real who returned to Lisbon in October, 1501. We should thus have the prototype of the Cantino and of all early Portuguese charts. But is the Cantino planisphere such a map? That is the question. We propose to show that it is not, never was, and never could be.

In the first place, a map of that description could not have exhibited the continental outline assumed to be Cuba and, at the same

¹⁸ NAVARRETE, *op. cit.*, pp, 144, 149.

time, the island of that name, depicted insularly, and placed where it lies in reality, between Hispaniola and the American continent. It is evident that if Columbus and those who actually shared the opinion,—if there were any such in 1502,—did not believe in the existence of the *island* of Cuba, they could not have inscribed it on their charts. Then it is difficult to conceive how cartographers or mariners, including Columbus himself in 1495 or at any time, could have given to the region which they called Cuba, even when assuming it to be a continent, a shape so different from the true form of the portions of the island actually seen and surveyed by them, however incomplete may have been their knowledge of its configuration. Nor could they have represented their supposed Cuba as running from *south to north*, over a space covering more than twenty degrees of latitude.

The reason for such an impossibility is obvious. In November, 1492, the great Genoese had ranged the northern coast of that island, first on the north side, westward, beyond Nuevitas del Principe; then eastward as far as Cape Maysi; and in the summer of 1494 on the south side, from its eastern extremity to beyond what he called the Isla Evangelista, which, Las Casas says, is the Isla de Pinos. It follows that when Columbus depicted Cuba, assuming that he gave it a continental aspect, he must have represented that region, so early as 1494 or 1495, not, as it is on the Cantino chart, viz.: in the shape of a continent extending straight from south to north, but, on the contrary, in the form of a long peninsula, running *from east to west*, and for a very great distance, as he claimed to have coasted the region *westward* more than three hundred and thirty-five leagues: “anduvo la costa todo della de Oriente a Occidente . . . pasaba de trescientos é treinta é cinco leguas,”¹⁹—a statement which is hyperbolic, as the entire length of the island from east to west is only two hundred and thirty-five leagues, but which implies nevertheless a considerable ranging of the Cuban coast.

Nor, when coming to depict the point where the peninsula was supposed to be soldered to the continent, would Columbus or his followers have made the coast line trend due north, and especially for a distance embracing at least twenty degrees of latitude. On the contrary, his coast could but run *southward*, for such was his decided opinion, clearly expressed in June, 1494. Speaking of the alleged western terminus of Cuba,

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, Vol. I., p. 243; Vol. II., p. 144.

Columbus said: "From this point onward, the coast extends southwardly:—de aqui adelante va la costa della al mediodia," and he compelled all his pilots, Francisco Niño, Alonso Medel, Bartolomé Perez, and even La Cosa himself, to declare that "from there the country turned south and southwest:—la tierra tornaba al Sur Suduest."²⁰ Peter Martyr, in his epistle of August 9, 1495, reports having received a letter from Columbus stating that "the shores of Cuba trend so much to the southward that he thought himself at times very near the equator."²¹ Now, instead of this alleged south coast, the Cantino chart at that point marks a right angle and runs due west; which proves that this configuration contradicts even the erroneous cosmographical hypothesis advanced by Columbus.

We will now subject the cartographic averments in the map of Cantino to another and still more decisive test.

In that planisphere, the north-western coast bears, as we have already remarked, not less than *twenty-two names*, given to lakes, rivers, capes, gulfs, and what seem to have been regular landing places. Now, if that region is really Cuba, we must find in the nomenclature of the latter island, as it existed at the close of the fifteenth century, a few, at least, of the twenty-two names which are so conspicuous on the north-western continental region in the Cantino map, since both are pretended to be identical. We possess ample material for the comparison.

Christopher Columbus discovered the island of Cuba on the 28th of October, 1492, and carefully ranged much of its northern coast until December 5, naming all the rivers, capes, ports, and other points worthy of notice, which are duly recorded in the Journal of that memorable voyage.²² Bartolomew de las Casas, by means of original documents, has inserted in his account of the discovery the geographical names which were first given to the various points and localities of Cuba.²³ Finally, an authentic list, based upon original descriptions, is also to be found in the *Historie* of Fernando Columbus.

The great Genoese again visited Cuba during his second voyage, and coasted the entire southern shores of the island, naming a number of localities as he sailed along.²⁴ These additional names have also been

²⁰ *Ibidem*, Vol. II., doc. lxxvi., pp. 144, 145; and Epistles of Peter Martyr.

²¹ "Curvari ad meridiem ejus litora terræ plurimum scripsit, ita ut se proximum aliquando reperiret æquinoctis."—Epist. clxiv., p. 95.

²² Published by NAVARRETE, Vol. I., pp. 1-166.

²³ *Historia General de las Indias*, lib. i., caps. xxxv.-xlii., Vol. I., pp. 261-469.

²⁴ Columbus again sighted a portion of the south-west coast of Cuba in July, 1504, but noted only the Queen's Garden: "Y me llevó fasta el Jardin de la Reina, sin ver tierra."—NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 297.

preserved by Las Casas, who took them from Columbus' own Journal, now lost; and also by the author of the *Historie*, who used precisely the same materials.

Let us now compare the nomenclature of the north-western continental region in the Cantino map with the nomenclature of the island of Cuba, as we find it in the authentic writings of Columbus and in the works of his contemporaneous historians, taking the names in the order in which they occur:

| North-west coast in the map of CANTINO : | Description of Cuba by COLUMBUS, BERNALDEZ, LAS CASAS, and in the <i>Historie</i> : |
|--|---|
| Rio de las palmas | <i>Rio and Puerto San Salvador</i> |
| Rio do corno | <i>Rio de la Luna</i> |
| C. arlear | <i>Rio de Mares or de Mari</i> |
| G. do lurcor | <i>Peña de los Enamorados</i> |
| C. do mortinbo | <i>Cabo de Palmas</i> |
| C. lurcar | <i>Rio del Sol</i> |
| El golfo bavo | <i>Cabo de Cuba</i> |
| C. do fim do brill | <i>Mar de Nuestra Señora</i> |
| Cornejo | <i>Puerto del Principe</i> |
| Rio de dõ diego | <i>Puerto de Santa Catalina</i> |
| C. delgato | <i>Cabo del Pico</i> |
| Punta Roixa | <i>Cabo de Campana</i> |
| Rio de las Almadias | <i>Puerto Santo</i> |
| Cabo Santo | <i>Cabo Lindo</i> |
| Rio de los largartos | <i>Cabo del Monte</i> |
| Las cabras | <i>Alpha y Omega</i> |
| Lago luncor | <i>Puerto grande</i> |
| Costa alta | <i>Puerto bueno</i> |
| Cabo de b . . a bentura | <i>Cabo de Cruz</i> |
| Canju . . . | <i>Jardin de la Reina</i> |
| Cabo d. licõtu | <i>Isla Sancta Maria</i> |
| Costa del mar vçiano | <i>Isla Evangelista</i> |
| | <i>Punta del Serafin</i> |

As the reader will readily see, *there is not a single name* in the nomenclature of the north-western continental region in the Cantino map which figures at all in any of the lists of names ascribed to the island of

Cuba by Columbus, as proved by his own writings and official accounts, and by the statements of Bernaldez, Las Casas, and of the *Historie*. Such an absolute disparity between lists framed within a few years of each other, is difficult to account for if, as it is alleged, the north-western continental region in the Cantino map, and the island of Cuba, as described by Columbus and contemporaneous historians of the discovery, are one and the same.

In a sort of hypothetical description, presented, however, as an incontestable history of the manner in which those northern outlines came to figure on early maps, one name in the above nomenclature of Cantino is set forth emphatically as having been devised and positively given by Christopher Columbus to the eastern extremity of the island of Cuba. In that lucubration it is stated that, in 1494, the great Genoese carefully surveyed the whole extent of the south side of Cuba, "from what *he* named Cape Fundabrill, because he started from there on his survey west on the 30th, the end of April." The utmost stress is laid on that averment.

It is a pure invention. There is not the least proof, sign, or symptom, either in original accounts and documents, maps, charts, or histories, contemporary evidence and commentaries of any kind, wherever and whenever written or printed, that Christopher Columbus, or any one, ever gave the name of *Cape Fundabrill* or *C. do fim do abril*, to any part of Cuba, nor of his having conceived such an etymology. On the contrary, we have positive proofs that he named very differently, for other reasons and at an earlier date than the one alleged, the eastern extremity of Cuba, or the point on that island from which he started on his survey west in April, 1494.

To commence with, the easternmost cape of Cuba was not named on the 30th of April, 1493, but the year before, during the first expedition, on the 5th of December, 1492. Here is the testimony of Las Casas:

"De allí [the Puerto de Sant Nicolás] vido la punta ó cabo de Cuba, que él llamó el primer viaje, quando la descubrió:—From here he saw the headland or cape of Cuba, which he named in his first voyage, when he discovered it."²⁵

If that cape was discovered and named in *December*, it is evident that it was not called on that account "The *April* Cape."

²⁵ LAS CASAS, *op. cit.*, lib. i., cap. xciv., Vol. II., p. 51.

Now, what name did Columbus give to that cape? Here is the reply:

“La punta ó cabo de Cuba, que el llamó *Alpha et Omega*, y agora se llama la Punta de Bayatiquiri en lengua de los Indios:—The point or cape of Cuba, which he named *Alpha et Omega*, and is now called Bayatiquiri Point in the language of the Indians.”²⁶

That statement of Las Casas is corroborated by the *Historie*:

“The Admiral, having sailed 107 leagues eastward along the coast of Cuba, reached its east end, which he named *Alpha*:—Hauendo adunque l’Ammiraglio nauigato CVII. leghe verso Leuante per la costa di Cuba, giunse all’ oriental punta di quella, alla qual fu posto nome Alfa.”²⁷

Peter Martyr conveys the same information:

“Vocavitque eins initium Alpha ω:—And he named the point thereof, where he first arrived, Alpha and Omega.”²⁸

Finally, here is the evidence of Columbus himself, taken directly from the relation which he sent to Ferdinand and Isabella: “por lo que dice el Almirante en la relacion que deste descubrimiento de Cuba envió á los Reyes.” The passage relative to the beginning of the exploration of the south coast of Cuba, in 1494, is set forth between quotation marks, and in the very words of the great navigator, as follows:

“Dice: que desde el cabo de Cuba que se ve con la Española, que llamó Fin de Oriente, y por otro nombre Alpha et Omega, navegó hacia el Poniente:—He says that from the cape of Cuba which is seen from Hispaniola, and which he called *The East-end*, and also by the other name of *Alpha and Omega*, he sailed northward.”²⁹

Those quotations prove conclusively that the inscription *C. do fim do Abril* did not originate with Christopher Columbus, that it was not given in the month of April, and that it has nothing whatever to do with the island of Cuba or any part thereof.

After examining that nomenclature by the aid of documents emanating directly from Christopher Columbus and from his contemporary historians, who were in a position to know all the facts, it may not be deemed out of place to compare all those names with one more list of the time, the authenticity and demonstrative character of which will certainly not be called into question, viz.: the nomenclature established by Columbus’ own pilot, Juan de la Cosa.

²⁶ LAS CASAS, *ubi supra*.

²⁷ *Historie*, above quoted.

²⁸ ANGHIERA, Decad. I., lib. iii., f^o 8, recto.

²⁹ LAS CASAS, *Historia General de las Indias*, lib. i., cap. xcvi., Vol. II., p. 59, who quotes an original account sent to Ferdinand and Isabella.

The earliest and, for more than half-a-century, the most complete description of Cuba is the one which that celebrated mariner has inserted in his famous planisphere, designed during the autumn of 1500. La Cosa was considered in Spain as the greatest cartographer of his day,³⁰ and the pilot best conversant with the West India seas.³¹ He had been, moreover, Christopher Columbus' chief pilot on several transatlantic expeditions, and even owned and was mate of the flag-ship³² during the memorable voyage in which the island of Cuba was discovered by the great Genoese. No seaman, therefore, could then make a more reliable chart of the Antillies than Juan de la Cosa; and his map of Cuba must be considered as embodying all that which was known concerning its ports, rivers, capes, and other sea-board localities, from the time of the discovery to the close of the year 1500.

On his cartographical representation of Cuba, the great Basque pilot has inscribed as many as twenty-seven names of landings, estuaries, streams, harbours, headlands, towns, or hamlets. In Cantino's map, drawn in 1502, the coast line, alleged as aforesaid to be a duplicate of the island of Cuba, contains also, as we have just shown, a numerous nomenclature. Here again, if that region in the Cantino chart is really Cuba, we must find among its legends and designations the identical names which are inscribed on the Cuba of De la Cosa, especially as both maps were delineated within a year of each other.

Nomenclatures play such an important part in the identification of cartographical documents; they enable us to ascend so surely to the origin not only of names, but also of the configurations on which we find them inscribed, that no better means can be employed by critics to solve the numerous problems which are involved in every ancient map, chart, and globe, without a single exception. And even when the names are scarcely legible, or evidently corrupted by the inattention of cartographers, and

³⁰ Columbus even said that he had been La Cosa's teacher: "Bernado de Ibarra vió é oyó al Almirante que porque lo habia traido consigo à estas partes por la primera vez, é por hombre hábil él le habia enseñado el arte de marear."—NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 586.

³¹ "Joannes Cossa egregius, et exercitus eorum litorum nauclerus." — ANGHIERA, Epistle dxxxii., p. 291. "Juan de la Cosa era el mejor que habia por aquellos mares."—LAS CASAS, lib. ii., cap. ii., Vol. III., p. 10.

³² This fact has been overlooked. The *Marigalante*, which was Columbus' flag ship in the first voyage, be-

longed to Juan de la Cosa, who acted as first mate, while the pilots were Alonso Niño and Sancho Ruiz: "*Fuistes [vos Juan de la Cosa, vesino de Santa Maria del Puerto] por maestro 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.*"—Royal order of February 28, 1494, in NAVARRETE, *Biblioteca Maritima*, Vol. II., p. 208, note. That is the caravel which was wrecked, December 25, 1492, on the coast of Hispaniola, and for which La Cosa received a sort of indemnity.

their ignorance, oftentimes, of the language employed in the prototype, they still serve to indicate the source from which were borrowed important geographical averments. In the present instance, the reader will easily translate a number of names which have a positive meaning. *Rio de las Palmas*,—the River of Palms; *El golfo bavo* or *bajo*,—the Low Cape; *C. do fim do abril*,—the Cape of the end of April; *Rio de don Diego*,—the River of Don Diego; *C. delgato*,—the Barren Cape; *Punta Roixa*,—the Red Point; *Rio de las Almadias*,—the River of Rafts; *Cabo Santo*,—the Holy Cape; *Rio de los largartos*,—Alligators' River; *Las cabras*,—the Goats; *Costa alta*,—the High Cape; *Cabo de bona ventura*,—the Cape of Good Luck; *Costa del mar uçiano*,—the Coast of the Oceanic sea, are designations which certainly convey a clear meaning, appropriate to the subject, and such as mariners are in the habit of giving when seeing certain rivers, capes, and localities for the first time.

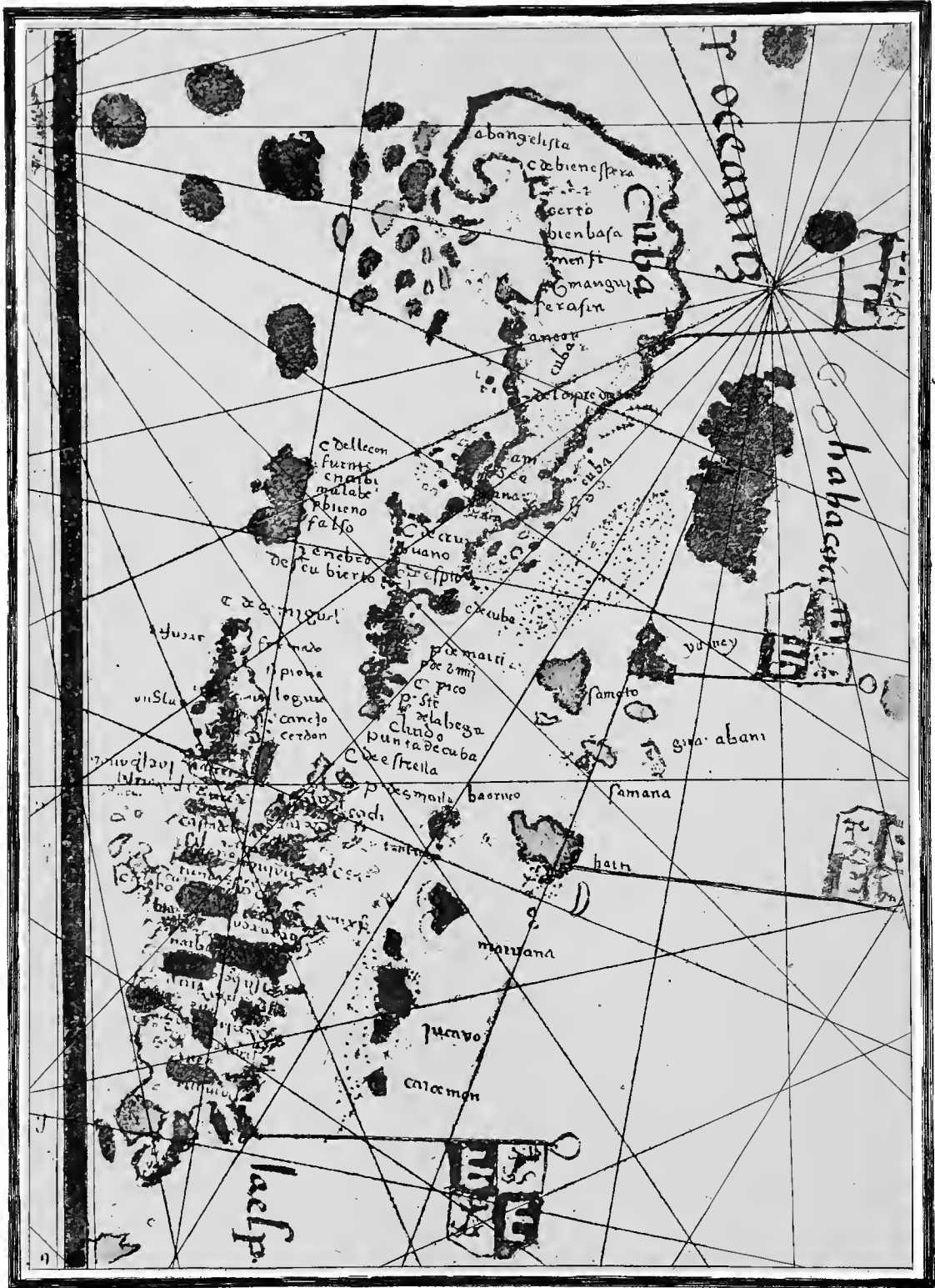
We will now take the La Cosa nomenclature from four different sources, viz.:

1. The copy which was made from the original chart by Alexander de Humboldt, shortly after Baron Walckenaer discovered and acquired it at Paris, in 1832;
2. The transcript taken also from the original directly, by Ramon de la Sagra himself, in 1837;
3. The facsimile executed for Jomard by the Polish cartographer Rembielinski, who copied the map itself before it was sent to Madrid in 1853;
4. A photograph taken directly from the original at Madrid in 1890, twice the real size, so as to render the names and legends still more legible.³³

As to the Cantino names, we borrow them directly from the original map, which is preserved at Modena, and has been reproduced in facsimile in our work on the Corte-Reals.

At present, let us compare those nomenclatures, beginning, for Cantino, from south to north, and, for La Cosa, from east to west; as it is the order in which the names would be placed in the hypothesis that the two regions are identical, and that they proceed originally from the same prototype.

³³ See our facsimile of LA COSA'S West India islands.



THE WEST INDIES IN THE MAP OF LA COSA

(1500)

Enlarged twice the original size.

| CANTINO (Original) | LA COSA (Photo.) | LA COSA (Humboldt) | LA COSA (De la Sagra) | LA COSA (Jomard) |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>Rio de las palmas</i> | punta de cuba | Ponta de cuba | Punta de Cuba | ponta de Cuba |
| <i>Rio do corno</i> | clindo | Sipica | Clindo | Cliuda |
| <i>C. arlear</i> | rº de la bega | Miguel | rº de la bega | rº de la bega |
| <i>G. do lurcor</i> | pº sté | | psto | p. sto |
| <i>C. do mortinbo</i> | C. pico | C. Pico | O pico | C. pico |
| <i>C. lurcar</i> | p. de s. mj. | Entubi | p. de S. my | p. de S. miº |
| <i>el golfo bavo</i> | p. de maici | P. de Maiti | p. de maiti | p. de main |
| <i>C. do fim do abrill</i> | C. de cuba | | C. de Cuba | C. de Cuba |
| <i>Cornejo</i> | C. de espto | | C. de espitto | C. de espera |
| <i>Rio de dō diego</i> | C. bueno | | | C. de au bueno |
| <i>C. delgato</i> | C. de cruz | C. de Cruz | C. de onez | |
| <i>Punta Roixa</i> | (?) | | nov | solor |
| <i>Rio de las Almaidas</i> | . . . ana . . . (?) | Matata | | |
| <i>Cabo Santo</i> | . . . sea . . . (?) | Conia | Conia | fuma |
| <i>Rio de los largatos</i> | Cuba | Cuba | | |
| <i>las cabras</i> | . . am . . . (?) | | C. negro | magno ma ica |
| <i>lago luncor</i> | rº de las piedras (?) | La Pieta | P. del Principe | del pieta |
| <i>costa alta</i> | cuba | | | cuba |
| <i>cabo de bōa ventura</i> | ancon (?) | | sexto | baxi |
| <i>cansure</i> | serafin | Serafin | C. serafin | serafin |
| <i>cabo d. licotu.</i> | C. manguj | C. Manguin | C. mangny | C. maugny |
| <i>costa del mar uçiano</i> | mensi (?) | | junez | fumos |
| | bien basa | | bien baja | bien baso |
| | cerro (?) | | | oerto bordoe |
| | C. de bien espera | C. Bien Espera | C. de bien espero | C. de bien espera |
| | abangelista | Abangelista | Abangelista | abandarlista |

As the reader will see at a glance, there is not in La Cosa's Cuba, any more than in the nomenclatures and descriptions of Las Casas, Bernaldez, the *Historie*, and Christopher Columbus himself, a *single one* of the twenty-two names which are inserted in the north-western continental region of the Cantino chart, which region certain critics pretend to be nothing else than the island of Cuba.

As we have already stated, and feel bound to repeat, Juan de la Cosa was mate of the flagship of Christopher Columbus during the first voyage. Here are the words of Ferdinand and Isabella, proving the fact:

“Vos Juan de 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:—Whereas, you, Juan de la Cosa, went as mate on board a vessel belonging to you, to the Oceanic seas, in the course of which voyage were discovered the countries and islands of the Indies. . . .”

He also returned to the Antillies on board the *Niña*, as chief cartographer: “Maestro de hacer cartas;” and, as is well known, stood second to no one as a map-maker. How is it that with such elements of accurate knowledge, his chart of Cuba does not contain a single name of those which are inscribed in what is alleged to be the same region in the planisphere of Cantino?

That fact, of itself, were it not supported by the other proofs which we have accumulated, is sufficient evidence that the north-west coast in the Cantino chart, and Cuba in the map of La Cosa, were intended to represent two entirely different countries.

CHAPTER II.

THE absolute disparity just shown to exist between the north-western continental nomenclature in the Cantino map and the list of names inscribed on the island of Cuba by La Cosa, coupled with the fact that in both maps there is a north-western continental region, besides an island of Cuba clearly depicted in its true place and insular form, repels the idea that the north-western continental land in the map of Cantino was intended to represent the island of Cuba.

The question now is to ascertain what was the opinion on that point, whether graphically expressed or tacit, of the ablest geographers of the time, and for many years afterwards. Did they consider that north-western country as being simply one of the West India islands, or, on the contrary, did they believe it was a portion of the continent of North America?

Concerning this inquiry, we possess ample means of investigation, all derived from a series of maps and globes constructed successively and independently of each other, during the first quarter of the sixteenth century. If we limit (for the present) our inquiry to the maps and globes which were engraved at that time, and regardless of the period when their American geographical data first originated, the order of publication is apparently as follows:

1. The mappamundi of Johann Ruysch, inserted in the Ptolemy published at Rome in 1508 (or second issue of the edition of 1507).
2. The set of engraved gores called: "The Hauslab gores," now preserved in the collection of Prince Liechtenstein, at Vienna.
3. The mappamundi of Johannes de Stobnicza, published with and as a part of his cosmographical work at Cracow, in 1512.
4. The *Tabula Terra Nove* of Waldseemüller, belonging to the Ptolemy published at Strasburg in 1513.

5. The mappamundi of the edition of the *Margarita Philosophica* printed at Strasburg in 1515.
6. The set of engraved gores ascribed to Louis Boulengier, and found inserted in a copy of the Lyons edition of the *Cosmographiæ introductio* of Waldseemüller.
7. The set of gores first made known by Dr. Nordenskiöld.
8. The cordiform map of Apianus, dated 1520.

We must add to those cartographical documents the following maps and globes, mentioned here after the former, although occupying in reality a primary place, because they are less known and difficult of access :

9. The mappamundi of Nicolay de Canerio, just discovered.
10. The Schönerean globe of Weimar No. 1.
11. The Frankfurt globe.
12. The Schönerean, or Green globe of Paris.
13. The Hauslab globe No. 2.
14. The globe of Schöner, dated 1520.¹

All the maps and globes above cited exhibit, in addition to the island of Cuba, west of and wholly independent from the latter, a continental region akin to that of Cantino, and bearing names which are also found on the west coast of the Cantinean planisphere.

In the second part of the present work, we propose to show that this salient characteristic of that class of maps originated with several models, differing each in certain important respects from the Cantino chart, and from each other, thus indicating several independent and different prototypes.

We will also demonstrate that those prototypes evince a regular progression, necessarily due to a more exact knowledge of the geography of the New World, gradually obtained. That is, by means of certain maps still in existence, here called "Portuguese" and "Lusitano-Germanic," the reader will be enabled to trace the evolution of that north-western configuration from the time when (so far as we know at present), in 1502, it was represented first as not extending south beyond the latitude of Cuba (CANTINO); then as reaching the tropic of Cancer (RUVSCH); afterwards as being carried ten degrees still further southward (CANERIO, SCHÖNER, &c.), in each case with additional and elaborate profiles ;

¹ The reader will find all those maps and globes minutely described *infra* in the *Cartographia*.

and finally (STOBNICZA, WALDSEEMULLER) as connecting the northern with the southern continent.²

We will then see the globe-makers in Central Europe consider the configurations of North America exhibited by the Sevillean Hydrography after the voyages of Juan Ponce de Leon, Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, Giovanni da Verrazzano, and Estevam Gomez, as confirming in important respects the geographical data used by them theretofore, and rectify in consequence their north-western coast line, but maintaining, nevertheless, the Lusitano-Germanic nomenclature of that continental region for more than ten years afterwards.

But a still more curious evolution will be seen at the beginning of the second quarter of the sixteenth century, in Belgium, France, and Germany, when the west coast of the New World, heretofore absolutely separated from Asia, will be seen to merge near and north of the Equator with the Asiatic continent; thus reverting to a primary error, which had been short-lived but was destined to revive, and mar for many years an entire family of maps and globes. This unaccountable misconception, however, belongs more to the early history of American cartography in general than to the point now under discussion, and will be treated more at length in the *Cartographia Americana Vetustissima*.

² See *infra*, the comparative map of the four types, in *The Lusitano-Germanic Cartography*.

CHAPTER III.

AS stated in the preceding chapter, we will demonstrate later on that the general belief among geographers of the first quarter of the fifteenth century, as evidenced by the cartographical documents of the time which have reached us, was that to the north-west of Cuba and of the Antillies there existed a continental region, which had already been explored, named, and delineated by Spanish or Portuguese navigators before the year 1502.

This fact may at first sight appear quite surprising; but it is well to recollect that the history of geography affords other instances of the kind, and, in a cartographical point of view, quite as important.

Let us take Australia.

In the Lusitano-French maps of the world which originated in the year 1542 with Dieppe cosmographers, such as Pierre Desceliers and his school,¹ there is a continental configuration which of late has greatly exercised the historians of maritime discovery.² South of the well-known island of Java, and separated by a strait, those mappamundi exhibit an extensive continent, stretching southward, and the north coast of which is dotted with numerous designations of dangerous coasts, capes, rivers, and landing places.

That region, called therein "Terre de Java la grande," or, as John Rotz (Jean Roze) names it so far back as 1542, "The Londe of Java,"³ in contradistinction to "Lytil Java," stands, historically speaking, relative to the Sunda archipelago, precisely in the same position as the north-western continent in the Cantino chart stands as regards the West Indies. No historian, no documents of the sixteenth century mention the existence of

¹ For the maps of the Lusitano-Dieppan school, see *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, pp. 197, 210, 210, 219, 229, Nos. 20, 21, 23, 24, 27.

² *Early Voyages to Terra Australis*, edited by H. MAJOR. London, Hakluyt Society, 1859, 8vo. *Archæologia*, Vol. XXVIII., and particularly the manuscript map of Nicolas DESLIENS, dated *Dieppe, 1566*, in the

Geogr. Depart. of the Paris National Library, No. 15,879.

³ The name "*Londe of Java*" and "*Terre de Java*," reminds us forcibly of the "*Terra Cuba*" and "*Terra de Cuba*," used under similar circumstances by the makers of the Nordenskiöld globe and by Schöner, to designate a continent in contradistinction to one of the islands of the West India group of the same name.

such an Austral mainland. We also see it disappear from subsequent maps until long afterwards, when the region looms up again, but this time as an alleged discovery accomplished recently by Dutch navigators.

That continental land, nevertheless, so far from being imaginary or an invention of cartographers, was nothing else than Australia, now justly considered by competent judges as having been discovered, visited, and named by unknown Portuguese mariners,—whose maps furnished the cartographical data used in the Dieppe charts,—sixty or seventy years before the Dutch first sighted the shores of that extensive country.⁴

It behoves us now to ascertain whether the belief in the existence of a continent lying at the north-west of Cuba, as graphically expressed by leading cosmographers of the beginning of the sixteenth century, is controverted by authentic facts, by the statements of contemporary authorities and of the early Spanish charts; or whether on the contrary it is not corroborated by other proofs, and, if so, to what extent.

At the outset, the critic must concede that those disclosures of the Lusitanian maps and their Germanic derivatives, contradict entirely the notions heretofore entertained as regards the history of transatlantic maritime discoveries; for the general opinion is that only after Nicolas de Ovando had sent Sebastian de Ocampo to circumnavigate Cuba, in 1508, was it ascertained to be an island. As to the continental region now represented by the south-east coast of the United States, it is also believed never to have been known to exist, and trodden, or sighted by the Spanish or Portuguese until Antonio de Alaminos conducted Juan Ponce de Leon to Florida, in 1512 or in 1513.⁵

Let us examine those two points separately, commencing with the belief in the non-insularity of the island of Cuba, alleged to have been current everywhere until the eighth year of the sixteenth century.

The only authority⁶ concerning the periplus accomplished in 1508, and said to be the first exploration ever made of the entire island, is

⁴ The Sandwich islands and the Falkland islands present other instances of the kind. "That the Spaniards knew the Sandwich islands a long time before COOK, that they had a name for them, that they probably visited them repeatedly, was proved by a map which Admiral ANSON found on board a Spanish vessel, and on which those islands were laid down in their true position."—J. G. KOHL, *Substance of a lecture delivered at the Smithsonian Institution, in General Appendix to the*

Report for 1856, Washington, D. C., 4to, p. 111.

⁵ PESCHEL, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 521, and *infra*, Book VI., chap. i

⁶ Peter Martyr D'ANGHIERA alludes to the exploration only in these words: "Cubam, tellurem illam quam diu ob eius longitudinem continentum putaverunt, insulam esse reperiunt."—Decad. I., cap. x., f. 24 c; without giving any name or date; but in a chapter written after the year 1510.

Las Casas; for Herrera, who is constantly quoted on the subject,⁷ has simply paraphrased relatively to this (and to the first twenty years of his *Decades*) the *Historia de las Indias* of the humane, but prolix bishop of Chiapas.

According to Las Casas, the expedition was composed of two vessels, under the command of Sebastian de Ocampo, who accomplished the task in eight months. Las Casas speaks only from hearsay, and somewhat doubtfully as to details: "Segun creo, fué por la parte del Norte . . . creo que . . .," &c.⁸ Yet Las Casas may have been credibly informed, considering that he says he was among the first Spaniards who visited the port of Havana after its discovery by Ocampo. But his statement can only refer to an *official* exploration of the coast of Cuba, which does not preclude the possibility of the periplus having been performed before by clandestine explorers in search of gold, dyewood, and slaves.

One thing is certain: Not only the Portuguese charts of the first two or three years of the sixteenth century, but also the earliest Hispano-American maps prove that, long before Ocampo's survey, cosmographers were convinced that Cuba was an island, and so depicted it in their cartographical descriptions.

There are in existence, so far as is known, only two maps exclusively Spanish relating to the New World, constructed before the year 1520. One is the planisphere of Juan de la Cosa, made at the Puerto de Santa Maria in 1500; the other is the map added to an issue of the *editio princeps* of Peter Martyr's First Decade, printed at Seville in 1511.⁹ The latter is of no importance for the present, as, being three years posterior to Ocampo's periplus, it is natural that it should represent Cuba as an island. But La Cosa's chart was made *before October, 1500*, yet Cuba is depicted therein as it is in reality, elongated, deeply indented (at Nipe, Nuevitas, Turiguana, Cardenas, Matanzas, &c.), depressed or strangulated in two places (Manzanilla-Jbara, and Sabanilla-Jalibonico), the western extremity curved, and forming at its south-west end a very large bay, which is studded with islands.

Nor can we say that the configuration given to Cuba by Juan de la Cosa is an anomaly. We also see that island under its true aspect, and placed likewise where it must be, on a line with and west of Santo

⁷ HERRERA, *Decad. I.*, lib. vii., cap. i., p. 178.

⁸ LAS CASAS, lib. ii., cap. xli., Vol. III., pp. 209-210.

⁹ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 66, and *Additamenta*, No. 41.

Domingo in the Cantino chart, which was constructed, not in Spain but at Lisbon, so far back at least as October, 1502.

Kuntsmann Nos. II. and III., as well as the King and Canerio charts, which are certainly of the first two or three years of the sixteenth century, and, consequently, older than the Ocampo exploration of 1508, clearly and absolutely acknowledge the insularity of Cuba. And it should be noted that those four authentic maps, designed far away from the Puerto de Santa Maria, Seville, or Cadiz, exhibit Cuba in a graphic manner which bears inward evidence of not being mere repetitions of a single type. They differ from each other in some respects, and particularly from the representation in La Cosa's planisphere, though presenting, of course, a general resemblance to the real configuration of the island.

What is more, those cartographical data can be shown to be the result of actual surveys, and not mere guesswork. For instance, in the Cantino chart, in Kuntsmann No. II., and in the King and Canerio maps, we notice near the north-west coast of Cuba an extensive and well-defined area, dotted with numerous small crosses of the kind used by cartographers to indicate ledges of reefs or sunken rocks. The position of these crosses in the maps above mentioned corresponds with the Salt Key Bank, if not with the noted belt of cays in the Old Bahama Channel, which extends from about San Juan de los Remedios to Cardenas. Now, at no time did Columbus reach so far west when exploring the northern shore. Salt Key Bank is by 81° longitude, and the above mentioned ledge of reefs or corals lies¹⁰ between $77^{\circ} 40'$ and $81^{\circ} 5'$. Even Captain Fox, who assigns to Columbus the most western point, does not allow him to have reached, in longitude west, further than the Boca de Guajaba ($77^{\circ} 33'$), whilst Washington Irving marks the Boca de Caravela ($77^{\circ} 28'$); Varnhagen, Porto Gibara ($76^{\circ} 46'$); and Navarrete, together with Captain Beecher, only the port of Nipe ($75^{\circ} 30'$). At all events, if Columbus had sailed westward to such a distance he could not but have noticed those dangerous keys, and mentioned them in his Journal when ranging the coast (October 31—November 8, 1492), which is not the case. Even if those dots were meant for the Great Bahama Bank, Columbus saw too little of it to consider that bank as covering the extensive area marked in the Portuguese maps. Those cartographical indications prove, therefore, that both the north-west coast of Cuba and

¹⁰ *Chart of the North Atlantic Ocean*, by E. and G. BLOUNT. New York, 1851.

the Old Bahama Channel were explored after Columbus first discovered that island, and also before the years 1502-1503, which is the latest date of the construction of the Portuguese charts which first depict those shallow and dangerous regions.

Proofs of the belief in the insularity of Cuba anterior to the exploration made by Ocampo, can be derived likewise from another source.

In the City library of Ferrara,¹¹ there is a manuscript collection of voyages, relating exclusively to the New World, and containing the principal chapters of the *Paesi Novamente ritrovati* originally published at Vicenza in November, 1507.¹² But the texts are older than in the latter. The voyages of Columbus, in that MS. for instance, are evidently taken from the first Decade of Peter Martyr, which Angelo Trivigiano obtained while secretary of the Italian legation in Spain in 1501.¹³ This is also the case with the *Libretto* and Book IV of the *Paesi*, which are both second-hand and from a modified transcript, while that portion of the Ferrara codex is certainly older than the publications of Albertino Verellese and of Madrignano, and nearer Trivigiano's original text, as can be seen from the following references.

Speaking of the pearls brought from Curiana by Pedro Alonso Niño in April 1500, the compiler of the manuscript says:—

“And Anzol Trivisan, the Secretary of the [Legation of the] Illustrious Republic of Venice, while in Spain, saw a great many of those pearls:—Et Anzol Trivisan, Secretario de la Illustrissima Signoria di Venesia, essendo in Ispagna, ne ha visto gran quantità di esse.”¹⁴

Describing the opossum brought from the north coast of South America by Vicente Yañez Pinzon, September 30, 1500, he remarks that “the aforesaid Mister Anzolo saw it dead;—Misser Anzolo predito lo vide morto;”¹⁵ neither of which personal allusions are in the *Paesi*, nor in the *Libretto De Tutta La Navigatione de Re De Spagna*,¹⁶ which is unquestionably the prototype of the Vicenza book.

The description of Columbus' voyages in the Ferrara MS. was written in 1501:—“*questo ano del 1501, che se compose questo tractato,*” but the

¹¹ MS. 10-NA¹. Published by Prof. G. FERRARO, *Relazione delle Scoperte fatte da C. Colombo, &c.* Bologna, 1875, 8vo.

¹² *B. A. V.*, No. 48, and *Addit.*, No. 26.

¹³ *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. I., pp. 88, 91, 418; Vol. II., pp. 117, 119, 163.

¹⁴ *Apud* FERRARO, *loc. cit.*, p. 116.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 122. In the corresponding passage in the Decades of Peter Martyr D'ANGHIERA, instead of ANGELO'S name we read: “the dead carcass of that animal you saw with me:—Id animal licet mortuum tu ipse mecum vidisti” (Decad. I., lib. ix., verso of f^o iij.. edit. of 1511); but he is addressing himself to Cardinal Ludovic of ARAGON, not to Angelo TRIVIGIANO.

¹⁶ *B. A. V.*, No. 32, and *Addit.*, No. 16.

compilation itself was made several years afterwards, as is shown by the letter of Hieronymo Vianello written in December 1506, which has been added. Yet, the palæography of the MS., and the fact that it contains no document of a later date, authorise us to consider the collection as having been compiled about the year 1506-1507. The Ferrara manuscript is also illuminated with figures of American objects and animals, as well as small maps, among which there is in relation to the passage concerning Cuba, a cartographical delineation of that island.¹⁷ Yet, although it was depicted certainly before they received in Italy the news that Ocampo had accomplished the periplus of Cuba, it is represented in its true insular form, with the large gulf which curves the western extremity of the south coast.

Finally, let us add that those geographic data are in a great degree corroborated by Peter Martyr, who, in one of the chapters of the First Decade, written in 1501,¹⁸ says that "there are many who affirm that they have sailed all around Cuba:—Neque enim desunt qui se circuisse cumbam [*sic*] andeant dicere."¹⁹

The insularity of Cuba duly ascertained during the first few years of the sixteenth century, is of paramount importance in the present inquiry, for it enables the critic to indicate one of the various ways in which the knowledge may have been acquired at such an early date, of the continent west of that island. The distance between the headlands about Matanzas and the Florida reefs is only twenty-five leagues, and we can understand how a gush of southerly wind could carry to the mainland ships under sail in that channel; and, consequently, why the south-east coast of North America can already figure in a map of the year 1500, like La Cosa's. In fact it is the manner in which Brazil was discovered by Cabral just at that time.²⁰

¹⁷ Fig. xlii. in the MS. and *infra*, in the plate representing the oldest maps of Cuba.

¹⁸ The work was intended for Ascanio SFORZA; but only the first two chapters of the first Decade were addressed to him. P. M. D'ANGHIERA resumed writing only in 1501, at the request of Ludovic of ARAGON: "Cecidit et mihi animus a scribendo: quem tu nunc, tuique incliti patruī regis Frederici literæ, ad me directæ,

excusistis . . . Ex Granata. ix. Kalend. Maij. M.CCCC.I." (Preface to the 3rd chapter of the first Decade in the edition of 1511.) The edition of 1533 does not state the year, while HAKLUYT prints erroneously "*Anno 1500.*"

¹⁹ End of the sixth book of the first Decade, in all the editions.

²⁰ *Christopher Columbus and the Bank of St. George*, Genoa, 1890, 4to, p. 116.

CHAPTER IV.

THE insularity of Cuba proved to have been ascertained eight or ten years before the official survey carried out by Ocampo in 1508. This suggests another question still more important, viz.: When was the mainland of the New World believed to be a continent distinct from Asia?

Our impression is that it dates at least¹ from the time when navigators commenced to search after a strait leading from the east coast of America to the Indian sea.

Taking their conception of the geography of Asia, as shown by the Lusitano-Germanic maps, which remained current during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, we find ourselves unable to separate the notion of a western passage from the belief that the newly-discovered countries were distinct from Mangi and Cathay. This is clearly shown by a mere glance at the eastern hemisphere in the globe of Behaim. It exhibits the Asiatic configurations which were accepted as absolutely true by all cosmographers ever since the time of Ptolemy, and remained unquestioned for many years after the discovery of America. There, the east coast of India and Cathay is elaborately depicted from the north pole to beyond the tropic of Capricorn, and bears a number of names, with real kingdoms, mountains, and rivers, all of which continue to figure in every map and globe constructed even after the year 1525. And, naturally enough, the east coast of Asia therein faces the western coast of the new regions whenever the latter are represented, however crudely or vaguely.

Those Asiatic delineations must have been constantly before the eyes of navigators, and they differed so much in appearance and position from the newly discovered countries, that Cathay and Cipangu cannot but have been believed to lie far beyond, and on the other side. We have only to read the descriptions, however vague, which John Cabot and the companions of Gaspar Corte-Real gave of the north-western lands, to see

¹ Even Peter Martyr D'ANGHERA, when announcing to one of his correspondents so early as October 1, 1493, the discovery accomplished by Columbus, says, reservedly: "Columbus has navigated as far as the eastern antipodes

and to the shore of India (*that is, he believes he has*):—*Colonus quidam, occiduos adnavigavit, ad littus usque Indicum (ut ipse credit) antipodes.*" — Epist. cxxxv., p. 74, of the Amsterdam edition of 1670.

that they soon suspected America to be a new world altogether. The apparently interminable continuation of the coast, which was then already apprehended, together with its little resemblance to the countries depicted in such glowing terms by Marco Polo, certainly dispelled their illusions in this respect. It may be that, if still faintly believing that Asia stretched as far as *Oceanus occidentalis*, they connected it in their imagination with the new regions, but only by arctic lands. This would make of America an Asiatic peninsula; yet of such a continental character as to authorise and explain its presence in maps on which cartographers nevertheless sketched out distinctly the east coast of Asia, from the tropic of Capricorn to about 90° north latitude.

Their constant efforts to cross from *Oceanus occidentalis* to *Oceanus orientalis*, must have exasperated rather than diminish a growing belief in the continental nature of the country which they were probing at all points of its east coast. As Humboldt justly says, "the more it became gradually recognised that the newly discovered lands constituted one connected tract, extending from Labrador to the promontory of Paria, and as the recently found map of Juan de la Cosa testified, beyond the equator far into the southern hemisphere, the more intense became the desire of finding some passage either in the south or at the north."²

And thus coming to consider the two notions as coeval and closely connected, we may, in recalling the first intimations to find a western passage, and in giving the reasons upon which they were predicated, show a sort of development of the idea that America was a separate continent.

Unfortunately, with the exception of the narratives of Christopher Columbus, we do not possess any of the original accounts which the early navigators wrote when they returned from their explorations of the New World. We may rest assured that the relations given or written by Bastidas, by De la Cosa, by Diego de Lepe, by Gaspar Corte-Real,—not to speak of the lost *Quattro giornate* of Americus Vespuccius, contained geographical appreciations which their instincts as mariners, as well as professional experience, could not fail to suggest, although these may have been at variance with commonly received notions. It is, therefore, only from the conversations of those navigators, or from a few phrases scattered in various writings, that we can now gather a little information on the subject.

² HUMBOLDT, *Cosmos*, Vol. II., p. 642.

Commencing with Christopher Columbus. True it is that, in 1494, he declared, and compelled his crews to affirm before a royal notary that Cuba was a continent, and that it could be reached by land: "Que esta tierra fuese la tierra firme al comienzo de las Indias y fin, a quien en estas partes quisiere venir de España por tierra."³ As late as 1503, he wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella that he had actually reached the province of Mango, adjoining Cathay: "Llegué á trece de Mayo en la provincia de Mago, que parte con aquella de Catayo."⁴ Withal, the appearance is that within himself he thought otherwise. Unfortunately, to acknowledge his doubts in that respect would have been belying the motives of his great enterprise, reducing materially the importance of the results obtained, and leading the Spanish government to discontinue the attempt. We have lately found positive evidence on that point.

Columbus was accompanied on his second voyage by a Savonesian gentleman called Michael de Cuneo, who, when he returned home, wrote a detailed account of the expedition. In that extremely interesting description, it is stated that the Admiral's opinion as regards the continental character of the newly-discovered regions, and which, as we have just related, he compelled his officers and men to acknowledge under oath, was far from being shared by them. Cuneo cites the case of one of his companions (name not given, but who was a very distinguished abbot of Luiserna or Lucena in Andalusia, a learned cosmographer besides), who dissented altogether from Columbus regarding the idea that Cuba was a part of Cathay and a continent, affirming, on the contrary, that it was only an island. Columbus, Cuneo says, prevented him from returning to Spain for fear that the fact, if disclosed to Their Majesties, would prompt them to abandon the undertaking. Here is the passage in full:

"E il S. Armirante dice che trouara maior fortune et pegiori il Cathayo, et di questo molto staua in argumento cum uno abbate de Luxerna, homo sanctissimo et richissimo, loquale solum e venuto in quelle parte per suo piacere, per uedere cose noue: il quale è bono astronomo et cosmografo: et argumentando de una costa dicta di sopra, laqualle haueuemo navicate leghe DL., che per questa grandeza con terra ferma, lui diceva (cioé l'abbate) de non ma era che era molto grande isolo. A la quale sentencia, considerata la forma del nostra nauicamento, le più parte de nuy altri se accordauamo; et per questa casone el S. Armirante non lo ha voluto lassar venire in Spagna cum nuy a ciò che demandato di parere da la Majestà del Ré non cansasse cum la sua risposta che dicto Ré non habandonasse la interpresa:—And his Lordship the Admiral said that Cathay would afford him better and worse luck. On that point there

³ NAVARRETE, Vol. II., p. 145.

⁴ *Ibidem*, Vol. I., p. 304.

was much discussion with an abbot of Luxerna, who was a most pious and rich man, who had come to these parts solely for his own pleasure and to see something new. Being a good astronomer and cosmographer, in arguing relatively to the coast above mentioned, which we had ranged for five hundred and fifty [DL.] leagues, and which, on account of such a [great] size, was said to be a continent, he (the abbot) held, on the contrary, that it was an island, though very large. Considering the character of our navigation, the majority of us were of that opinion. This is the reason why his lordship the Admiral would not allow him to return to Spain with us, fearing that, in case he was summoned before the King, his informations would prompt His Majesty to renounce the enterprise."⁵

The notions of Columbus concerning the form of the east coast of Asia must have been very clear and positive in his mind, but such only as we find it depicted in all globes and maps, from Ptolemy's to Behaim's. Had he therefore continued to believe that the new lands formed part of the Asiatic continent, his efforts would all have been directed so as to follow simply, northward or southward, the coast of regions which, theoretically at least, were known by every cosmographer. Nor, when Columbus expressed the intention of returning to Spain by way of the east,⁶ could he have thought of any other route than the rounding of the Malacca peninsula, represented in maps of the time as the southern terminus of the well-known kingdom of the Great Khan, the sea boards of which he would have believed then to be ranging.

Instead of this, he speaks of these countries as if they had never been noticed by anyone, which could scarcely be the case with eastern Asia. For instance, when Columbus discovered the main land, back of Paria, and beheld the mouths of the Orinoco, he expressed the conviction that the mighty river came, not only from an immense region at the south: "procede de tierra infinita, pues al Austro," but from one theretofore unknown: "de la cual fasta agora no se ha habido noticia."⁷ And he then considered that "unknown country" as so distinct from Asia, that his chief pilot, Pedro de Ledesma, declared on oath before the Fiscal, that sailing from Jamaica southward, Columbus and himself ranged the south coast *in search of Asia*: "De ahí á Jamaica, de ahí corrieron en sudeste en busca de Asia." They did not believe therefore that they were actually exploring then an Asiatic coast.

Finding that search fruitless in consequence of the immense barrier which at last Columbus sees prevents him from reaching the Asiatic

⁵ *De nouitantibus Insularum oceani Hisper. Reperator. a Don Xpoforo Columbo Genuensi.* MS. of the Library of the University of Bologna; Codex $\frac{16}{2}$

⁶ BERNALDEZ, *Historia de las Reyes Católicos, Fernando y Isabel*, cap. cxliii., Vol. II., p. 45.

⁷ NAVARRETE, *Tercer viage*, Vol. I., p. 256, 259, 262.

countries, he now probes the American coast to find a strait which from the Atlantic can carry his vessels over to the Indian seas. Diego Mendez, the reliable friend and companion of Columbus, testifies positively on that point :

“Ha navegado y corrido mucha parte de esas tierras con el Almirante buscando Estrecho para pasar de la mar del Norte, e que nunca lo hallaron ni se ha hallado hasta agora :—He says that he did navigate over and explore a great part of those regions [viz : las costas de Tierra-firme :—the coasts of the continent] with the Admiral, to search for a Strait permitting to pass from the Northern sea [viz.: from the Atlantic to the other side]. But they never found such a Strait, which is unknown even to this day.”⁸

Martin de Arrierau, who accompanied Columbus in his third and fourth expeditions, though it was as a modest cooper, is just as positive :

“Partió de Gran Canaria á Santo Domingo, é de allí fueron en busca de un estrecho donde decia D. Cristobal Colon que habia el especeria :—From Santo Domingo we went in search of a Strait, leading, according to what Christopher Columbus said, to the place where spice was found.”⁹

The statement of Columbus himself when describing the route which he intended to take on his return home, implies the same notion : “Coming by way of the Ganges, thence to the Arabic Gulf and Ethiopia . . . constantly by sea, Columbus said he would return by the same ocean after sailing round the whole Africa,” reports Bernaldez.¹⁰ Now, when we take into consideration that Columbus located his supposed strait about the Isthmus of Panama,¹¹ it is evident that the coast of the New World was not, in his opinion, identical with the coast of Asia. Else, it would involve the absurd supposition that Columbus believed Asia had two east coasts, one facing *Oceanus Indicus*, the other facing *Oceanus Atlanticus*. Even if he was of opinion that the Ganges ran from west to east, and would carry him from some point in Central America to the vicinity of Bombay, this notion likewise implies the belief that the regions which he was then actually exploring stood between Europa and Asia.

In the relation of the second voyage of Americus Vespuccius, first published by Bandini in 1745, the Florentine navigator is made to say that the transatlantic countries which he had just visited formed a con-

⁸ *Probanza* of August 31, 1535.

⁹ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 556.

¹⁰ BERNALDEZ, *ubi supra*.

¹¹ “Creia hallar estrecho de mar en el paraje del puerto

del Retrete, que agora es el Nombre de Dios.”—LAS CASAS, lib. ii., cap. iv., Vol. III., p. 22. See also, *Viajes y descubrimientos apócrifos*, in *Documentos inédit. p. Hist. de España*, Vol. XV. (1850), p. 18.

continent contiguous to Asia: "Concludemmo che questa era terra ferma . . . é confini dell' Asia per la parte d'oriente."¹² But that letter is a forgery,¹³ and neither in the relation of the second voyage inserted in the *Lettera*, nor in the accounts in the *Cosmographiæ introductio*, do we find any assertion of the sort. On the contrary, the authentic relation of his third voyage implies the belief that America is a continent entirely distinct from Asia, and which he intended to double at the south; nineteen years before Magellan. Here are our reasons for the statement:

In September, 1503, Vespuccius first declared emphatically that he had been to a new world: "quasque nouum mundum appellare licet," and which he could call *Novus Orbis*, as the ancients never had any knowledge of it: "Quando apud maiores nostros nulla de ipsis fuerit habita cognitio et audietibus omnibus sit nouissima res."¹⁴ He could not have used such positive expressions if the newly-discovered countries had been considered by him as a part of Asia only. He then announces the intention of returning westward for the purpose of reaching the east through the southern regions by means of the austral winds: "Vt ad perquirendas novas regiones versus meridiem a latere orientis me accingam per ventum qui Africus dicitur." How could Vespuccius, coming from Europe, expect to reach the East by navigating from Brazil southward, unless he believed there was a strait leading from his *Novus Mundus* to the eastern hemisphere?

John Cabot said, in August, 1497, that the continental land which he had discovered and explored was the country of the Great Khan: "E dice haver trovato lige 700 lontam de qui Terra ferma el paexe del Gram Cam."¹⁵ But, in explaining to Raimondo di Soncino his projects, December 18, 1497, when on the point of returning to the New World, he conveyed the impression that Cathay was on the other side of the newly-discovered lands:

"Ma messer Zoane ha posto l'animo ad maggior cosa perche pensa, de quello loco occupato andarsene sempre el Levante,¹⁶ tanto chel sia all'opposito de una Isola da lui chiamata Cipango, posta in la regione equinoctiale:—But Mr. John is bent on a still greater thing, as he proposes, starting from the point already attained, to follow the shores more towards the

¹² BANDINI, *Vita di Vespucci*, p. 76.

¹³ CAMUS, *Mémoire sur les collections de voyages*, pp. 131, 132; VARNHAGEN, *Amerigo Vespucci*, p. 67.

¹⁴ "Mundus nouus de natura et moribus et ceteris id generis gentis que in nouo mundo opera et impensis serenissimi portugallie regis superioribus annis inuento."—

First page of the text in all the editions of that letter of Vespuccius; *Bib. Am. Vetust.*, Nos. 22-31, pp. 56-74.

¹⁵ *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. viii., p. 322.

¹⁶ "El Levante" must be understood to mean the west, as Cabot came from the east, to which he was turning his back, on that exploring expedition.

east [*i. e.*, west], until he gets opposite the island which he calls Cipango, situate in the equinoctial region."¹⁷

Our interpretation is that John Cabot presumed the existence of a passage, and perhaps considered either the entrance of Hudson Strait or of the strait of Belle Isle, as leading to the west coast of the country which he had recently found. If so, he may have easily imagined that by following that western coast southward, he would find to the starboard the Cipango island described in such glowing terms in all the maps and globes of the time.¹⁸ This geographical idea certainly implies that the country which he had just discovered intervened between Europe and Asia, on the west of the European continent.

John Cabot doubtless found out his partial mistake during the expedition of 1498. After vainly trying to find the imaginary passage, he cannot but have retraced his steps, and followed southward the east coast of the new continent with a confirmation of the idea, as his unavailing efforts lead us to believe, that America was not the land of pepper, nutmegs, and cinnamon.

Gaspar Corte-Real was also convinced that he had discovered a continent, but nowhere is it stated that he thought it was Asia. In the letter which Pietro Pasqualigo, the Venetian ambassador, wrote to his brothers, informing them, October 18, 1501, that one of Gaspar Corte-Real's vessels had just returned to Lisbon, we read this curious passage:

"Per la costa de la qual scorseno forsi miglia. dc. in. dcc. ne mai trouoreno fin: per el che credeno che sia terra ferma: laqual continue in una altra terra che lanno passato fo discoperta sotto la tramontana:—They have run along about six or seven hundred miles of the coast of that land [North America] without finding the end thereof; which leads them to believe that it is a continent. This land is a continuation of the other land which they discovered last year at the north."¹⁹

In his despatch to the Venetian Signory, Pasqualigo added:

"Etiam credeno conjugersi con le Andilie, che furono discoperte per li reali di Spagna, et con la terra dei papagà, noviter trovata per le nave di questo re che andorono in Calicut:—They believe, moreover, that it is connected with the Antillies, which were discovered for the

¹⁷ *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. x., p. 325.

¹⁸ "Cipango do wachst vil gold. Cipango di edelft und

reichst Insul."—BEHAIM'S GLOBE, &c.

¹⁹ *Les Corte-Real*, doc. xviii., pp. 211-212.

Spanish realm, and with the land of parrots [Brazil] lately found by the ships of this king [expedition of Cabral] when on their way to Calicut."²⁰

Consequently, from a very early period, at all events so early as October, 1501, the notion prevailed in Europe that from *Circulus arcticus* to *Pollus antarticus*,²¹ the newly-discovered regions formed a single coast line belonging to a regular continent, although broken by some strait which navigators had to traverse westwards to attain the Asiatic lands. And, as it is materially impossible that the explorers could have imagined that Cathay or Mangi had two east coasts, they must have been convinced then and there of the existence of a sea between the west coast of the New World and the eastern borders of the Asiatic continent.

²⁰ Marin SANUTO, *Diarii*; Venezia, 1881, 4to, Vol. IV., p. 200, and *Les Corte-Real et leurs voyages au Nouveau Monde*, Appendix, doc. xviiiA, pp. 209-211.

²¹ *Pollus antarticus* is what we read across the continent, by about 15° south of the tropic of Capricorn in the chart of Alberto Cantino.

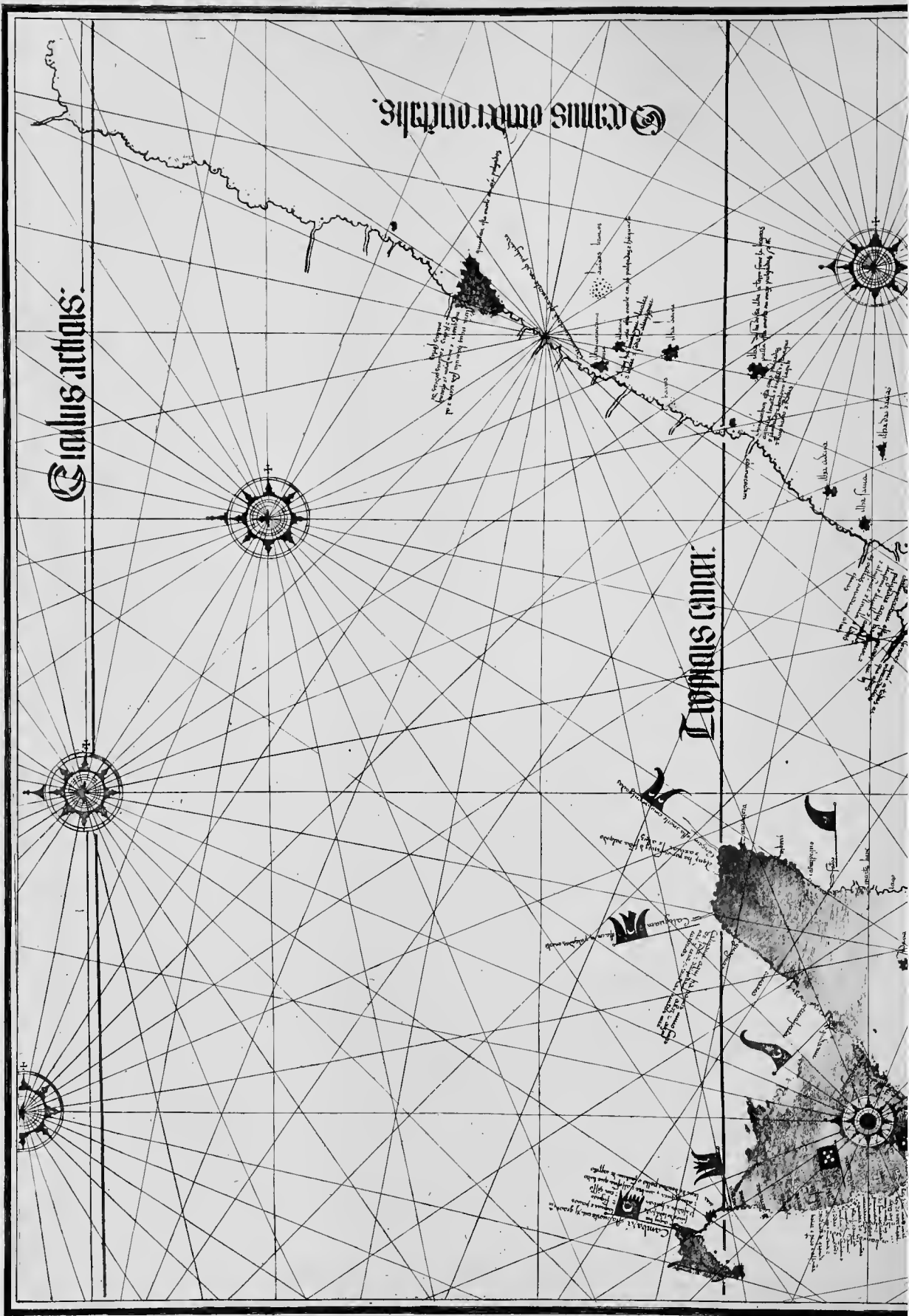
CHAPTER V.

AFTER having interrogated historical statements, let us see now whether the cartographical documents of the first years of the sixteenth century, bear out (besides the *prima-facie* proof arising from their inserting at the west an independent continental land) the conclusions which we have just expressed, concerning the belief generally entertained that there was a continent to the west of the Antillies, distinct from Asia.

In the present investigation, the line of arguments may compel us to go partially over grounds which we have already surveyed; but this is unavoidable from the moment that our documentary proofs have to be examined under the various aspects which they present to the historian of maritime discovery.

Though the notion of the existence of a vast and unsuspected continental land interposed between *Oceanus occidentalis* and *Oceanus orientalis* was, in our opinion, almost general at a very early date, we must confess that it must have been extremely crude, and in many respects inexact. The efforts of the mariners who first explored the north-east coast of the New World were necessarily disconnected, superficial, and lacking, of course, scientific precision. The only point which they held in common was the necessary belief that the continent ran from north to south, in a line more or less crooked; and judging, as they always did in those days, from *a priori* similitudes, they doubtless ascribed to the same a configuration which resembled in the main the eastern seaboard of Asia.

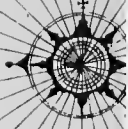
On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that the seafaring men who visited the continental regions of the New World, were prompted by no other motives than to gather spice, gold, and precious stones. It is evident therefore that when they found themselves in such a bleak and barren country as Labrador, or in the pine forests of the north-east coast of Newfoundland, nay, on the Atlantic borders of the middle or southern States, they experienced great disappointment. Barrels of pitch and turpentine; perhaps such trees to make masts as they



Circulus arcticus.

Tropicus canari.

Circulus antarcticus.



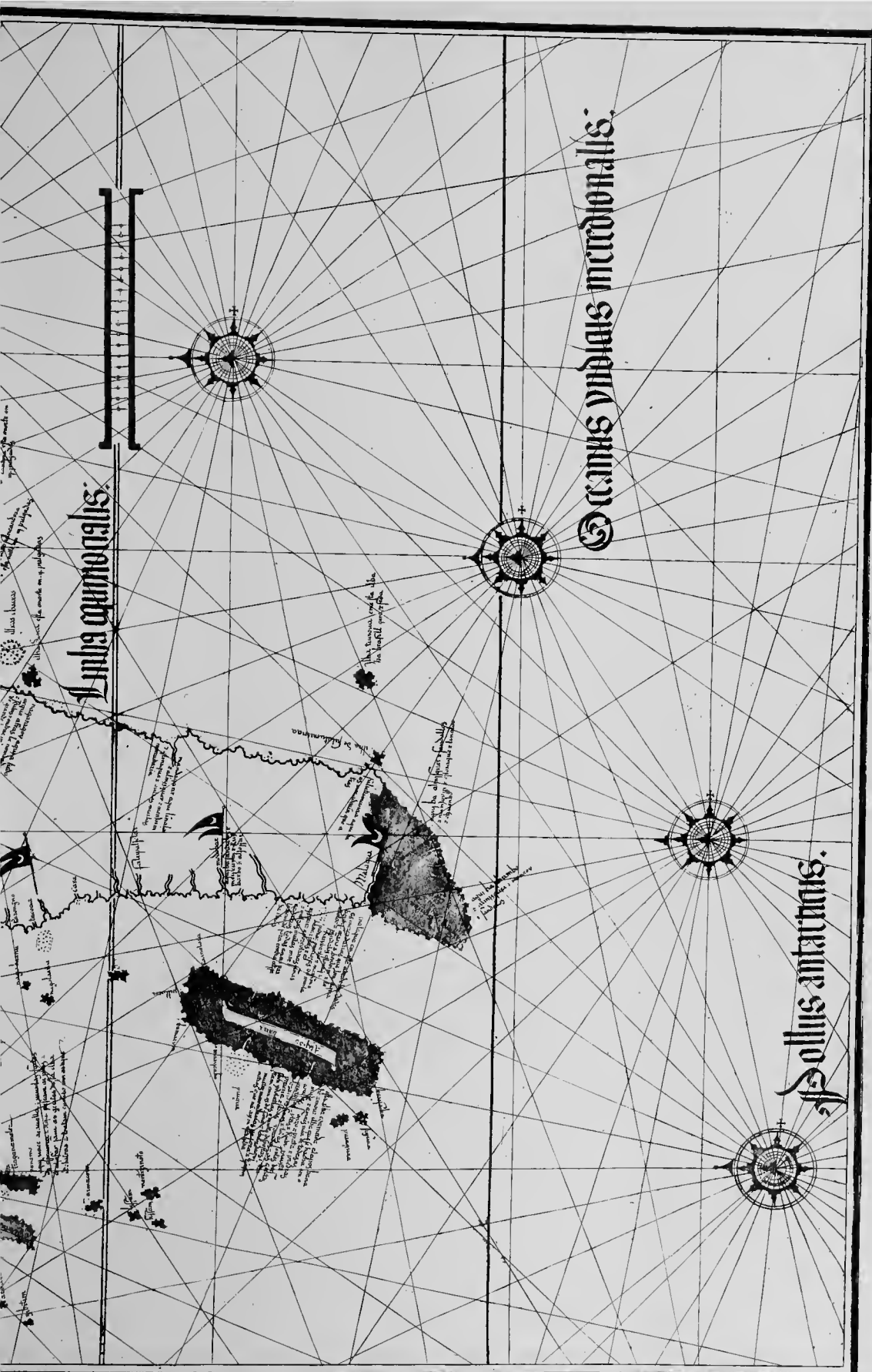
Handwritten notes and labels in Latin, including 'Circulus canari', 'Circulus antarcticus', and 'Circulus arcticus', along with various symbols and diagrams.

Handwritten notes and labels in Latin, including 'Circulus antarcticus', 'Circulus arcticus', and 'Circulus canari', along with various symbols and diagrams.

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THE ASIATIC COASTS IN THE CANTINO CHART
 (1501-1502)

could lodge on deck, and a few Indians kidnapped with difficulty to sell as slaves in Spanish or Portuguese ports, is most probably all that they brought home. This, certainly, was not calculated to create such an impression as to induce governments or important ship-owners to "find the secret" of those western regions. Had the bold adventurers secured cargoes, were it only of dye wood and spun cotton, as did the expeditions which ranged the coasts of the West India islands under the Spanish flag, the probability is that we should find more positive traces of their efforts in the documents of the time, and in official maps. This had to be said in extenuation of the imperfect delineations of the north-western continental lands in the early charts which we now propose to examine, with the view of ascertaining to what extent they separate the newly discovered regions from the Asiatic continent and islands.

As we have already stated, the earliest map germane to the subject is that of Juan de la Cosa (1500). We do not know positively what were the cosmographical notions which he entertained as regards the east coast of Asia, as his planisphere scarcely extends eastward beyond the Arabian sea. But if the vast continental land which, in his map, lays adjacent the West Indies had been intended for the eastern coast of Asia it would bear names recalling Mangi and Cathay, whilst the sea bathing those shores would not have been merely a *Mare oceanus*, but an *Oceanus orientalis Indie*. As Kohl justly says :

"Cosa draws the entire coast of North America from the neighbourhood of Cuba to the high northern regions, in about 70° N., with a continuous line, uninterrupted by water. He appears to have thought that there was a large continental part of the world, back of the West India islands discovered by Columbus and his contemporaries."¹

The map next in order is that of Alberto Cantino (1502). This is complete, and exhibits the entire Asiatic coast, with a precision and completeness theretofore unknown, besides a series of names and legends which leave no doubt whatever that, in the opinion of the cartographer, the Asiatic continent did not extend beyond, and that two oceans, viz.: *Oceanus orientalis* and *Oceanus orientalis meridionalis*, separated the Asiatic world from the newly-discovered countries.²

We have now the recently-discovered manuscript mappamundi of the heretofore unknown Genoese cartographer Nicolay de Canerio, which is undated, but seems to be only a couple of years later than the Cantino

¹ KOHL, *Documentary History of Maine*, p. 515.

² See *supra*, facsimile of the Asiatic coast.

map. Canerio exhibits also the north-western continental region, but carries it further south, with additional names, and hedges the entire coast between Spanish flags. There, likewise, this continental land is wholly separated from the Asiatic world, with a clearly-defined western coast.

The King chart, and Kunstmann No. III., are Lusitanian works which exhibit the southern regions of the New World as continental, although the western coast of South America is left blank, whilst the northern section appears in the shape of a very elongated peninsula, named, however, not *Ilha*, but *Terra de Cuba*. Here again, the eastern coast of Asia is clearly delineated, curved and indented, with representations of the city of "Guinsai," and of the Great Khan seated on his throne; showing that, in the opinion of the map-makers, the configurations of the newly-discovered countries belonged to regions which were absolutely distinct from Asia.

Of Ruysch's map (1508) we shall speak hereafter, although chronologically speaking, it is the next in order.

The Hauslab globe No. 1 (*circa* 1509) also separates its American configurations, north and south, from Asia, by a broad ocean embracing a gore 40 degrees of longitude wide.

The Cracow Stobnicza mappamundi (1512) unites the continental north-western region of Cantino with the South American continent, forming a mass which, notwithstanding its crude character, is not unlike the reality. It also delineates the west coast of the New World, on which is inscribed *Terra incognita*, and then marks a space of 50 degrees before reaching the borders of Asia.

The *Orbis Typus Vniversalis* of Waldseemüller (1513) exhibits an absolutely independent representation of the Asiatic coast, whilst the American configurations appear on the other side of the map.

Schöner's spheres, the Lenox globe, and the alleged Da Vinci gores, all represent America as wholly distinct from Cathay.

How can we interpret that extensive series of cartographical statements otherwise than as a proof that from the earliest period of the discovery, and for more than thirty years afterwards, geographers viewed the New World as entirely different from the Old? Had they thought otherwise, we should see their early sketches of the American countries merge in the borders of Asia. The nomenclature of the Lusitano-Germanic maps would also be mixed,—as we shall notice it twenty years

later, owing to newly-coined appreciations,—with the Asiatic names which dot the regions of Cathay and Mangi.

If all those maps and globes had been copied one from the other, or proceeded from the same model, this long enumeration would have no greater argumentative force than if a single specimen had been produced. But we intend to show that, so far as the separation of America from Asia is concerned, which is an important factor in the present discussion, La Cosa and Cantino, one Spanish and the other Portuguese, though acting separately, evince a similar opinion. As regards the continental land in Cantino, which is exhibited in nearly all the Lusitano-Germanic maps and globes of the first half of the sixteenth century, we expect also to demonstrate that these cartographical monuments have borrowed it from not less than five different prototypes.

Yet there have been cosmographers whose geographical productions are calculated, at first sight, to convey the impression that they held a contrary belief, and thought that the New World was a mere continuation of Asia. These need be examined in connection with the present chapter.

The mappamundi of Johann Ruysch inserted in the Ptolemy of 1507-1508, and omitted intentionally in the preceding enumeration, owing to its peculiar and unique character, now first claims our attention.

Ruysch represents the northern extremity of the American hemisphere as forming a continuous coast line from Greenland to Newfoundland, where it is made to run due west and merge at its western extremity with Cathay. In the sea which washes the Asiatic borders there is an inscription to the effect that the cartographer omits delineating the Cipango of Marco Polo, because he presumes that it is identical with the country which the Spaniards call Hispaniola: “*Quã hispani spagnolã vocant sipangù.*” Those two geographical opinions agree with each other, and show on the part of Ruysch the belief that a certain portion of the New World was only the east coast of Asia, and that the North Atlantic and the North Pacific oceans were identical.

But when examining Ruysch's map south of Newfoundland, we notice that those cosmographical ideas apply exclusively to the American continent north of Cape Breton. South of that point, the German geographer has depicted a wide ocean bordering two large and distinct continental lands, far away from China and Japan. On the western extremity of the first

of those cast away regions, we read: "Hvc vsqve naves Ferdinandi Regis Hispanie pervenerunt:—Thus far the vessels of Ferdinand, the King of Spain, have gone." Now, this continental land was absolutely borrowed from a Lusitanian map, akin to Cantino's, but of a later period, as can be ascertained from its more extended shape and complemental nomenclature.

The other continental region is still further south, larger, and likewise at a great distance from the Asiatic coast. It bears an inscription stating that the country was discovered by the Spaniards, who called it the New World, owing to its considerable extent: "Hvc vsqve navte hispani venervnt et hanc terram propter eivs magnitvdinem Mvndvm novvm appellarvnt."

Those two continental configurations, which have both been borrowed entirely by Ruysch from some Portuguese chart akin to two which we still possess (Cantino and Canerio), show that they were inserted by him just as he found them, and without entertaining, as regards their intrinsic character, an opinion different from that of the Lusitanian cartographer whom he copied.

Ruysch, therefore, believed that the countries north of Nova Scotia were Asiatic; but he was also convinced that the two continental regions, depicted in his map at the south as representing the discoveries of Columbus and of the Spaniards, formed one or two continents entirely distinct from Asia.

We now have the polar projection of the world belonging to the atlas which Vesconte de Maggiolo designed in 1511. There the polar lands are all connected, beginning with a *Terra de los Ingres*, followed by *Terra de Corte real de rey de portugall*, and immediately adjoining the *India occidentalis*. The delineation is extremely crude, and we are unable to say where the Genoese cartographer borrowed those geographical data, and how long he continued to use them. Although Maggiolo is the author of a number of atlases, yet his map of 1519 is the first, after the above, which we have met containing configurations for the New World. Unfortunately, they extend only from Honduras to Uruguay, with no western delineations permitting us to ascertain what were then his notions regarding the supposed connection between Asia and America. But his great Ambrosian map of 1527 leaves no doubt on that point, as it boldly and frankly represents the entire New World from north to south, with a western coast extending from the Strait of Magellan to at

least 50° north latitude, where it is made to trend eastward, being bathed at the west by the *Mare Indicum*.

The next and last map of that class and period is Schöner's earliest globe. It cannot be doubted that the Nuremberg geographer never ceased to believe, theoretically, that America was merely the continuation of the coasts of China and India, as he repeatedly states in his *Opusculum*, published in 1533, and as is shown by the legend: "America Indiæ superioris et Asiæ continentis pars," inscribed on the southern hemisphere of the Weimar globe No. 2. Yet we are at a loss to reconcile such a notion with the configurations depicted by Schöner himself on his globe of 1520. He clearly draws therein the entire Asiatic coast from *Mare congelatum* to *India meridionalis*, represented also as washed by *Orientalis Oceanus*, and then, cast far away on the other side, three large continental regions, separated from Asia by the said ocean and by *Zipangri*; one of which regions he calls *Terra de Cuba*, another *America*, and the third *Brasilis Inferior*. The fact that Schöner inscribes on the west of those countries "Ultra nondum lustratum," does not remove the contradiction existing between the legends and the geographical profiles in his globes.

No one can doubt, nevertheless, that an entire school of cartographers framed their western hemisphere so as to unite America with Asia, north of Mexico, and deliberately represented the North American continent as a mere prolongation of the Asiatic world. But when? Not before the year 1525, and as a new contrivance, imagined by a Belgian monk, and transmitted by a long series of French and German cartographers in accordance with cosmographical theories, the origin of which we will hereafter show and describe to the full satisfaction of our readers.

To sum up:

The insularity of Cuba demonstrated by the earliest American maps known; that island co-existing on said maps with a continental land at the north-west; this continental region separated westerly from the Asiatic coasts by a wide ocean; and the belief entertained so shortly after the discovery of the New World by the Spanish and Portuguese navigators that it was not a part of Asia, but a separate continent which they sought to traverse by a strait so as to reach Cathay beyond another ocean, are reasons which add considerable weight to our statement that the north-western continental region in the charts of La Cosa, Cantino, Canerio, and all the Lusitano-Germanic maps, was intended to represent an intermediary continent existing between Europe and Asia.

CHAPTER VI.

WE have set forth and discussed the opinion of the Spanish and Portuguese navigators, as well as of the cosmographers of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, concerning the existence of a continental land situate to the west of the Antillies, and deemed by them to be different from the Asiatic regions. We will now state the facts which lead us to believe that the Spanish government likewise, so far from considering the notion as a vagary or mere surmise, was convinced, so early as the year 1501, that west of the West Indies there lay a regular continent which was not Asia.

From the time of the first voyage of John Cabot to the east coast of the New World, Ferdinand and Isabella had been informed that the discoveries accomplished by the Anglo-Venetian adventurer were in the region belonging to Spain. Pedro de Ayala and Ruy Gonzales de Puebla, the Spanish ministers at the Court of Henry VII., wrote to their government as follows :

“Lo que buscan es lo que Vuestras Altezas poseen . . . Lo que han hallado o buscan es lo que Vuestras Altezas poseen, porque es al cabo que a Vuestras Altezas capo [*sic pro* cupo] por la convencion con Portugal¹ . . . Yo dixé [al Rey de Ynglaterra] creya eran las halladas por Vuestras Altezas, y aun le día la una razon, no lo querria:—That which they are in search of is that which belongs to your Highnesses . . . That which they have found or what they are in search of is that which your Highnesses already possess, because it is at the cape [or at the beginning of the region] which was attributed to your Highnesses by the treaty with Portugal . . . I told the King of England that I believed it was what had been discovered for your Majesties; but, although I gave him the reason thereof, he did not like it.”²

This unexpected news must have been a serious subject of uneasiness in Spain, as it threatened to jeopardize the projects and hopes which their Catholic Majesties had predicated upon the achievements of Columbus. This is shown by the tenor of the letters patent which they granted to Alonso de Hojeda, June 8, 1501, for his third expedition to the New

¹ The treaty of Tordesillas of 1494. In his translation of the present document, BERGENROTH has omitted the words from “porque” to “Portugal.”

² *Dépêches de Ruy Gonzalès de Puebla et de Pedro de Ayala*, in *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, docs. xii. and xiii., pp. 328 and 329.

World. In that document he is enjoined to navigate towards a region which is expressly stated to be the country ascertained to have been discovered by the English: "Por razon que va hácia la parte donde se ha sabido que descubrian los ingleses," and to set up, gradually as he advances (necessarily by following up the coast northwardly, with the implied belief that it was connected with the north-western lands), the escutcheon of Spain: "E vais poniendo las marcas con las armas de SS.AA."³

As to the reason for such a course, it is still more significant: "This you shall do," say Ferdinand and Isabella, "for the purpose of stopping the discoveries of the English in that direction:—para que atages el descubrir de los ingleses por aquella via."⁴

To urge and encourage Hojeda in the undertaking, the Spanish sovereigns made him a princely gift:

"We grant unto you for ever in the southern part of Hispaniola called La Maguana, six leagues of land . . . [both] in consideration of the discoveries which you are to accomplish, and for [your intended efforts] *on the coast of the continent to bar the way to the English*:—para lo que habees de descubrir é en la costa de la tierra firme para el atajo de los ingleses, y las dichas seis leguas de tierra sean vuestras para siempre."⁵

The expression which we have underscored "para el atago de los ingleses," certainly implies attempts already made by the English to continue their first transatlantic enterprises, necessarily in a more southern direction, and by ranging the west coast southwardly. A private craft might have sailed from Bristol in the track of the Spanish ships, surreptitiously or otherwise,—although we possess no information whatever to ground such an hypothesis,—but that Ferdinand and Isabella should have been exercised to so high a degree, supposes the meeting in their transatlantic domain of some important expedition sailing under the British flag. The second voyage of John Cabot, which, as he implicitly informed Raimondo di Soncino, was to be westward and then southward,—and which Sebastian Cabot told Peter Martyr had extended to the latitude of Gibraltar,—must be the very navigation the progress of which, along the southern coast of the present United States, alarmed the Catholic Kings.

³ *Reales cédulas y asiento hecho con Hojeda.* — NAVARRETE, Vol. III., doc. x., pp. 86, 88.

⁴ *Ibidem.*

⁵ *Ibidem.* That expedition proved a failure. See NAVARRETE'S abstract of Documents, Vol. III., pp. 28-39, and *infra*, our Chronology of Voyages.

This we infer from the fact that the two voyages of John Cabot (1497 and 1498-1499) are the only English expeditions⁶ to the New World known to have been undertaken previous to the letters patent granted to Hojeda in June, 1501, and which contain the above quoted reference to attempted British extensions.

Muñoz and Navarrete allege that Hojeda in his first expedition met the English in the vicinity of Maraycaibo: "Lo cierto es que Alonso de Hojeda en su primer viage halló á ciertos ingleses por las inmediacones de Coquibacoa."⁷ This statement may prompt two objections, calculated at first sight to throw doubt upon our proposed identification of John Cabot with the English mentioned in the above instructions given to Alonso de Hojeda.

The first of those objections is that Cabot on his second voyage sailed from England in April, 1498, and was expected back home in September following: "sperase sean venidos para el Setiembre,"⁸ while Hojeda set out from Spain only in the spring of the following year.

The reply is that nowhere it is said in the original documents that it was Hojeda, or any of his ships and companions, who saw the English in American waters. Then, we do not know when John Cabot returned from his second expedition. We have proofs that it was equipped on an important scale, numbering five vessels: "El Rey de Inglaterra embio cinco naos,"⁹ which carried stores for a whole year: "avitallados por un año."¹⁰ Besides, as the account of Sebastian Cabot implies a long exploration, the vessels may not have returned to England until the summer of 1499; and thus could have been seen by one of the six Spanish expeditions which visited those regions in 1498 and 1499,¹¹ and returned to Spain before the date of the letters patent granted to Hojeda where mention is made of the English.

The second objection is that the latitude of Gibraltar is the most extreme point said to have been reached by Cabot, while the "vicinity of Coquibacoa," where the alleged meeting is stated by Muñoz and Navarrete to have taken place, is not less than 25 degrees further south, and implies a navigation in the midst of the West India islands. This

⁶ The next transatlantic voyage under the British flag is the Anglo-Portuguese expedition undertaken by virtue of letters patent granted only March 19, 1501. BIDDLE, *Memoir of Cabot*, pp. 222, 312-320.

⁷ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 41.

⁸ Dispatch of Pedro DE AYALA, in our *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xiii.

⁹ Dispatch of Gonzales DE PUEBLA, *op. cit.*, doc. xii.

¹⁰ Dispatch of Pedro DE AYALA, *ubi supra*.

¹¹ See *infra*, our Chronology of Voyages.

would be a very serious objection if there were any proofs that Hojeda, or any Spanish ship met the English actually "por las inmediacones de Coquibacoa." But our searches in the Spanish archives have failed to bring to light any document to that effect; and neither Muñoz nor Navarrete quote any authorities for their assertion. This has all the appearance of an arbitrary deduction made by them from the letters patent granted to Hojeda, June 8, 1501, where Coquibacoa is mentioned, only, however, in connection with his appointment as governor of that place, and without any reference whatever to the English. Nor is it said therein, or anywhere else, that British seamen were seen by Hojeda, or by any Spanish commander in the vicinity of Coquibacoa.

There is nothing to prevent Cabot having been met about Cuba by one of the transports or trading ships which, for the last three or four years, were already plying between Seville and the West Indies to carry supplies to the colonists. The latitude of Gibraltar mentioned by Cabot is, according to the old charts, nearly on a line with the point of the Floridian peninsula and the north coast of Cuba. That is likely the place where the English were seen, probably when homeward bound. And, as the coast bordering the Caribbean sea was then already believed to be "a lande to reach towarde the north on the back syde of Cuba," the recommendations of the Catholic Kings are easily understood.

Taking into consideration that the only English navigator who could have been met there in those days was John Cabot, we must assume that when detected about those regions, he had reached the terminus of a coasting which commenced south of Newfoundland (after vainly trying to find an outlet leading to the other side),—according to his first project, as reported by Soncino. Otherwise, we should have to believe that, abandoning all intention of returning to the north-east coast of the New World, he darted directly from Bristol in a south-westerly direction, to land fifty degrees below his first landfall in 1497. But the letters patent which Henry VII. granted him in 1498 show that such a route would have been contrary to the King's intentions, as the voyage is therein expressly described as being intended "for the Londe and Iles of late founde by the seid John;" which we know to have been Newfoundland or thereabout. Under those terms, starting from the latter point, he could have ranged the coast southward, apparently without knowing that it would take him to the Spanish possessions; but they certainly preclude a primary project to visit first of all the region of the West Indies.

Let us add that if only one of the five ships of John Cabot, swifter than the rest, and carrying the British flag, went ahead of the fleet and was met probing her way about the Bahamas, that would be sufficient to account for the feelings expressed in the instructions given by Ferdinand and Isabella to Hojeda.

Now, what is the exact date when those monarchs speak of the continent: "la costa de la tierra firme," and order Hojeda to impede the progress of the English towards the south: "para que atages el descubrir de los ingleses por aquella via?" The 8th of June, 1501: "á ocho dias del mes de Junio año de mil e quinientos é un años." And this, Ferdinand and Isabella express in a manner which implies that their knowledge of British incursions dated a year or two previous; at all events in time for Juan de la Cosa, already renowned as the greatest Spanish pilot living, to have cognizance of the fact when, having returned from Hojeda's first expedition, he constructed his famous planisphere "en el puerto de Santa Maria en año de 1500."

In that respect, the probability is rendered so much the greater that La Cosa, as the reader is aware, depicts already in the said planisphere, which was finished before October, 1500, a continental coast line to the west of Cuba, and carried without any break from "the sea discovered by the English:—mar descubierta por ingleses," to the Venezuelan regions and beyond.

It is difficult not to see in that array of facts and necessary deductions, all based upon authentic and contemporaneous statements, a proof that in the first year of the sixteenth century the belief was entertained in Spain, and necessarily in Portugal and England, that a continental region existed west and north-west of the Antillies.

We can even trace the continuation of that early belief uninterrupted almost down to the expedition of Magellan.

Gomara states that many Spanish and Portuguese navigators, at a very early date, ranged the coast of Labrador, to ascertain whether they could find a sea passage to the land of spice:

"Muchos han ido a costar la tierra del Labrador por ver adónde llegaba y por saber si habia paso de mar por alli, para ir á las Malucas y Especeria . . . Castellanos lo buscaron primero, como les pertenecen aquellas islas de las Especerias . . . y Portugueses tambien:—Many have gone to range the coast of Labrador to see where it led to, and to ascertain whether there was in that region a passage leading to the Molucas and [or the land of]

Spice. . . . The Spaniards were the first to go in search of it, because the Spice islands belonged to them. . . . The Portuguese also [made the attempt]."¹²

Herrera reports that in 1506, Ferdinand of Aragon was most anxious to send a transatlantic expedition for the express purpose of forestalling the King of Portugal in his efforts to discover a strait leading to the Molucca islands :

“Gran cuidado tenia el Rei Catolico en embiar a descubrir . . . causa era de esto la diligencia que el Rei de Portugal ponía en embiar Descubridores del Estrecho :—The Catholic King was very anxious to send [expeditions of] discovery. The reason was the diligence exhibited by the King of Portugal in sending discoverers for the Strait.”

Herrera goes so far as to say that the attempt had already been made by many navigators who, with such intentions, had explored the northern coast :

“I muchos anduvieron por el Norte costeando, i trabajando en ello :—And many [such] sailed to the North, ranging the coast and making efforts thereon.”¹³

We know also that the expedition of Juan Diaz de Solis and Vicente Yañez Pinzon, of 1506, was apparently to find such a strait ; but it is of a more recent date than the attempts mentioned by Gomara and Herrera. As Navarrete justly says, Diaz and Pinzon's efforts then were to find a passage between the two oceans : “Al parecer con el objeto de hallar algun canal ó estrecho de comunicacion con el otro mar.”¹⁴

The theory which has heretofore made the continental region west of the Antillies and south of Newfoundland a *terra incognita* until 1513, requires, of course, that no part of that region should have been explored, either by the Spanish or the Portuguese before the latter date. Nevertheless, in addition to the facts duly set forth in the preceding pages, the map of Reinel (Kunstmann No. III.), which is of the year 1505 (Kohl) or 1504 (Peschel), shows already a portion of Nova Scotia. Nay, a certain knowledge of the coast south of that country, (which knowledge, as we have just shown, was possessed by the Spaniards independently of what they could have gathered from the Lusitanian maps, in the first year, at least, of the sixteenth century) so far from being forgotten, continued to be acted upon by the Spanish government.

The original agreement entered into between Ferdinand of Aragon and Juan de Agramonte authorises the latter to explore a land situate

¹² GOMARA, edit. of Vedia, p. 177.

¹³ HERRERA, Decad. I., Vol. I., p. 100.

¹⁴ NAVARRETE, *Viages menores, Noticia historica*, Vol. III., p. 47.

towards the Baccallaos island: "Una tierra ques a la parte del Norte, hacia la Isla de los Bacallaos." This can only apply to the region south of the Portuguese possessions, as the sphere of explorations is placed within "los limites que á Nos pertenescen:—the limits of the country belonging to Spain." This, judging from the early maps, was deemed to be south and south-west of Newfoundland.

It is worthy of notice that the information obtained by Agramonte was derived not from charts, but from two Indians, natives, as it seems, of that new country, whom he had with him in Spain. We must also call the attention of our readers to the fact that Agramonte was to receive his sailing directions from Spanish officials: "por la via é derrota que vos será señalado por mi mandado," which implies a previous knowledge of that country on the part of the Crown pilots.¹⁵ Now, this was before the coming of Sebastian Cabot to Spain, and before October, 1511, which is the date of the Royal letter of Queen Juana, wherein mention is made of a contract to the same effect, entered into previously between her father and the said grantee.¹⁶

In quoting this instance, which is not the only one of the kind, we wish simply to show,—as far as such vestiges permit us to ascertain,—that a sort of tradition was kept up in Spain concerning the existence of a continental region to the north-west of Cuba. The following conversation reported by Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, though written in 1515,¹⁷ or 1516, expresses in the clearest manner a belief which, in our opinion, was shared for a number of years previous by cosmographers and pilots all over Europe.

"Andreas Moralis the pylot, and Oviedus," he says, "repayred to me at my house in the towne of Matrite. . . . They both agree that these landes and regions perteynyng to the dominion of Castile, doo with one continuall tract and perpetuall bonde, embrase as one hole firme lande and continent al the mayne lande lyinge on the north syde of Cuba and the other Ilandes, beinge also north-west both from Cuba and Hispaniola."¹⁸

¹⁵ NAVARRETE, *Coleccion de viages y descubrimientos*, Vol. III., Nos. XXXI-II., pp. 124-127.

¹⁶ A document lately published in the *Coleccion de documentos ineditos de Indias*, Vol. XXXII., p. 393, refers to the agreement made with Agramonte. It is a royal cedula of King Ferdinand, addressed to the *Casa de Contratacion*, and containing a reply to various letters written by that institution. Unfortunately, it

bears no date, but mentions the wish of the Crown to accede to the desire expressed by the people of Darien to have appointed as governor Vasco Nuñez de Balboa. This circumstance seems to correspond with the Enciso and Nicuesa troubles in the spring of 1511. LAS CASAS, lib. ii., cap. lxxvii., Voi. III., p. 340.

¹⁷ ANGHIERA, Epist. dxlii., p. 310.

¹⁸ ANGHIERA, Decad. III., lib. x., f. 67, D.

CHAPTER VII.

AT the close of a discussion like the present, it must be borne in mind that the north-western continental configurations set forth in the charts of Cantino, Canerio, Ruysch, Waldseemüller, Schöner, and other geographers of the first half of the sixteenth century, have their equivalent in the reality of things. That is, there is actually existing, as everybody knows, west and north-west of the Antillies such a continent as is depicted on those maps. This fact imparts to their geographical averments a character of *prima facie* evidence entitling them to prevail, unless they be rebutted by the contradicter with documentary proofs.

Limiting our inquiry to the charts, we have shown, and will hereafter demonstrate technically, that the said continental region is absolutely represented as possessing a separate and special existence. In other words, that land cannot be considered as a duplicate of any one of the West India islands, nor of any portion of the countries south-west of that archipelago, which, by some unaccountable freak of imagination, a cartographer would have detached from its true place, enlarged, distorted, and located thirty degrees north of its real position, whilst leaving besides the original land or island where it truly belongs.

It has been proved, besides, that in itself the said continental region, so far from being anomalous, formed part of a logical ensemble, as the map depicting it also represents the West Indies, together with Cuba clearly delineated as an island, and very nearly in her exact form and position.

We have likewise asserted, and intend in the second part of this work to show, that the presence of a western continent on Portuguese original charts and Lusitano-Germanic derivatives was not a cartographical accident, servilely or unconsciously copied, but that it resulted from several independent prototypes. That is, at an early period, before 1502, there have existed maps which, independently of each other, exhibited those continental features, whilst presenting differences which showed a distinct origin for several in that class of documents.

In the preceding chapters it has also been shown that in the opinion of leading geographers of the time, the north-western continent region inscribed on Lusitano-Germanic charts was considered as corresponding with a continent actually existing, and placed by them where modern maps exhibit the east coast of the United States.

We believe, besides, to have demonstrated that those cartographical averments, so far from being controverted by authentic facts, or by statements from contemporary authorities of an historical character, were, on the contrary, corroborated by the same, as well as by another class of proofs.

With the view of endeavouring to ascend to the earliest delineations of that continent, all the Portuguese and Lusitano-Germanic maps will be hereafter carefully examined, and their nomenclatures minutely compared. And although the results obtained do not permit thus far of a definite reply, yet cogent reasons will be alleged to prove that the north-western continental configuration was not necessarily based upon Vespuccian data, but that it proceeds from various sources.

It remains now to see whether historical documents afford a clue, enabling the critic to ascertain how means of information could have been obtained for such geographical characteristics.

The common (and erroneous) belief is that all which was known of the geography of the New World from the time of its discovery by Columbus, until the first year of the sixteenth century, was and could be obtained only from the voyages of Christopher Columbus (1492-1493, 1493-1496, 1498-1500), John Cabot (1497, 1498), Pinzon, Diego de Lepe, Velez de Mendoza, Hojeda, Niño-Guerra, Vespuccius' second expedition (these seven accomplished between 1499 and 1500), Gaspar Corte Real (1500-1501), and Cabral-Lemos (1500-1501), not to speak of Vespuccius' first voyage. These, however, were only official expeditions, sailing under the Spanish, English, or Portuguese flag, which, as we will soon demonstrate, do not preclude a number of other voyages from having been made then to America, and precisely of such a character as to yield geographical data other than those brought to Seville or Lisbon by royal pilots and commanders.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE agreement or capitulations of April 17, 1492, did not concede to Christopher Columbus the monopoly of expeditions to the country which he hoped to discover. This privilege was shared with the Crown. All that which Columbus could claim absolutely was one-eighth of the tax or royalty imposed on vessels intending to trade in the new regions. It follows that on the 10th of April, 1495, Ferdinand and Isabella did not hesitate to publish a general decree authorising anyone¹ to equip expeditions for the distinct purpose of discovering isles and continents in the Indies and Ocean: "descobrir otras islas è tierra-firme á la parte de las Indias en el mar Océano," subject, of course, to certain prior rights, taxes, and regulations. A number of sea captains availed themselves at once of the authorisation: "Diversi navium ductores ad diversa alterius hœemispherii littora missi sunt,"² wrote Peter Martyr, on the 11th of June, 1495.

Who those commanders were, where they went, what countries they actually discovered or visited, are questions which no one can to-day answer with certainty. We only know that being forbidden to explore the regions already discovered, "demas de las islas è tierra-firme que por nuestro mandado se han descubierto en la dicha parte del mar Océano," they must have landed in parts theretofore unknown. The date at which, according to Peter Martyr, those expeditions set out, prevents their being mistaken for the enterprises of Hojeda, Pinzon, Lepe, &c., which were four years later.

Columbus, who always watched with a jealous eye his rights and privileges, complained of that decree. Two years afterwards, on the 2nd of June, 1497, the Catholic Kings, without yielding entirely to his requests,

¹ NAVARRETE, doc. lxxxvi., Vol. II., p. 165. As the decree is in the name of Ferdinand and Isabella, one might suppose that the terms: "algunas personas, vecinos é moradores en algunas Ciudades, Villas é Lugares é Puertos de nuestros Reinos é Señorios," apply to all Spaniards; but in reality, only Isabella's own subjects

could avail themselves of the privilege. *Infra*, p. 131.

² ANGHIERA, *Opus Epistol.*, Epist. clx. (June 11, 1495), p. 90. See also *Documentos ineditos de Indias*, Vol. XXX., p. 317, for numerous petitions to be allowed to make transatlantic discoveries, and to receive one half of the profits.

published a new ordinance cancelling all authorisations theretofore granted which could be shown to be contrary to the privileges possessed by Christopher Columbus.³

He did not, however, long maintain such an exclusive policy, and we find him advocate the principle that permission should be granted to all who wished to accomplish discoveries :

“Para en lo de descubrir de nuevas tierras, paresçeme se deva dar liçencia á todos los que quisieren yr, y alargar la mano el lo del quinto, moderandolo en alguna buena manera, á fin de que muchos se dispongan à yr :—Concerning the discovery of new lands, it seems to me that permission ought to be given to all who want to go, and that we should open the hand as regards the King’s royalty, moderating it so as to induce many to avail themselves of the leave.”⁴

Consistently with his altered views in this respect, Columbus authorised many commanders, “muchos capitanes,” to explore the newly-discovered lands. This we learn from Andres Bernaldez, who was an eye-witness :

“Y estando él en la corte se negoció e concertó é se dió licencia a otros muchos capitanes que la procuraron para ir á descubrir, é fueron é descubrieron diversas islas :—And being at the Court, authorisation was negotiated, agreed, and granted to many other captains, who obtained it for the purpose of going to discover, and, having gone, discovered various islands.”⁵

The reader will notice that, in the course of those expeditions, discoveries were actually accomplished. Among the captains who then obtained the required license, we must doubtless include Cristobal Guerra, Diego de Lepe, Hojeda and Rodrigo de Bastidas, although in reality they held their privilege from the Crown. But three or four is a number which falls short of the expression “muchos ;” and we may therefore assume that there were others, whose names and deeds have not come down to us. These, necessarily, need be placed among the navigators who may

³ “Defendemos firmemente que algunas personas no sean osadas de ir contra ellas [the former ‘mercedes’], e si el tenor dellas en algo le perjudica la dicha provision que así mandamos dar, que de suso va encorporada, por la presente la revocamos.”—NAVARETE, Vol. II., p. 202. A certain phrase in the original Book of Privileges preserved at Paris, seems to apply to new infringements of that ordinance. Columbus himself says therein : “Fago juramento que cantidad de hombres han ido á las Indias que no merecian el agua para con Dios y con el mundo, y agora vuelven allá,” f^o lxxij. That sentence is not to be found in the Genoa codex.

⁴ *Cartas de Indias*, doc. i., p. 5. Americus VESPUCCIUS was far from being so liberal, but expressed his opinion several years later. Having been asked by Cardinal XIMENEZ, on the 9th of December, 1508, whether it was not desirable that “cada uno tenga lybertad de yr i llevar lo que quisyere,” which was the policy of Portugal concerning her African colonies : “segun que lo haze el rey de Portugal en lo de la mina del Oro ;” Vespuccius raised considerable objections against such an enlightened course of action. *Ibidem*, doc. ii., p. 11.

⁵ BERNALDEZ, *Cronica de los Reyes Catolicos*, Vol. II., cap. xxxi., p. 79.

have visited the western continental regions, and brought home geographical data of importance, as their charters forbade them expressly, as above stated, "to go to parts already discovered."

There have been, consequently, in the seven years which followed the discovery of America, a number of transatlantic voyages in the course of which the coast lines were doubtless probed on many sides, and very likely with little pecuniary success; which seems to be the chief cause why they were soon forgotten.

As regards the expeditions carried out by virtue of regular licenses, if any of them actually reached the mainland to the north of Cuba, specific details then and thus obtained were withheld from the Crown pilots, otherwise the southern section of the northern continent in the map of La Cosa would be dotted throughout, like the charts of Cantino and Canerio, with names, legends, and Spanish flags, as it is all over its septentrional extremity with inscriptions and British emblems. But the great Basque cartographer became, nevertheless, possessed of general data concerning those continental regions. This is unquestionably shown by the continuous coast line delineated to the west of the Antillies in the map which he constructed in the year 1500.

That, between 1493 and 1500, a number of vessels were, besides, unlawfully equipped in the ports of Spain, Portugal, and France, for the purpose of exploiting the New World, and sailed secretly or without being provided with any license whatever, does not admit of a doubt. The glowing accounts which Columbus gave of the newly-discovered regions; the hope to find gold in quantity; the Indians kidnapped and sold as slaves in Andalusia; the cargoes of dyewood, spun cotton, and novel objects brought from America, were surely of such a character as to induce the bold mariners of the Peninsula to engage in the venture.

So far as Portugal is concerned we see, from the start in 1493, a caravel sail from Madeira to find the countries which Columbus had just discovered, and King Manoel immediately send three vessels after the alleged truant ship, apparently to arrest her, but, in reality, to join in the expedition: "y podria ser que esto se fuese con otros respetos, ó que los mismos que fueron en las carabelas, una y otras, querrán descubrir algo en lo que pertenece á Nos."⁶ The fact is that the Azores were the hot-bed, so to speak, of transatlantic expeditions. And the Portu-

⁶ NAVARRETE, doc. lxxi., Vol. II., p. 109.

guese notarial archives, as well as those of the Torre do Tombo, may yet yield information of that character, and of a date prior to the letters patent granted in October, 1499, to Joam Fernandez of Terceira, authorising a voyage to the New World, before any such privilege had yet been conceded to Gaspar Corte-Real, or before anything was known of the latter's maritime attempts.

As to such secret and illegal Portuguese expeditions we can know only of those which were the object of protests on the part of the Spanish government; as, for instance, the incursion of four Lusitanian ships which, early in the year 1503, went to the country discovered by Rodrigo de Bastidas, and returned to Lisbon loaded with dye wood and Indian slaves.⁷ We are loth to believe that this was a solitary case; and if Portuguese ship owners sent vessels in the track of Bastidas, we may rest assured that they acted in the same manner, on a venture, when informed of the quantities of pearls brought by Cristobal Guerra, if not before.

The French, who in the beginning of the sixteenth century, exhibited such a great maritime activity, at least in their western seaports, showed just as little scruple. We have authentic documents on that point. In the affidavit subscribed at Rouen by Binot Paulmier de Gonneville, June 19, 1505, mention is made of "Dieppe and St. Malo mariners, as well as other Normands and Britons, who, for years past go to the West Indies in search of dye wood, cotton, monkeys, parrots, and other articles." As this information must have been possessed by Gonneville before June 24, 1503 (when he sailed from Honfleur), we have in his deposition evidence that for years prior to 1503: "d'empuis ancunes années en ça les Dieppois et les Malouins et autres Normands et Bretons vont quérir aux Indes occidentalles du bois à teindre en rouge, cotons, guenons, et perroquets, et autres denrées."⁸ But who can tell how far those seafaring men (who rank among the boldest that ever existed, and were sometimes accompanied by Portuguese mariners,) went and what countries they may have explored? The probability is that those voyages were more or less connected with fishing expeditions to Newfoundland, which implies a ranging of its north-east coast southward, and consequently a knowledge of certain parts of the north-western continental region which is so conspicuous in early Portuguese and Lusitano-Germanic maps.

⁷ *Infra*, in the *Chronology of Voyages*, No. lxxiv.

⁸ *Infra*, in the *Chronology*, No. lxxii.

As regards Spain, the Crown rendered lawful enterprises to the newly-discovered regions extremely difficult. Licenses were granted only to the subjects of Queen Isabella, that is, inhabitants of Castile, Leon, Asturias, Galicia, Estramadura, Murcia, and Andalusia; while not only foreigners, but even her husband's own subjects (Aragonese, Catalans, and Valencians) were strictly excluded.⁹ Nay, Isabella attached so much importance to such an exclusive right that if, in her testament, she speaks only once of the Indies, it is to affirm her absolute and personal prerogative on the subject.¹⁰

The royalty to be paid to the Crown, exclusively of Columbus' 10% on the tonnage of every vessel, the obligation to have constantly on board State officials to watch proceedings¹¹ and record minutely the receipts, together with a strict requirement to equip all ships in the only port of Seville,¹² where the law compelled them also to return and unload, were likewise impediments which could but result in the fitting out of numerous clandestine expeditions to the New World, both for the purpose of barter and maritime discovery.

The damage occasioned to the Crown from that cause compelled their Catholic Majesties several times to issue stringent orders to repress such illegal enterprises. The warning issued, September 3, 1501, recalls similar defences already published, and enacts very severe penalties against all those who should dare in the future to undertake unauthorised voyages in the Atlantic Ocean.¹³

It must not be supposed, nevertheless, that those prohibitions ever prevented adventurers from running the gauntlet. As far back as 1497,

⁹ The undertaking of the Indies belonged exclusively to the crown of Castile. OVIEDO says: "As long as Queen Isabella lived, no one was permitted to go to the Indies except her own subjects, for they alone discovered the New World, and not the Aragonese, Catalans, and Valencians."—*Historia General de las Indias*, lib. iii., cap. i., Vol. I., p. 74. GOMARA, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 167, recalls the fact, and even finds in it an explanation for the famous and apocryphal device:

*For Castile and for Leon
Columbus found a new world.*

See also, SOLORZANO, *Politica Indiana*, Madrid, 1648, fol., lib. iv., cap. xix., p. 670, and the *Cedula* of November, 1504, in NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 525. We find that, even after the death of Isabella, when Ferdinand of Aragon administered the kingdom, December 4, 1507, one Bernaldo Grimaldi (apparently a native of Genoa)

was obliged to become a naturalised subject of the crown of *Castile*, before he could be allowed to trade in the Indies.—*Doc. inedit. de Indias*, Vol. XXXVI., p. 196.

¹⁰ "Por quanto las islas . . . fueron descubiertas . . . a costa de estos mis Reynos, &c."—Isabella's will in DORMER, *Discursos varios de Historia*, Zaragoza, 1683, 4to, p. 344.

¹¹ Licence granted to BASTIDAS; in NAVARRETE, Vol. II., p. 245.

¹² ANTUÑEZ, *Memorias historicas sobre la Legislacion y Gobierno del Comercio de los Españoles en sus colonias*, Madrid, 1797, 8vo, p. 4.

¹³ "Sean osados de ir ni vayan sin nuestra licencia á descubrir al mar Oceano, ni á las islas é tierra-firme que en él hasta agora son descubiertas é se descubrieren."—NAVARRETE, Vol. II., doc. cxxxix., p. 258.

we see two of Columbus' own officers, one of whom, Alonso Medel, had been the master of the *Niña* during the second voyage of discovery, elope with two armed vessels equipped by the Crown, and of which they were in command. Disregarding the orders of Columbus, and surreptitiously, this Medel, with Bartolomé Colin, set sail for unknown regions. When they returned to Cadiz, Columbus asked Their Majesties to institute legal proceedings, on the plea that the bold adventurers had been guilty, to use Navarrete's expressions, of "viages arbitrarios."¹⁴ We do not know where those truant mariners went, but they certainly avoided the transatlantic ports and coasts visited by licensed Spanish ships and officials.

Later, February 4, 1500, we see another instance of the kind, when Ferdinand and Isabella charter three vessels for the purpose of overtaking in the open sea two ships which had sailed unlawfully from Seville to the New World.¹⁵ It is worthy of notice that they belonged to a Genoese, Francesco de Rivarolla, the friend and banker of Christopher Columbus.

It is plain that under the circumstances, unlicensed adventurers eschewed, as much as possible, the localities where they ran the risk of meeting with caravels sailing under the royal flag, or the points of the coast already exploited by duly-authorized traders and seafaring men. This would lead them to unknown parts, the secret of which they kept to themselves, or marked on maps intended exclusively for the information of their employers. If, according to probabilities, in scouring west of the Antillies they sighted the north-east coast of America, or any portion of it, we can well realise how geographical information gathered during such secret and dangerous voyages may have remained unknown to the pilots and cosmographers of the Spanish Crown, and, as a matter of course, failed to figure on the official charts of the Sevillian Hydrography.

Those facts will certainly be viewed by just critics as indicating several of the various sources whence may have been derived the cartographical data which appear on the Lusitano-Germanic maps, and constitute the subject of the present chapter. As Humboldt justly observes:

¹⁴ *Real provision á instancia de Cristobal Colon*:— NAVARRETE, Vol. III., doc. xxxv., p. 507.

¹⁵ *Real cedula para prender a Francisco Riverol y*

Juan Sanchez, con tres buques para ir en busca de dos carabelas con que habian salido sin licencia.—NAVARRETE, Vol. III., doc. xlii., p. 513.

“Les documents officiels, ceux qui n'ont enrégistré que les expéditions faites aux frais du gouvernement espagnol, ne nous offrent pas un certitude absolue qu'à une époque donnée les découvertes n'aient été poussées que jusqu'à telle ou telle limite. Il existait à Séville et à Lisbonne des notions répandues par des voyageurs clandestins:—The official documents, that is, those which have recorded solely expeditions undertaken at the cost of the Spanish government, do not afford positive assurance that at certain times discoveries were not carried beyond this or that limit. There were current at Seville and Lisbon notions spread by clandestine navigators.”¹⁶

And, as to the voyages themselves, let us recall the statement of Lopez de Gomara, who was official chronicler of the Indies :

“Entendiendo cuán grandisimas tierras eran las que Cristóbal Colon descubria, fueron muchos á continuar el descubrimiento de todas, unos a su costa, otros à la del Rey, y todos pensando enriquecer, ganar fama y medrar con los reyes. Pero como los mas dellos no hicieron sino descubrir y gastarse, no quedó memoria de todos, que yo sepa, especialmente de los que navegaron hacia el norte, costeano los bacallaos y tierra del Labrador:—Many undertook to continue and complete the discoveries initiated by Christopher Columbus; some at their own cost, others at the King's expence, hoping thereby to become rich and famous. . . . But, as most of these who made discoveries were ruined thereby, there is no recollection left of any of them, so far as I know, particularly those who steered northward, coasting the Bacallaos region and Labrador.”¹⁷

We do not know what the day may bring forth ; but, in the present state of the question and of our knowledge of facts and documents, the critical historian of maritime discovery is justified in considering the north-western delineations in the Cantino planisphere as representing a continental region really existing. Now, what is that country ? Necessarily a portion of the Atlantic shores of the present United States, shown now to have been discovered, visited, named, and described so far back as the close of the fifteenth century.

¹⁶ GOMARA, *Historia de las Indias*, VEDIA'S edition, p. 169, has a positive statement to the same effect.
Vol. I., p. 177. HERRERA, *Decad. I.*, lib. vi., cap. xvi.,

¹⁷ HUMBOLDT, *Examen critique*, Vol. II., p. 358.

CHAPTER IX.

THE conclusions which we have just expressed are based, geographically speaking, upon the existence in the Cantino chart of a north-western continental region, which, as has already been stated, corresponds with the east coast of North America, from Florida to about the Delaware or Hudson river. Yet it must be confessed that the representation is only general and approximate, with latitudes and longitudes very inexact,—not more so, however, than are the configurations and positions of other parts of the New World in all the maps and charts of the time.

To discuss the bearing of such geographical data, we must not, therefore, take as a guide the scales which are inscribed in detail on several of them. Else we would have to place, for instance, Cuba by 30° — 38° north latitude, instead of $19^{\circ} 48'$ — $23^{\circ} 11'$, which is its true situation. But we may nevertheless take that island for a starting point, as it is a reality ascertained practically by navigators of the period. In other words, the historian of maritime discovery can find no surer basis than such a point, and use it somewhat as we employ initial meridians for measuring distances.

Under this aspect, the reader will notice that in Cantino the southern terminus of the continental land in question is about one degree south of the north-westernmost cape of Cuba. The explorations of the unknown navigators which have been discussed in the preceding chapters must be taken, therefore, as not having extended further south than that point, according to the data used in 1501–1502 by Lisbon cartographers, which is the time when the Cantino chart was constructed.

Now, were those voyages continued after that period, particularly in a southern direction, and, if so, do we possess traces of such efforts?

As the reader will see it proved graphically and otherwise in our description of the Lusitano-Germanic maps and globes, not only do we possess geographical documents which exhibit a progression of that character, but the latter is so positive that its elements could be resorted to by us as a criterion for classifying and determining the origin of several important categories of maps of the sixteenth century.

For the present, we will cite two examples.

In the mappamundi of Johann Ruysch, that continental region indicates, on the contrary, at the point where in Cantino it is made to end, a large gulf, the borders of which carry the configuration five degrees further south, to the tropic of Cancer.

In the planisphere of Nicolay de Canerio, the continental land, after exhibiting the aforesaid gulf of Ruysch, continues the coast uninterruptedly southward fifteen degrees, with peculiar profiles, and an extremely large island or peninsula, imparting to these additional configurations the appearance of the Gulf of Mexico, and of the Yucatanic country.

Who were the navigators, when they visited that coast, and what are exactly the shores embraced in those mysterious expeditions, no one can tell. True it is that in Canerio the area is bordered at the north and at the south by Spanish flags, and that in several of the early Lusitano-Germanic globes the word *Parias* is inscribed across the new and supplementary region. But this is only an interpretation of German cosmographers, who identified, we do not know on what grounds, the country discovered by Christopher Columbus in his third voyage, with the land which was certainly nameless on their prototype. Were it otherwise, Nicolay de Canerio, who sets forth the most numerous nomenclature to be found in that class of geographical monuments, could not have failed to insert likewise the name of *Parias* on his additional configuration. Meanwhile, it is enough for us to see, in the prolongation of that coast, evidence that the exploration of the same sea-boards was continued in the first few years of the sixteenth century to more than 15° south of the latitude of Cuba.

BOOK SIXTH.

Bimini, Florida, and the Gulf Shore.

1511-1521.

CHAPTER I.

WE have now reached a new series of explorations to the north coast, and tread on historical grounds; that is, where chronicles and histories contemporary of the events can be consulted. It does not follow, however, that the chain of documents is unbroken, or of such a precise character as to enable critics to trace accurately or in detail the progress of maritime discovery in the north-western regions. On the contrary, a number of geographical data are still hidden from our view, particularly for the period which elapsed between the origin of the facts deduced from the configurations in the chart of Canerio, and those which are to be derived from the rudimentary map of Peter Martyr.

The documents begin only with the first expedition of Ponce de Leon to Florida. But previously, efforts, different from those which are implied by the configurations of the Lusitano-Germanic maps, were certainly made by vessels carrying the Spanish flag, to probe the Atlantic Ocean to the north-west of Cuba, in search of new countries.

The reasons of a geographical character which prompted such attempts can easily be ascertained. The Castilian pilots knew of the existence of a north-western continent, not only by the great maps of Juan de la Cosa, but also by Portuguese charts; for it is impossible that mappamundi of the type of Cantino and Canerio, which could be so easily obtained in Lisbon, and circulated in Italy and Germany, should have remained unknown to the Spaniards. The land, however, which haunted their imagination was supposed to be of a different type altogether, as the probability is that, with the conception of the value of things then prevalent, what they knew of our east coast was but little alluring to

adventurers who were only in search of gold, pearls, and spice. They seem to have been led by the hope of discovering a number of imaginary islands, of which the Lucayan archipelago had given them a foretaste and idea, but surmised to be richer. And it was in their repeated endeavours to reach those insular regions that several bold mariners before Ponce de Leon, and afterwards that navigator himself, landed in Florida, which they then, and for a number of years, considered to be a mere island, though of vast size.

But a distinction must be established at the outset. Different points of the Floridean peninsula were thus explored; these the Spanish pilots and cartographers believed to belong to separate islands.

The "*Isla Bimini*," "*Bimene*," or "*Beniny*," which seems to correspond with the most southern part of our Florida, was first seen and named, according to current information derived from the Lucayan Indians.

"*Boiuca*," or "*Agnaneo*," appears to be some point of the east coast, already surmised to belong to a continental region.

"*Cautio*" is probably the same country as "*Boiuca*."

Finally, we have "*Isla Florida*," "*Terra Florida*," and "*La Florida*," visited by Ponce de Leon, and embracing the entire apex of the peninsula, with the lowest portion of the coast, east and west.

Those differences are shown by the documents, as well as by contemporary accounts which will be discussed in the following pages.

The distinction between "Bimini" and "Florida" we find established from the start. The letters patent granted to Ponce de Leon, February 23, 1512,¹ refer only to the projected discovery of the island of Biminy or Beniny: "el descubrimiento de la isla de Beniny."

When the discovery of what he calls "Florida" has been accomplished, Ponce still believes that there is another island besides, called "Benini" or "Bimini," and before returning home sends to search after it one of his captains, Juan Perez de Ortubia, who afterwards brings news to Porto Rico to the effect that the search has proved successful.

He then petitions the King of Aragon for leave to settle the newly-discovered islands, and the new letters patent granted to him on that occasion explicitly refer to two separate isles: "ir a poblar á la Isla de Beniny é la Isla Florida." Nay, the Turin map (*circa* 1523), and the Weimar charts of 1527 and 1529, after naming our Floridian peninsula

¹ *Capitulacion con Juan Ponce de Leon sobre el descubrimiento de la isla de Beniny. Burgos à veinte y tres de Febrero de mil quinientos é doce años.*—In the *Documentos ineditos de Indias*, Vol. XXII., p. 26.

"*Florida*," inscribe, by about 2° longitude of its east coast, a small group of islets with the legends "*Bemene*" and "*Tierra de Bimini*," which are unquestionably intended for the island or region claimed to have been discovered by Ortubia after parting with Ponce de Leon.

It follows that the maps which set forth to the north of Cuba a configuration, named "*Bimini*," exhibit cartographical data anterior to the discovery of Ponce de Leon.

It is only when we see the name "*Isla Florida*," "*La Florida*," or "*Terra Florida*," that the delineation positively refers to the famous expedition of 1512 or 1513.

Notwithstanding our efforts and researches in the archives of the Indies at Seville, we have failed to find any document calculated to throw more light upon that period of the history of maritime discovery, and elucidate the new series of clandestine as well as of official voyages which form the subject of the present chapter.

We feel constrained, however, to discuss the elements which serve to constitute the chronology of that class of expeditions, which all sailed under the Spanish flag, and led to the possession of the country extending from Florida to the Baccalaos.

Those elements are confused, sometimes contradictory, even when borrowed from each other; whilst, in certain cases, separate expeditions are combined into one, and in others a single one mixes details belonging to several voyages. We will now proceed to analyse that category of explorations in the order, not of their real date, but of the years ascribed to them by historians.

If, when referring indirectly to that class of voyages, we accept the date of 1511, nay, the beginning of that year, given by Las Casas, the earliest reference to an expedition undertaken by Spaniards, openly, to the regions north of Cuba, is the following :

"Por esto tiempo [al principio del año de 1511] se juntaban en compañía y armaban uno ó dos navios ó mas, para ir á rebuscar los inocents que por las isletas donde moraban Entre otros se juntaron siete vecinos de las villas de la Vega y Sanctiago, á lo que creo, y no faltaban mercaderes que les ayudaban los cuales armaron dos navios, metiendo en cada uno 50 ó 60 hombres, Salieron de Puerto de Plata, llegan á las islas de los Lucayos, pero no hallaron nada. . . . Acordaron de se ir hacia el Norte a descubrir terra y vieron cierto tierra á la cual se allegaron. Esta, cierto, fué la tierra y costa de mar, de la que agora llamamos la Florida. . . . Llegó á este puerto de Santo Domingo con su presa:—At that time [in the beginning of the present year 1511] a

partnership was formed, and two or more ships were equipped to go and abduct the innocent [Indians] who inhabited the small islands. Among others, seven inhabitants of the towns of La Vega and Santiago, as I believe, formed such an association, and no merchants were wanting to supply them with goods. They equipped two vessels, with from 50 to 60 men on board of each. Sailing from Puerto de Plata, they reached the Lucayas islands, in which nothing was found. They then determined to go north, in search of lands . . . and they saw a certain country, where they landed. This was unquestionably the country and seaboard which we call Florida. . . . They returned to Santo Domingo with their booty.”²

Las Casas adds that this relatively successful voyage gave Ponce de Leon the idea of the expedition which he undertook soon afterwards. Such a statement, if exact, would confirm the early date given by the humane bishop of Chiapas for that predatory enterprise. This can also be said of the first phrase, *sub anno* 1512, in Herrera’s often quoted account of Ponce de Leon’s discovery of Florida :

“I como havia nueva que se hallaban tierras á la vanda del Norte acordo de ir a descubrir acia aquella parte :—Having received news that lands had been found at the North, Juan Ponce de Leon decided to go and make discoveries in those parts.”³

Las Casas supports his narrative by a reference to Peter Martyr, whom he represents as having mentioned the *same* facts: “Deste salto hace mencion Pedro Martir.” In the second chapter of the Seventh Decade there is actually the following statement :

“Cupiditate egitur habendi lucaios, more venatorum qui per nemora montana perque pelustria loca feras insectantur, ita quidam Hispani duobus nauigiis septem virorum impensa constructis, ex oppido Portus platae dicto, in Hispaniolæ sito latere, qua septentrionem spectat, ad Lucaias homo cupii causa, anno ab hinc tertio transfretarunt . . . Ierunt ergo illi, vestigarunt universas has insulas, præda non reperta, quod eorum conuicini iandiu ex amussim exploratus depopulati fuerant. Ne consociis irrisui forent si vacui ad Hispaniolam reuerterentur direxere proras ad Arctoon bootem. Aiunt plarique mentitos, qui sua sponte dixerint elegisse illud iter, sed iniquunt ab exorta et biduo perseuerata repentina tempestate fuisse raptatos, ad eius terræ, quam describemus, prospectum, viso a longe celso promontorio :—Prompted by the lust of possessing [?] the Lucayas, the Spaniards, after the mode of hunters who pursue wild beasts across forests, mountains, and swamps, sailed from the town of Porto Plata, on the north side of Hispaniola, facing the Lucayas, with two ships constructed at the cost of seven individuals, in search of men [*i. e.*, to enslave]. That occurred three years ago . . . They then scoured all those islands without finding any prey, because the neighbours [*i. e.*, the Spaniards living nearer] had long before explored the said islands, and completely dispeopled them. So as not to become the laughing-stock of their partners if they returned to Hispaniola with empty hands, they turned the prows of their vessels northward. Those who say that they

² LAS CASAS, lib. ii., cap. xx., pp. 457-459.

³ HERRERA, Decad. I., lib. ix., cap. x., Vol. I., p. 246.

selected such a route of their own accord speak falsely. [On the contrary] they were driven thither by a storm which burst suddenly, and lasted two days. It carried them to the land which we describe [above], and of which they had seen from afar the high promontory."⁴

But Peter Martyr, as we have just seen, states that the event occurred "three years" before the time when he was then writing. The account is to be found in the Seventh Decade, which bears no date. We know, however, from his correspondence, that on the 7th of March, 1525,⁵ he had just finished writing that Decade; whilst book ix. of the preceding one is dated July 14, 1524. The event, therefore, is not of the year 1511, as Las Casas says, but must have happened at least ten years later, that is, three years before 1524—1525, in 1521—1522. And what complicates the divergence is the remark of Peter Martyr, that in writing the above account, which is addressed to Francesco Maria Sforza, he has searched the archives for unpublished documents to send to him; thus giving Sforza to understand that his account is based upon documentary proofs.⁶

It may be replied that few authors have ever been addicted in a higher degree to interpolations than Peter Martyr,⁷ and he may have inserted in his Seventh Decade, notes prepared when writing the Second. It can also be said that the account of Las Casas contains one or two particulars, such, for instance, as La Vega and Sanctiago being the places where those adventurers lived, which, not being in Peter Martyr, might indicate that he had consulted a different source of information. Unfortunately the bulk of his statement is, beyond a doubt, taken from the Decades. The circumstances that when the depredators landed in that region the inhabitants fled, but the Spaniards succeeded in seizing a man and a woman, whom they took on board; that these having returned ashore, and related how well they had been treated, the King sent to the Spaniards fifty men loaded with victuals; that many natives were abducted, carried to the port of Santo Domingo, and no punishment was inflicted on the captors by the local authorities; that the men had a whiter

⁴ ANGHIERA, Decad. VII., cap. ii., p. 469, of the edition of Hakluyt.

⁵ "Hæc latius in particularibus rebus Indiæ, de quibus propediem duas Decades habebitis; ad Mediolani Ducem directam unam, ad Pontificem alteram,—viii. Calendas Martii, M.D., xxv."—*Epist. DCCCVI.*, p. 480. The Seventh Decade is the only one which is dedicated to SFORZA. The Eighth is dedicated to CLEMENT VII., although containing the date of 1526 (p. 603, Hakluyt's ed.).

⁶ "Licet ea nunc ego scribam, per Camillum Gillenum efflagitatus, ut e scriniis archetyporum aliqua nondum emissa, de his inuentis ad excellentiam tuam dirigenda perquirem."—*Ubi supra.* There are no traces at this day, in the Spanish archives, of such documents.

⁷ Joannes VASÆUS, *Chronicon rerum memorabilium Hispaniæ*, cap. iv., apud VOSSIUS, *De Historicis Latin.*, lib. iii., p. 671; but see the more recent works of HEIDENHEIMER, GERICK, and BERNAYS.

complexion than other tribes of Indians, while the women were clothed with lions' skins well prepared, and other details, are all given by Peter Martyr, and in the Seventh Decade referred to explicitly by Las Casas. It is certain therefore that this incursion on our east coast is of a later date than Las Casas asserts, and that the account which he gives and the one to be found in the beginning of the second chapter of Peter Martyr's Seventh Decade, are one and the same.

The first positive mention of countries to the west of the Lucayas islands visited by Spanish mariners about that time, is to be found in the map which accompanies certain issues of the first edition of certain works of Peter Martyr, published at Seville in 1511.⁸

On the verso of that map there is an epistle addressed to Cardinal Ximenez on the importance of illustrating the text of the Decades with a cartographical representation. It contains the following sentence :

“Ad septentrionem vero miras etiam terras micosque tractus reperunt quorum vestigia cerne dextrorsuz sculpta :—At the north there have been discovered marvellous countries and lands, of which, on the recto [of the present leaf] see the engraved representation.”

The country alluded to is evidently the region exhibited north of Cuba, running parallel with that island, and bearing the legend: “Isla de beimeni parte.” Eastwardly the coast is made to stretch towards the north, but without assuming the peninsular profile which is so striking in the geographical appearance of Florida. At first sight we should be disposed to dismiss it from the present inquiry, as seeming to be an hypothetical delineation, based upon the fables which circulated then and before concerning the Bimini island and its Fountain of Youth. But the reference to the “northern country actually discovered,” makes it incumbent on us to ascertain the date when the notice was written, when the map was engraved, and what land it purports to represent.

The First Decade, which forms part of the volume containing the map, must have been entirely written before January 6, 1511; since in the privilege bearing the latter date, Queen Juana recites a statement from Peter Martyr to the effect that he had then composed certain writings, one of which treated particularly of the transatlantic discoveries :

“Especialmente vn libro en que se contienen las cosas que ay en el mar oceano y sus islas nueuamente halladas:—Especially a book containing the things which relate to the oceanic sea and its islands recently discovered.”

⁸ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 66; *Additamenta*, No. 41.

As to the work itself, it bears the imprint: "Impressum Hispali . . . per Jacobum corumberger . . . Anno Millessimo quingentessimo XI., mense Aprili:—Printed at Seville, by Jacob Corumberger, in the year 1511, the 11th of April."

The text, however, does not contain any reference to the discovery reported on the back of the map. We must infer that the event came to the knowledge of the author after the book was published.

We know of seven copies of the edition of 1511 containing that map, five of which are, or were until lately, in their original vellum binding; but it should be said that the double leaf which contains both the map and a table of errata (not to be found in the mapless copies) is without signatures. This typographical peculiarity, and the absence of the map and table of errata from several copies of one of the issues, with a different title page, can be interpreted only as an indication that the double leaf was printed to accompany a later issue, or that it was simply added to the unsold copies.

In either case, the engraving of the map and the printing of the additional leaves, must have followed the publication of the work itself; but scarcely more than a year or eighteen months afterwards, as would be the case now. Besides, so early as 1516, Peter Martyr gave at Alcala a much enlarged edition of his work, containing two more Decades. He was most probably already engaged in preparing the edition for the press in 1512. Under the circumstances, it is difficult to admit that he or his publisher would have assented, after that date, to a new issue of the *editio princeps*, improved by the addition of the new leaves and map, and thus forestalled the sale of the forthcoming second edition. The map, therefore, can scarcely have been published after the year 1512.

Now, what discoveries does the map represent; what is the allusion inscribed on the verso?

The first time when Peter Martyr, after the publication of that supplement, had occasion to refer again to Spanish discoveries north of the Antillies, was December 4, 1514, which is the date of the last book of his Second Decade, published in 1516. The statement is in these words:

"Inter quas ad lequas ab Hispaniola quinque ac XX supra tercentum vnam esse insulam fabulantur, qui eam explorarunt ad intima, nomine *Boiuca*, alias *Agnaneo*, fonte perenni aded nobilem, ut eius fontis aqua epota senes reiuuenescant:—Emonge the which [certeyne lands founde towarde the Northe syde of Hispaniola] there is an Ilande, about three hundredreth and XXV. leagues from Hispaniola, as they say whiche haue searched the same, named

Boiua or *Agnaneo*, in whiche is a continual sprynge of runnyng water of such maruelous vertue, that the water therof beinge dronk, perhappes with sume dyete maketh owld men younge ageyne."⁹

The absence of the typical word "Beimini," replaced here by "Boiua or Agnaneo," enables the critic to see in the above passage, a corroboration of the statement printed on the verso of the map. But the reference to a discovery accomplished to the north of Hispaniola indicates maritime efforts crowned with success in those regions, and efforts, consequently, different as to the time and place.

Peter Martyr, six years later, in his *Enchiridion*, written in 1520 and published the year following, gave an account of a discovery accomplished to the west of the Lucayas islands. But this time it is a description of the first voyage of Ponce de Leon, which is expressly stated to have been to "Florida," without mentioning in any way, either "Beimini," "Boiua," or "Agnaneo."

"Putant hanc esse insulam [quam?] Ioannes quidam Pontius, unius classiculæ præfectus adiuit, et perturbatos reliquit; fugant ab accolis; Floridamque appellauerat, quia Resurrectionis die eam insulam reppererint; uocat Hispanus pascha floridum resurrectionis diem:—It is thought that that island is the one which one Juan Ponce, the commander of a small squadron, visited, and left abruptly, being driven out by the inhabitants. He called it Florida, because that island was discovered by him on the day of Resurrection, which in Spain they call Flowery Easter."¹⁰

Peter Martyr, therefore, gives three accounts of discoveries accomplished to the west and north-west of the West Indies, and, as it seems in his opinion, in three different localities and at different dates. The first, before 1512, in "Beimini;" the second, before 1514, in "Boiua" or "Agnaneo;" the third, after the latter, in the country which Ponce de Leon called "Florida."

⁹ ANGHIERA, Decad. II., cap. x., p. 175.

¹⁰ *Petrus Martyr de Insulis nuper inventis, et de moribus incolarum earundem*, in the Basle edition of 1533 of the Decades, f^o. 71, A.

CHAPTER II.

COMING to the actual discovery of Florida by Ponce de Leon, the account given by Peter Martyr is so brief, that the historian who next to him mentions that memorable expedition, must be first interrogated. We allude to Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo.

Oviedo was well acquainted personally with Juan Ponce de Leon; and as they doubtless met in Spain in 1515, when both returned home from the West Indies,¹ we were led to infer that he obtained from the discoverer himself, and very soon after the event, information on the subject. Unfortunately, the account which he gives in his *Historia General de las Indias* is also very meagre, and such as could be gathered at that time from mere hearsay. It is as follows:

“Johan Ponçe acordó de armar é fué con dos caravelas por la vanda del Norte, é descubrió las islas de Bimini, que están en la parte septentrional de la isla Fernandina; y estonçes se divulgó aquella fábula de la fuente que haçia rejuvenesçer ò tornar mançebos los hombres viejos: esto fue el año de mill é quinientos y doçe. . . Tuvo notiçia de la Tierra-Firme é vidola é puso nombre á una parte della que entra en la mar, como una manga, por espaçio de çient leguas de longitud, é bien çinquenta de latitud, y llamóla la *Florida*. La punta ó promonterio de la qual está en veynte é çinco grados de la equinoçial:—Juan Ponce decided to equip [an expedition] and went with two caravels northward and discovered the Bimini islands, which are to the north of the isle of Fernandina [Cuba]. Then was ascertained the fabulous character of the fountain which rejuvenated or restored to youth old men. This happened in the year 1512. . . He had notice of and saw the continent, to a part of which that advances into the sea like a wedge, he gave the name of *Florida*, which covers a space of 100 leagues in longitude, and at least 50 in latitude. The point or promontory of the same is by 25° north of the equator.”²

Bernal Diaz was in the West Indies soon after the discovery of Florida, and landed in that country in 1517. His brief reference to the event, which must have been derived from the pilot of Ponce de Leon on that occasion, as he was the same who conducted the ship on which Diaz had taken passage, contains only one or two details not given either by Peter Martyr or by Oviedo.

¹ OVIEDO left the New World in October, 1513, and reached Seville in December following.—Amador DE LOS RIOS's introduction to his edition of the *Historia* of

Oviedo, Madrid, 1851-1855, 4to., Vol. I., p. xxvi.

² OVIEDO, *Historia General*, lib. xvi., cap. xi., Vol. I., p. 482.

“Llegados que fuimos á tierra, cerca de un estero que entraba en la mar, el piloto [Anton de Alaminos] reconoció la costa, y dijo que habia estado en aquel paraje, cuando vino con Juan Ponce de Leon a descubrir aquellas tierras, y allí le habian dado guerra los indios:—When we landed near an estuary opening in the sea, the pilot [Anton de Alaminos] recognized the coast, and told us that ten or twelve years previous, he had visited those parts when accompanying Ponce de Leon in the discovery of the country, and that the Indians had attacked them.”³

The date is erroneous, as it would give for the expedition the year 1507 or 1505. But the statement confirms the fight with the Indians, and gives the name of the pilot, viz.: Anton de Alaminos. Another contemporary historian is Bartolomé de Las Casas. His account is peculiar:

“Al olor, por ventura, desta nueva, en este tiempo, al principio del año de [1]511, debió moverse Juan Ponce de Leon . . . Este armó dos navios . . . y viniendo hacia el Norte desta isla Española, pasando las islas de los Lucayos, quiso tomar mas arriba à mano izquierda del viaje que los dichos dos navios habian llevado, y a pocos dias vido tierra, y està fuè un cabo muy grande que sale á la mar del Norte, hacia el Sur, mas de noventa leguas . . . llegóse á reconocella y pusole por nombre la tierra Florida, porque debiera parecerle fresca y florida como esté en 25° . . . Esta misma tierra llamó el mismo Juan Ponce *Bimine*, no supe de dónde o por qué causa tal nombre le puso, o de dónde le vino, ó si la llamaron asi los indios, por que no creo que saltó en tierra ni tuvo deste viaje habla con indios. . . Tornosé á la isla de Sant Juan . . . y de allí fuè à Castilla . . . Torno de Castilla muy favorecido con titulo de Adelante de *Bimine*, que él llamó por otro nombre la Florida . . . Llegado á la isla de Sant Juan, tomo todo lo que habia menester, y vino a Santo Domingo donde se rehizo de gente y navios. Partiósse deste puerto en el año de [1]512, váse a su *Bimine* . . . los de *Bimine* defendieron su patria . . . hirieron con una flecha al Juan Ponce . . . Dejasen la tierra y lo llevasen à la Isla de Cuba . . . al puerto del Principe . . . y pasó desta vida . . . :—The indications springing from that news, at the time, in the beginning of the year 1511, could not but induce Juan Ponce de Leon . . . He equipped two ships . . . and sailing north of Hispaniola, passing the Lucayas islands, directed his course more to the left than had done the two vessels,⁴ and in a few days saw land; and that was a very extensive cape extending from the north southwardly into the seas, more than 90 leagues. He went to examine that land, and gave it the name of *Tierra Florida*, because he must have found it cool and flowery, being by 25° . . . Juan Ponce named that country [also] *Bimine*. It is not known whence or for what reason he gave that name, where he borrowed it, and whether it was used by the Indians; for I do not believe that he went ashore, nor had a parley with the Indians in that voyage . . . He returned to the island of Sant Juan [Porto Rico]; thence he went to Castile, from which he came back with the title of Governor of *Bimine*, which he [also] called La Florida . . . When in Sant Juan, he took all that was necessary, and went to Santo Domingo, where he engaged ships and men. Sailing from that port in the year 1512, he went to his *Bimine*, the inhabitants of which defended their home, and wounded Juan Ponce with an arrow . . . Leaving that country, he was brought to Puerto Principe, where he died.”⁵

³ Bernal DIAZ, *Verdadera Historia*, cap. v., p. 5.
⁴ He refers to the expedition cited *supra*, p. 136.

⁵ LAS CASAS, *Historia de las Indias*; lib. ii., cap. xx., Vol. III., p. 460.

That account is evidently made up of general notions, and is erroneous in many respects. The expedition could not have been undertaken in 1511; Ponce de Leon did not give to the country which he then discovered the name of Bimine; he actually landed on the coast; and had even a fight with the Indians. Finally, the second part of the account did not occur in 1512, but nine years afterwards, in the course of the second expedition in 1521. Las Casas, therefore, adds nothing authentic to the account of Oviedo. The only new fact is, that Ponce de Leon died in Puerto Principe, and Las Casas states it in a somewhat dubious form: "y creo, si no me he olvidado." The other historians say only: "vino a morir á la isla de Cuba."

As to Gomara, his short mention is evidently borrowed from the above quoted passages of Peter Martyr and Oviedo, including other details found in the chronicle of the latter, such, for instance, as the intercession on behalf of Ponce de Leon by Pero Nuñez de Guzman, to obtain for him the title of Adelantado of Bimini, and Governor of Florida. As to the assertion that his second expedition consisted of three ships equipped in Seville in 1515, it is clearly erroneous. The leading details of the account of Gomara are as follows:

"Armó dos carabellas y fué á buscar la isla *Boyuca*, donde decian los indios estar la fuente que tornaba mozos a los viejos. . . . Entró en Bimini, y descubrió la Florida en Pascua Florida del año [15]12, y por esso le puso aquel nombre:—He equipped two ships, and went in search of the *Bayuca* island, where the Indians said was the fountain which rejuvenated old men. . . . He entered Bimini, and discovered Florida, on Easter-day of the year 1512; and for that reason gave it the name."⁶

All, therefore, which the historians of the sixteenth century knew concerning that expedition consisted in these few facts, viz.: In the year 1512, Juan Ponce de Leon, with two caravels, went in search of the Bimine islands and of the Fountain of Youth. That, having landed in a certain north-western country on Easter-day, he named it *La Florida*, and explored the region during more than six months. Being driven out by the natives, he returned home. His pilot was Anton de Alaminos.

Those historians possessed no original information whatever as regards the landfall and points visited. Their geographical details and latitudes are all borrowed from maps of the Sevillian Hydrography current in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, and now represented by the

⁶ GOMARA, *Historia de las Indias*, cap. xlvi., p. 181.

Weimar charts, the oldest of which, although depicted so late as 1527, bears neither legends nor designation of places on the east coast. This may be the reason why Oviedo, who in that respect often takes pains to be technical, does not cite a single name in any of the three instances in which he makes mention of the event.⁷ If in other parts of the *Historia General* we find several appellations relative to Florida, they are all borrowed from Chaves' map, which is of the year 1536.

Half-a-century elapsed before historians added new details to the brief accounts above cited. They were published for the first time by Herrera, in his celebrated *Historia de los Hechos de los Castellanos*,⁸ usually known under the title of *Decades*, first published in 1601.

Decade I. contains a detailed narrative of the earliest of the two voyages of Ponce de Leon to Florida. It is so minute, and enriched with so many dates and geographical descriptions, that Oscar Peschel ascribed them to the original diary or log-book, which he thought Herrera must have seen and used.⁹ Be that as it may, his account has been adopted since by all historians as the basis of their accounts of the discovery of Florida.

Using Herrera's own words, that memorable voyage can be condensed as follows :

“ *Sub anno 1512.*

Como Juan Ponce de Leon havia nueva que se hallaron Tierras a la Vanda del Norte, acuerdo de ir a descubrir acia aquella parte.

Salio de la Isla [de San Juan] Jueves en la tarde à tres de Março [del año 1512] partiendo del el Puerto de San German.

Salio al Norueste, quarto del Norte. El Martes à ocho del dicho [Março], llegaron à los baxos de Babueca, a vna Isla, que dicen del Viejo, que esta en veinte i dos Grados i medio.

Otro dia surgieron en vna Isleta de los Lucayos, dicha Caycòs. Luego surgieron en otra, dicha la Yagùna, en veinte i quatro Grados.

A los once del mismo, llegaron a otra Isla, dicha Amaguayo, i alli estuvieron al reparo: pasaron a la Isla, dicha Maneguà, que esta en veinte i quatro Grados i medio.

A los catorce llegaron a Guanahani, que està en veinte i cinco Grados, i quarenta Minutos.

Partieron de aqui corriendo por el Norueste, i Domingo à 27 que era dia de Pascua de Resurreccion, que comunmente dicen de Florida, vieron una Isla, i no la reconocieron

⁷ OVIEDO, *loc. cit.*, and lib. xxxvi., cap. i., Vol. III., p. 621; Vol. I., p. 486.

⁸ HERRERA, *Decad. I.*, lib. ix., cap. xi., Vol. I., p. 247.

⁹ “Herrera ist der einzige Schriftsteller, welcher genauere Angaben über Ponce's Entdeckung besitzt und

zwar musz er ein Schiffsjournal vor sich gehabt haben.”—PESCHEL, *Geschichte des Zeitalters*, p. 521, note 2. We must add that there are no traces of such a document, either in the archives of the Indies or in the Muñoz collection of copies.

i el Lunes à 28 corrieron quince Leguas por la misma via, i el Miercoles anduvieron de la misma manera ; i despues, con mal tiempo, hasta dos de Abril, corriendo à Luesnorueste, iendo desminuiendo el Aqua hasta nueve braças, à vna Legua de Tierra, que estaba en treinta Grados, i ocho Minutos, corriendo por luengo de Costa, buscando Puerto, i la Noche surgieron cerca de Tierra, à ocho braças de Agua. Y pensando que esta Tierra era Isla, la llamaron la Florida.

Salio à Tierra à tomar lengua, i posesion.

Viernes à ocho hicieron Vela, corrieron por la misma via ; i Sabado navegaron al Sur, quarta al Sueste : i navegando por el mismo rumbo hasta los veinte de Abril, descubrieron vnos Bohios [?] de Indios, adonde surgieron.

Martes à catorce [de Junio] acordaron de bolver a la Española, i a San Juan.

Surgieron en vnas Isletas que son en los Baxos de los Lucayos a diez i ocho de Julio.

A veinte i cinco de Julio salieron en demanda de Bimini . . .

Encontraron Diego Miruelo, piloto, con vn Barco de la Españols, que iba a sus Aventuras. Salieron Sabado a seis de Agosto, por donde havian ido.

Partio el Navio de Juan Perez de Ortubia, con Anton de Alaminos por Piloto, a diez y siete de Septiembre, i Juan Ponce otro dia para su viaje, i en veinte i vn Dias llegó a reconocer a San Juan :—*In the year 1512.* As Juan Ponce de Leon had news that land in the region of the north had been discovered, he determined to go and make discoveries in those parts.

Leaving the island of San Juan [Porto Rico], Thursday evening, March 3rd, he sailed from the port of Saint Germain.

Sailing in the direction of the north-west, a quarter-wind north, they reached on Tuesday, March 8th, among the Babucca reefs, an island called Old Man's island, by 22° 30'.

The day following, they came in sight of a Lucayan islet, called Caycos, and then another, called La Yaguña, by 24°.

On the 11th, they arrived at Amaguayo island, and stopped for repairs. Thence they went to the island called Manegua, by 24° 30'.

On the 14th, they reached Guanahani, by 25° 40'.

From that place they shaped their course to the north-west, and on Sunday, 27th, which is the day of the commemoration of Resurrection, commonly called Flowery Easter, they came in sight of an island, but did not go ashore ; and on Monday, 28th, they sailed fifteen leagues on the same tack. Wednesday [30th] they sailed in like manner, and also, afterwards with bad weather, W.-N.-W., until April 2nd ; the water becoming so shallow as to be only nine fathoms deep, one league from the shore, by 30° 8'. They continued coasting, looking for a harbour, and in the night approached the coast, with eight fathoms deep. Thinking that it was an island, they named it La Florida.

They went ashore, and took possession [Sunday, April 3rd?].

Friday, 8th, they set sail in the same direction [northwardly?], and Saturday [9th] they sailed southwardly, a quarter-wind south-east, continuing by the same rhumb until April 20th, when they landed."

The account then represents Ponce de Leon as doubling the southern cape, continuing the coasting among reefs and islets ; ranging the west

coast of the peninsula, without stating how far; and finally, June 14th, deciding to return to Porto Rico by the way of Hispaniola, but not before attempting to find Bimini.

“July 18th, they found themselves again among the Lucayan reefs.

July 25th, they sailed in search of Bimini; and met Diego Miruelo, who, with a bark from Hispaniola, was exploring on his own accord.

Saturday, August 6th, they set sail homeward; but the ship commanded by Juan Perez de Ortubia, with Anton de Alaminos as pilot, sailed [to search after Bimini], September 17th. As to Ponce de Leon he came in sight of San Juan in twenty-one days.”

In the account of Herrera, we commence to find names only when Ponce de Leon, notwithstanding his north-eastern coasting of at least two degrees, had advanced considerably in his southern course; and there are but six in all, viz.:

Nombre de la Cruz.

Cabo de Corrientes, by $28^{\circ} 15'$.

The village of *Abaioa*.

The island of *San Marta*, by 27° .

„ *Pola*, by $26^{\circ} 30'$.

The islets of *Los Martires*, by $26^{\circ} 15'$.

Only the latter name is to be found in the maps of the sixteenth century, although the Maggiollo chart of 1527, which is the first one with names on the east coast of Florida, contains not less than nine designations facing the Atlantic. These cartographical facts show that the relation published by Herrera remained unknown until his day.

It is a question with us whether we must take that account as it stands, or whether it does not betray the introduction of foreign elements of a later date. For instance, the latitudes given for every locality visited cannot have been copied from the original diary, however technical may be the statements. They were certainly borrowed from a map made fifteen years after the first voyage of Ponce de Leon to Florida. This we can show by a simple analysis.

According to Herrera, the landfall (not the disembarkation) must have been by, at most, 27° north latitude. Their first landing, he says, was by $30^{\circ} 8'$. But before reaching it, and after first seeing land, on Sunday, March 27th, Ponce ranged the coast northwardly, a certain distance not stated. On Monday, 28th, he navigated fifteen leagues more: “quince leguas por la misma via.” Tuesday, 29th, we do not know what distance

he went over; but Wednesday was like Monday: "Miercoles anduvieron de la misma manera;" which may be interpreted as yielding again fifteen leagues. He continued ranging the north-west coast until April 2nd, that is, for three days, when he reached $30^{\circ} 8'$. In other words, Ponce coasted due south of $30^{\circ} 8'$ during seven days. If we ascribe an average of only ten leagues per day, Florida appeared to his view by about 27° north latitude.

Now, the maps which represent the Bimini regions, and those which depict and name Florida for the first time, do not place any part of that country by such a low southern latitude.

As to Bimini, we have only two maps. One of these is Peter Martyr's, above described. It gives no scales for latitudes; but as the southern coast of its "Isla de Beimini" is on a line with "La Bermuda," and with an "estrecho" emerging from the eastern border of the map, intended for Gibraltar, if we take a map of the time, say Waldseemüller's (1513), the southernmost point of Peter Martyr's Bimini is by 35° .

The other map of that kind is Kunstmann No. IV., which is a Portuguese work of about the year 1519-1520. The apex of its "Tera Bimini" is by 35° — 36° . And it should be noted that this latitude is precisely the one which Nicolay de Canerio gives to the peninsula corresponding cartographically on all maps with Florida.

As regards the charts which depict and name Florida, the two earliest are the Turin planisphere and the Havre Catalan atlas.

The Turin planisphere¹⁰ inscribes the Floridian peninsula, which is duly labelled "Isla Florida," between 30° and 37° of its own scale.

The Havre atlas¹¹ places "La Florida" in a high latitude, which, however, the lack of scale prevents us from fixing in figures; but, judging from the relative position of the West India archipelago, it seems to be by about 30° .

In fact, it is only with the Sevillan charts, constructed fifteen years after the Spanish explorations of Florida, that its apex is set forth by 25° (which is about the true latitude). This shows that the first geographical conception of the countries situate to the north and north-west of the Antillies placed them in a relatively high latitude; and that, whether called "Bimini" or "Florida," they were not brought to the latitude of 25° before six or seven years after the first voyage of Ponce de Leon.

¹⁰ *Infra*, in the *Cartographia*.

¹¹ *Infra*, in the *Cartographia*.

On the other hand, that cartographical progress alone could permit Herrera to locate his landfalls as he did. Under the circumstances, it is impossible to state exactly where the landings of Ponce de Leon were effected, and the subsequent itinerary given by that historian is thereby deprived of a sure basis.

We now come to the date of the expedition. Herrera, like Oviedo, states explicitly, several times, that it was in the year 1512: "Descubriola Juan Ponce de Leon, Año de 1512."¹² If so, it is materially impossible that the landfall should have been on the 27th of March, which, he tells us, was Easter-day of that year: "Domingo à 27, que era Dia de Pascua de Resurreccion."

In the year 1512, Easter-day happened Sunday, April 11th.

Oscar Peschel, who first noticed the contradiction, assumed that the landfall was not in 1512, but in 1513, as Easter-day occurred in the latter year on the 7th of March; thus causing the various dates given in Herrera's account to agree.¹³ Perhaps this interpretation is the correct one; but, before accepting its consequences, we must call the attention of our readers to a document which, as it now stands, certainly leads to a different conclusion.

After Ponce de Leon had accomplished his discovery, he petitioned Ferdinand of Aragon for leave to settle the country. This was granted to him, and we possess a document to that effect. It begins as follows:

"El Rey. El asiento que se tomo por Nuestros mandado con vos Juan Ponce de Leon, para ir à poblar à la Isla de *Beniny* [*sic.*] è la Isla *Florida* que vos descubristes por nuestro mandado:—I, the King. The agreement which was entered into by our command with you, Juan Ponce de Leon, to go and settle the island of *Beniny*, and the island of *Florida*, which you have discovered by our command . . ."

It is evident that when that document was written, Ponce de Leon had already accomplished the discovery of Florida. Now, what date does it bear?

"Fecha en Valladolid à veinte y seis de Setiembre de mil è quinientos doce años:—Done at Valladolid on the twenty-sixth day of September of the year one thousand five hundred and twelve."¹⁴

The date is not in figures, but spelled out: "*doce*;" and the heading of that document gives it again, in Arabic numbers: "1512." It

¹² HERRERA, *Descripcion*, p. 15.

¹³ OSCAR PESCHEL, *ubi supra*.

¹⁴ *Coleccion de documentos ineditos de Indias*, Vol. XXII., p. 33, *sub anno* 1512.

follows that, according to those letters patent,—the original of which is preserved in the Archives of the Indies at Seville, and has been published in the official *Coleccion de documentos ineditos de Indias*,—Florida had already been discovered by Ponce de Leon, September 26th, 1512.

Not only is 1512 the date which has been given by Oviedo, and by Herrera himself, but it is not contradicted by the few facts which have come to our knowledge. For instance, the privilege granted to Ponce de Leon to go in search of Bimini is dated February 23rd, 1512:

“Capitulacion con Juan Ponce de Leon sobre el descubrimiento de la Isla de Bininy. Burgos, á veinte y tres de Febrero de mil quinientos è doce años:—Agreement with Juan Ponce de Leon for the discovery of the island of Bininy. Burgos, on the twenty-third day of the month of February, in the year one thousand five hundred and twelve.”¹⁵

Ponce de Leon may have commenced preparing the expedition while expecting a favourable reply to his petition, as he had such influential friends at the Court, and belonged himself to one of the noblest houses of Spain. He may also have received the authorisation in time to sail from Porto Rico and accomplish the discovery of Florida on the 11th of April, which is the date of Easter Sunday in the year 1512.

Nor is there any impossibility for the news of the successful issue reaching Spain in season to grant, on the 23rd of September of that year, the above-cited privilege solicited by Ponce de Leon, to settle the newly-discovered country. This would leave more than four months for the exploration of Florida.

We advance those hypothetical deductions simply to show that the event may well have taken place in the year 1512, as reported by all historians. But as we have not before us the original of those documents; and more especially as our proposed interpretation necessarily involves the consequence that Herrera's account is a sheer fabrication,—a grave charge which, notwithstanding what precedes, we do not yet consider ourselves authorised to make,—the reader will have to examine our analysis and reasons only in the light of elements for further discussion.

Upon the whole, the only important point in the present inquiry is that the expedition of Ponce de Leon was not a solitary or extemporaneous effort, but an enterprise of which there had been similar ones before, and which were frequently repeated afterwards. In fact, whether the idea sprung from the hope of discovering marvellous regions, or

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, Vol. XXII., p. 26.

originated chiefly, as we think, with the purpose of slave-hunting, the historian of maritime discovery is constrained to believe that from a very early date the Spaniards visited the east coast of Florida. The rapid depopulation of the West India islands, and the necessity for obtaining slaves to work in the mines, must have prompted many such nefarious expeditions.

Giving to Herrera the benefit of the doubt, and accepting for the time being the itinerary which he has ascribed to the first voyage of Ponce de Leon, the discovery then embraced only the southern portion of the east and a part of the west coast of the Floridian peninsula. But how far did he keep on the northern tack; can he even be said, if we follow Herrera, to have ranged at all the north-west coast?

The navigation on the west coast of Florida, as reported by that historian, is contained in these few lines:

“El Domingo, Dia de Pascua de Espiritu Santo, quince de Maio, corrieron por la Costa . . . hasta dos isleos blancos . . . pusieron por Nombre, los Martires: estan en veinte i seis Grados, i quince Minutos. Fueron navegando, vnas veces al Norte, i otras al Nordeste, hasta los veinte i tres de Maio, hasta à los veinte i quatro corrieron por la costa al Sur:— On Sunday, Whitsuntide, May 15, they ranged the coast . . . as far as two white islets, which they called The Martyrs, by $26^{\circ} 15'$. They sailed, sometimes on the northern, sometimes on the north-eastern tack, until May 23; [and] until the 24th, they coasted towards the south.”

From that time they constantly sailed southwards until the expedition left the coast of Florida altogether. It follows that their north-western navigation absorbed only eight days. And as, from certain expressions, the sailing was impeded and irregular, they cannot have gone far towards the north. Now, we possess an official Spanish map, of the year 1519, which implies on the part of Ponce de Leon, on that occasion, a sailing of five degrees north of the Martyrs' islands, and of two degrees of the west coast in longitude.

That map, the original of which is preserved in the Archives of the Indies at Seville,¹⁶ represents the entire Gulf of Mexico, beginning with a peninsula exhibiting the following legend:

“La Florida, que decian Bimini que descubrió Juan Ponce:—Florida, said to be Bimini, which was discovered by Juan Ponce.”

¹⁶ *Patronato, Estante 1, Cajon 1, Legajos* $\frac{1}{20}$

Then the coast, at the most north-western point of the peninsula, assumes a curve running westwards. On that coast, which is the northern sea-board of the Gulf of Mexico, and after the Floridian peninsula has been entirely sketched out, we read :

“Hasta aqui descubrio Juan Ponce:—As far as this, extends the discovery of Juan Ponce.”

The locality where we read that legend apparently corresponds on modern maps with our Apalachee Bay, and with the point where, in the Weimar maps, is inscribed the designation : “b. de Juhan ponce :—the bay of Juan Ponce,” called by Oviedo¹⁷ “Bahia de Johan Ponce de Leon,” and said by that historian to be by 27° north latitude.

Unfortunately the map is not dated, and, *a priori*, we can only say of it that the handicraft betrays the work of some Spanish cartographer of the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Such an opinion is not sufficiently precise. To prove of avail in the present inquiry, the map must be shown to have been constructed before 1521,¹⁸ as Ponce de Leon returned to Florida in that year, and the attribution of a discovery by 27° north latitude could be said by hypercritics to have originated with data brought from his second expedition.

But it can be proved that the map was made in 1519.

In the collection of copies made by Muñoz, there is a facsimile of the present map;¹⁹ to which he has added, as belonging to it, a transcript of the letters patent granted to Francisco de Garay in 1521; taken, however, from a codex other than that which is reproduced in Navarrete's Collection, being less complete, and exhibiting verbal differences. In both texts of that document, we notice the following passage :

“Los dichos navios hallaron cuarenta pueblos de una parte y de otra, y de todo lo que costearon é descubrieron los dichos pilotos, mirando muy bien la tierra, puerto é rios *como por una figura* que de nestra parte ante Nos fué traída por los pilotos que iban en la dicha armada parecia:—The said ships [of Garay, in the expedition of 1519] found, in various places, forty villages; and the entire coast discovered and ranged by the said pilots [the “buenos pilotos” on board the four ships of Garay], who surveyed carefully the land, ports, and rivers, *appears on a map* brought to us, on your part, by the pilots of the said expedition.”

¹⁷ OVIEDO, *Historia General de las Indias*, lib. xxi., cap. viii., Vol. II., p. 144.

¹⁸ See *infra*, chap. iv., an examination of the dates given by OVIEDO and HERRERA.

¹⁹ Muñoz MSS., Vol. LXXVI., f^o. 246. There is a reduction of that map, facing p. 148 in the third volume

of the *Coleccion de Viages* of NAVARRETE; that is, in connection with his publication of the letters patent of 1521, and as if the original had been found by him inserted in his codex, which was, when he copied it, in the Archives of the Indias, in the first file of *Descubrimientos en tierra firme, de 1500 à 1595*.

Now, Muñoz, on the verso of his facsimile of the map, inscribes the following memorandum, which seems to have existed in the model :

“Garay, 1519. Traça de la costa de tierra firme, i de las tierras nuevas:—Garay, 1519. Tracing of the continental coast, and of the new countries.”

Moreover, Muñoz' transcript of the letters patent of 1521, attached to the map, is entitled as follows :

“Original Descripcion i poblaciones, 7 [*sic.*?] juntamente con la figura o mapa que acompaña :—Original description and populations [tribes?], together with the delineation and map which accompanies the same.”

Nor should we forget to say that the map sets forth the entire Floridian peninsula, nearly as it appears in all subsequent charts of the Sevillan Hydrography ; and, so far as is known, for the first time.

Those details force upon us the conviction that the map mentioned in the letters patent, and which was made by the pilots of Garay in the course of the expedition of 1519, is the above-cited original map of the Archives of the Indies at Seville, and the one which Muñoz found attached to the said letters patent, and copied.²⁰

The immediate consequence to be drawn from the above analysis is that Ponce de Leon went further north-westward and westwardly in his first voyage to Florida, than the account of that expedition, as given by Herrera, would lead us to believe. The point reached then must have been by 30° north latitude and 70° west longitude, according to the above-described maps.

²⁰ These letters patent are duly labelled “*Real cedula*,” which leads us to suppose that the map was not originally affixed to that document, but to a sort of geographical and ethnological memoir.

CHAPTER III.

THERE are now several minor expeditions which were not intended originally to explore Florida, but as they have ranged certain portions of its shores, landing even in several places during the years 1517 and 1518,¹ that is before the second voyage of Ponce de Leon, we must describe them, however insignificant may be the details which have reached us.

The earliest allusions seem to refer to some point of the south-east coast of Florida. The reader has already seen, according to Herrera's account, Diego Miruelo engaged in a venture similar to that of Ponce de Leon, at the same time, but wholly independent. The latter had scarcely returned from his first voyage to Florida, when other Spaniards followed in his path, and abducted Indians from the main land. Ponce appealed to the Crown for redress, his rights being thereby infringed, and, in 1517, orders were sent to protect in his behalf "los indios de Bimini."²

It was in 1517 that Francisco Hernandez de Cordova landed in Florida, when on his voyage home, after having been repulsed by the Indians in Campeachy.

The earliest historians who refer to that memorable expedition which initiated the series of efforts that culminated in the discovery and conquest of Yucatan and Mexico,³ are Peter Martyr,⁴ Oviedo,⁵ Gomara,⁶

¹ According to Garcilasso DE LA VEGA (*La Florida del Inca*, lib. i., chap. ii., p. 3) and BARCIA (*Ensayo Chronologico*, p. 2) Diego MIRUELO in 1516 engaged in a trading expedition to Florida, from which he brought gold, &c. We have constantly neglected those two writers, particularly BARCIA, as, in our opinion, they are unreliable, and have not had access to original documents for that period. The statement seems to be derived from the mention of a *Bahia de Miruelo* made by OVIEDO, Vol. I., p. 143, and which we are inclined to ascribe to Miruelo, the pilot of Pamphilo de Narvaez in 1527, nephew of Diego Miruelo.

² "No embargante le suso dicho [Ponce de Leon] abia

venido á su noticia que abian sacado los capitanes e navios e gente, que andavan por las islas de lucayos, los indios de la dicha isla de Bimini, la mayor parte dellos, los abian llevado á la Isla Española." *Cedula dirigida á los padres Geronimos, sobre la reclamacion de J. P. de Leon*, in *Doc. inedit. de Indias*, Vol. XI., p. 295.

³ "E aqueste fué el principio de se descubrir la Nueva España."—OVIEDO, lib. xvii., cap. iv., Vol. I., p. 498.

⁴ ANGHIERA, *Enchiridion*, fo. 69, A, Decad. IV., caps. i., ii., pp. 287-292.

⁵ OVIEDO, *ubi supra*.

⁶ GOMARA, *Historia de las Indias*, cap. liiii., chapter *Yucatan*, page 185.

Las Casas,⁷ and Juan Cristobal Calvet de Estrella, or the anonymous author of *De Rebus gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*,⁸ whoever he may be.

They have all copied Peter Martyr almost literally, although the anonymous biographer of Cortez was a critical historian who seems to have been in a position to consult certain original sources, and Oviedo appears to have obtained information direct from Anton de Alaminos, who was the chief pilot of Hernandez de Cordova on that occasion, while Las Casas⁹ was a personal friend of the latter, who even wrote to him on the subject. Now these five historians agree in representing the expedition as sailing straight back from the Mexican coast to Cuba, without mentioning Florida in any way: "Se tornaron estos primeros descubridores de aquella tierra á la isla Fernandina, de donde avian salido."

It is with Bernal Diaz that we find the first reference to Florida as having been visited by Hernandez de Cordova at that time; but as he was an eye witness, his testimony is decisive. It may be condensed in his own words as follows:

"Y luego alzamos anclas y dimos vela, siguiendo nuestro viaje para nos volver á la isla de Cuba. Parece ser el piloto Alaminos se concertó y aconsejo con los otros dos pilotos que desde aquel paraje donde estábamos atravesásemos á la Florida, porque hallaban por sus cartas y grados y alturas que estaria de allí obra de setenta leguas, y que despues, puestos en la Florida, dijeron que era mejor viaje é mas cercana navegacion para ir á la Habana que no la derrota por donde habiamos primero venido a descubrir: y asi fué como el piloto dijo . . . atravesando aquel golfo, en cuato dias que navegamos vimos la tierra de la misma Florida:—We then weighed anchor, and sailed to return to Cuba. But it seems that our pilot, Alaminos, decided with the other two pilots to sail straight from where we were to Florida, because, according to their maps, degrees, and altitudes, we found ourselves at a distance from Florida of only seventy leagues. They said that this would be a shorter and better route to go to Havana than the one which we had taken when first setting out on our voyage of discovery. We followed the advice of the pilot, and crossing the gulf, in four days of navigation we saw the land of Florida."¹⁰

Diaz then relates in detail the landing and fight with the natives, who compelled the Spaniards to re-embark and leave hastily that inhospitable coast. It is in the description of the voyage homeward, that we

⁷ "Francisco Hernandez de Córdoba, harto amigo mio."—LAS CASAS, *Historia de las Indias*, lib. iii., cap. xcvi. Vol. IV., p. 349.

⁸ In ICAZBALCETA, *Coleccion de documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, Mexico and Paris, 1858, large 8vo, Vol. I., p. 341.

⁹ "Creo quel el Capitan quedo con treinta y tantas heridas, muy lastimado, segun él me lo escribió á mi, entre otras cosas."—LAS CASAS, *op. cit.*, pp. 361, 362.

¹⁰ Bernal DIAZ, *Verdadera Historia*, caps. v. and vi., pp. 5-6. It is that narrative which HERRERA (Decad. II., lib. ii., caps. xvii-xviii., pp. 47-51) has copied almost literally, and, as usual, without quoting his authorities. But the account of the Indians of Catoche,—with their religious ceremonies, including the adoration of Christian crosses, which Oviedo disbelieved, although the assertion was made to him by ALAMINOS himself,—is taken from Peter Martyr, *ubi supra*.

find one or two particulars enabling us to ascertain the part of Florida where the landing was effected :

“Dimos vela para la Habana, y pasamos aquel dia y la noche, que hizo buen tiempo, junto de unas isletas que llaman los Martires, que son unos bajos que asi los llaman, *los bajos de los Martires* . . . mareábamos las velas y dábamos á la bomba, hasta que N. S. J. C. nos llevó à Puerto de Carenas, donde ahora esta poblada la villa de la Habana, que en otro tiempo Puerto de Carenas se solia llamar, y no Habana :—We set sail for Havana. On that day and following night we sailed with fair weather, coasting the islets called The Martyrs islands, on shoals called also The Martyrs' shoals . . . manœuvring the sails and pumps, until, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we reached Puerto de Carenas, where now is the city of Havana, formerly called *Puerto de Carenas*, and not *Havana*.”¹¹

It is evident from the above description that the landfall was on the west coast of the Floridian peninsula, scarcely higher than Cape Roman, by about 26° north latitude.

In the order of dates, we should now mention the first voyage of Francisco de Garay, which ranged a part of the south coast of Florida ; but, as that expedition relates much more to the discovery of the north-west borders of the Gulf of Mexico, we leave it for awhile, so as to discuss the second and last voyage of Ponce de Leon. This investigation will prove useful, were it only to show how little is known relating to that unfortunate enterprise. Besides, our lack of information involves the important consequence that the early cartographical data which connect Ponce's name with the Floridian peninsula all refer, perhaps with a single exception, to his first voyage.

The earliest historian who mentions those new efforts of Ponce de Leon is Oviedo. The beginning of his narrative is written so as to convey the impression that he possessed authentic details on the subject :

“Volvió á armar con más acuerdo y expensas, e proveyó e puso en orden çiertos navios para entrar por la Tierra-Firme en la banda del Norte, en aquella costa é punta que entra en la mar çient leguas de longitud é çinquenta de latitud, poco más ó menos . . . eran dos çientos hombres é çinquenta caballos en los navios . . . é passó á aquella tierra por el mes de . . . del año de mill é quinientos é veynte anos :—He recommended equiping with more care and at greater cost, and secured and fitted out several ships for the purpose of entering the continent northwards, by the coast and peninsula which projects into the sea 100 degrees of longitude and 50 degrees of latitude, more or less . . . There were aboard the said ships 200 men and 50 horses. The expedition went to that country in the month of . . . of the year 1520.”¹²

¹¹ DIAZ) *Op. cit.*, cap. vi., p. 6.

¹² OVIEDO, lib. xxxvi., cap. i.. Vol. III., p. 622.

Oviedo then states that Ponce's intention was to plant a colony, and he enters into details concerning the cattle and implements brought for the purpose. But he says :

“El temple de la region era muy diferente e desconveniente à lo quéel llevaba imaginado, é los naturales de la tierra gente muy salvage é bellicosa è feroz . . . ni en eleçion de aquellos frayles è clerigos de que yba acompañado para el exerçio del culto divino è serviçio de la iglesia, aunque predicassen quanto quisiessen:—The temperature of the country was very unfavourable, and different from what he had imagined ; while the natives were extremely warlike and ferocious, and but little disposed to hearken to the monks and priests who had accompanied him to perform divine worship, as well as to advance the interest of the Church, although they preached much to them.”

Oviedo continues and concludes as follows :

“Esta armada llegó á aquella tierra et año que esta dicho ; e luego el adelantado Johan Ponçe, cómo se desembarcó, dió como hombre proveydo, órden en que la gente de su armada descansasse ; é quanto le paresçio, movió con su gente y entro por la tierra y en una guaçábara ó batalla que ovo con los indios . . . Y en fin le desbarataron è mataron parte de los chripstianos . . . y él salió herido de un flechaço malamente, e acordó de se yr à la isla de Cuba para se curar . . . e lleço al puerto de la Habana donde vivió poco:—That expedition reached the country in the year aforesaid ; and when the adelantado Ponce de Leon landed, he ordered, like a prudent man, that the men should rest awhile. He then advanced with them, and there was a fray or battle with the Indians. Finally the Christians were routed, and a number killed. Ponce came out of the fight badly wounded with an arrow . . . He decided to return to Cuba to be cured, and arrived in the port of Havana, where he did not live long.”

The date of 1520 is erroneous.

We possess two letters written by Ponce de Leon, a week before he intended leaving Porto Rico for that expedition ; both are dated February 10, 1521. The first of these is addressed to Charles V. After stating that he had discovered “la Ysla Florida,” at his own cost, Ponce says that his intention is to plant there a colony and accomplish discoveries :

“Tambien entiendo de descubrir mas, la costa de dicha Ysla e saber si confina con la tierra donde esta Diego Velazquez o con otra alguna . . . partire de aqui a cinco o seis dias:—I also intend to discover further of the coast of the said island, and ascertain whether it confines on the land where Diego Velazquez now is, or on any other [country]. I shall start from this place in five or six days.”¹³

¹³ *Carta del adelantado Joan Ponce de Leon a Su Magestad dyciendole aber descubierto a su costa e mynsion la Isla Florida e otras en su comarca, que volria*

a poblarlas, i que dentro de cinco dias iba a ostros descubrymientos: por lo que pedia mercedes ; in the Documentos ineditos de Indias, Vol. XL., pp. 50-52.

The other letter is directed to the Cardinal of Tortosa (Adrian) and in the same terms, with the addition, however, that the expedition was to be composed of two ships: "con dos navios."¹⁴

Those two documents are dated: "Ysla de San Juan y cibdad de Puerto Rico, a diez dias de Hebrero de mil quynientos veinte y un años:—Island of San Juan and city of Porto Rico, February 10, 1521." There was a third letter, addressed to Juan de Samano, the secretary of Charles V., which Herrera has seen, as well as the other two;¹⁵ but it is not to be found at this day.

Finally, we have an official communication sent to His Majesty by the licentiate De la Gama, dated Porto Rico, February 15, 1521, and announcing that Ponce de Leon would sail on the 20th following:

"El Adelantado Joan Ponce de Leon parte desta Ysla a veinte deste mes, con otra Armada, a poblar a Ysla Florida a descubrir en sus comarcas:—The Adelantado Juan Ponce de Leon starts from this island [Porto Rico] on the 20th of this month, with another expedition, to settle Florida and make discoveries in the adjoining country."¹⁶

The reference to Diego Velazquez in Ponce's letter to Charles V. is curious, as Velazquez was the governor of Cuba, and never went to those continental countries. Ponce had doubtless in view the expedition of Pamfilo de Narvaez, which was sent to the coast of Mexico by Velazquez in March, 1520; but the unfortunate results of which can scarcely have been known in Porto Rico when Ponce wrote the above letters. Another fact to be noted is that he does not seem to be aware of the first expedition of Francisco de Garay and of its discoveries, which, as shown by the map of 1519, connected the north-west coast of Florida with the entire sea-boards of the Gulf of Mexico. Yet he may have seen a chart which, like that at Turin, depicts the Isla Florida, and leaves a break of ten degrees of longitude before tracing the shores of the Gulf, which in the latter map begin only with the vicinity of the Rio del Espiritu Santo, or our Mississippi river.

The next account is that of Gomara, who, with his usual inaccuracy, relates that the expedition was composed of three ships, equipped in Seville, whence Ponce de Leon sailing, about the year 1515, went to Guadalupe, then to Boriquen, and finally to Florida, where he was killed by the Indians.¹⁷

¹⁴ *Carta del adelantado Joan Ponce de Leon al Cardenal de Tortosa, pydiendo mercedes en atencion a sus largos servycios*; in the *Coleccion de documentos ineditos*, and same volume, page 47.

¹⁵ HERRERA, *Decad. III.*, lib. i., cap. xiv., p. 24.

¹⁶ *Coleccion de documentos ineditos de Indias*, Vol. XL., p. 54.

¹⁷ GOMARA, *Hist. de las Indias*, cap. xlvii., p. 181.

Las Casas, as we have shown,¹⁸ is not better informed, considering that he places the second expedition of Ponce de Leon under the year 1512,¹⁹ and as having been fitted out in Santo Domingo: "vinose á esta isla y puerto de Sancto Domingo, donde se rehizo de gente y navios."

The account of Oviedo involves contradictions when compared with the other narratives. The latter limits the action of Ponce de Leon to a mere landing, and re-embarkment soon afterwards. If so, the monks and priests who accompanied him cannot have had time to endeavour to evangelise the Indians, as Oviedo says. His mistake as to the date, and the filling-up of his narrative with generalities, lead us to think that he knew little concerning the second expedition of Ponce de Leon; and it is not worth while for the critic to attempt to find in his narrative any elements to ascertain where the landfall was on that occasion.

As to Herrera, he evidently follows Oviedo for his meagre details, adding, however, that Ponce de Leon was wounded in the thigh: "herido en vn muslo."²⁰

We have endeavoured to find in other authors some data which could enable us to learn at least the duration of that unfortunate expedition. They are very scanty.

Torquemada, who was in a position to obtain certain details through the accounts which the monks who accompanied the "conquistadors" sent to the principals of their order, contains the following phrase:

"Llego a esta sazón vn nauio á la Villa Rica, que diçen era de Juan Ponce, que con dos auia ydo á la Florida, y venia bien bastecido con poluora . . . :—At that time there arrived at Villa Rica [Vera Cruz] a ship, which was said to be one of the two that had gone to Florida with Juan Ponce. It was well supplied with gun powder. . . ."²¹

Torquemada does not give a date, but his "esta sazón," refers to about the close of the siege of Mexico by Cortez.

We find a similar statement in Bernal Diaz, but he says that the ship belonged to an expedition of Vazquez de Ayllon:

"Tambien se nos habia acabado ya la polvora en todos tres reales, y en aquel instante habia venido á la Villa-Rica un navio que era de una armada de un licenciado Lúcas Vazquez de Ayllon, que se perdió y desbarato en las islas de la Florida, y el navio aportó á aquel puerto, y venian en él ciertos soldados y polvora. . . . We had exhausted our gun-

¹⁸ *Supra*, chapter i., pp. 136, 137.

¹⁹ LAS CASAS, *Hist.*, lib. ii., cap. xx., Vol. III., p. 461.

²⁰ HERRERA, *Descripcion*, p. 15.

²¹ TORQUEMADA, *Monarquia indiana*, lib. iv., cap. xcvi., Vol. I., p. 614, of the edition of 1615, who probably took the statement from HERRERA.

powder in the three camps, but a ship had just arrived at Villa-Rica, a ship which belonged to an expedition of a licentiate [called] Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon, which had been defeated and lost in the Florida islands. The ship brought to that part a number of soldiers, and gunpowder." ²²

Diaz also places that event during the siege of Mexico, about two weeks before the taking of Guatemuz and of his lieutenants as prisoners, which occurred October 13, 1521. On the other hand, we will show that at the latter date, Ayllon had sent to Florida only one expedition. It was composed of two ships; but if, as some believe, only one reached that port, as the other, according to the same authorities, foundered at sea with a cargo of Indian slaves, it certainly cannot be the vessel which landed at Vera Cruz. Diaz, therefore, has mistaken the two names. This interpretation is so much the more likely when we see how vague were his notions about Ponce de Leon, whom he sent to Florida so far back as 1505.

The date, however approximate, given for the arrival of the ship at Vera Cruz compels the critic to place the defeat of the second expedition of Ponce de Leon somewhere in the middle of July, 1521. And, as he sailed from Porto Rico certainly on the 20th of February preceding, we feel authorised to consider the enterprise as having occupied about five months. This shows that the bold adventurer did more than sail out, land, fight, and immediately return to the West Indies. Else, it would make him spend from February 20th to about July 15th simply to go from Porto Rico to his landing place in Florida, whatever it may be. These deductions will perhaps aid us to surmise plausibly where he disembarked, and was routed on that occasion.

To sum up; the accounts and documents which have reached us concerning the second expedition of Ponce de Leon to Florida afford only this modicum of facts or positive inferences :

Ponce de Leon fitted out in Porto Rico an expedition composed of two ships, carrying men and horses. The object was to plant a colony in Florida, and, at the same time, ascertain whether that country was an island, or a continental land connected with the Mexican regions just conquered by Cortés.

It sailed from Porto Rico direct from Florida, February 20, 1521, and effected a landing at some point on the coast of the peninsula; but

²² Bernal DIAZ, chapter clv., p. 193.

the Spaniards were assailed by the Indians, who killed many of them and wounded Ponce de Leon in the thigh with an arrow. The survivors were obliged to re-embark; one of the ships going to Vera Cruz, while the other, with Ponce de Leon on board, sailed for Cuba, where he died from his wound, either in Havana or in Puerto Principe, soon afterwards. The expedition occupied, from the time it sailed out of Porto Rico to that of its return to the West Indies, at least five months.

Now, where did Ponce de Leon in that voyage effect his first landing; on the east or on the west coast, and if it be on the latter, at what point? Have we any means of answering those important questions? Do the scanty details which we have just summed up afford any clue, or permit deductions of a positive character?

Let us interrogate the few facts within our reach.

Ponce de Leon says himself that he intended to ascertain whether Florida was joined with the lands which were then being explored or occupied by the order of Velazquez. That means the coast bordering on the Gulf of Mexico. Consequently, it was towards the western border of the Floridian peninsula that Ponce de Leon directed his course, and where he must have first landed.

The expedition had a two-fold object. One was, as we have just seen, exclusively geographical. The other consisted in colonising Florida. It is evident that the latter object must have been initiated before attempting the former; as it would not be practical to undertake a voyage of discovery with the cumbersome implements, cattle, men, &c., intended for planting a colony. We must therefore assume that Ponce de Leon's first preoccupation, when he found himself ranging the western coast of Florida, was to find an eligible spot, where he landed as soon as possible. Colonists, as well as live stock, could not be kept long on board in those days; and the work was rendered still more difficult by there being fifty horses on deck, according to Oviedo.

An important feature in the present discussion is the fact that the expedition lasted, at least, five months. Allowing three weeks for the voyage from Porto Rico to the apex of the Floridian peninsula, that is, from February 20th to March 15th, and assuming that after his repulse he sailed immediately homeward,—at the same time as the caravel which, landing at Vera Cruz at the end of July, must have left Florida about

the 15th of the latter month,²³—we have a space of four months spent on the western coast of Florida. Historians, therefore, are mistaken when they represent that enterprise as having consisted simply in a traject, a disembarkment, a fight, and a prompt return home.

That being the case, we may advance a plausible hypothesis to explain how those four months were employed. It is to this effect :

Ponce de Leon landed, first in one place,—in Chatham Bay or in Charlotte Harbour, for instance,—then in another place, Tampa or Wakasasse perhaps, thinking on both occasions to have found the proper locality for a settlement. Being each time disappointed, he re-embarked and continued to range the coast northwards. It was probably during these temporary sojourns that the priests and monks, whom he had with him, endeavoured to evangelise the Indians, as Oviedo reports.

We may then suppose that this coasting led the Spaniards to the mainland on the north-west of the Floridian peninsula, which Ponce de Leon had already visited,—as is shown by the map of Garay,—perhaps as far as the *Baya de Juan Ponce*, where it is not improbable that the great battle which resulted in his defeat was fought. This would explain in a measure the early presence of that designation, which is almost the only one to be found in the first cartographical delineations of Florida.

²³ The arrival at Vera Cruz of one of Ponce de Leon's two ships, shows that his defeat on the coast of Florida can scarcely have occurred more than two weeks previous; that is, about July 15th. We thus allow fifteen days to

that vessel for sailing from Florida to Vera Cruz, and less, if she came across the Gulf,—as Hernandez de Cordova did in 1517—instead of ranging the coast. See the preceding chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

COEVAL with the expeditions which we have just discussed there is one embracing only a landfall in Florida, but which proved not less considerable by its consequences, since it resulted in the discovery and exploration of the northern shores of the Gulf of Mexico.

In this inquiry we must first examine the narrative of a contemporaneous historian, Bartolomé de las Casas; not so much on account of its intrinsic merit as because it has been copied by Herrera, whose influence can be traced in all the writings which have since been intended to relate that important event of the history of maritime discovery.

According to those two historians, the coasts of our States of Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas, were ranged for the first time, and the Mississippi River was discovered by a Spanish expedition led by Diego de Camargo, acting for Francisco de Garay, in the year 1518.

Here is the narrative of Las Casas :

“Francisco de Garay . . . determinó de enviar á un hidalgo, llamado Diego de Camargo, á descubrir e continuar el descubrimiento que Grijalva habia hecho, con uno ó con dos navios; el cual descubrió la provincia de Pánuco, ò, por mejor decir, comenzo de allí donde Grijalva se habia tornado, que fué desde Panuco, y anduvo navegando por la costa cien leguas hácia la Florida, y finalmente atribuyó á su descubrimiento desde la provincia y rio de Panuco :—Francisco de Garay determined to send a gentleman, called Diego de Camargo, with one or two ships, to make discoveries and continue those of Grijalva . . . This gentleman discovered the province of Panuco, or, to speak more accurately, commenced where Grijalva had left off, which was from Panuco onward, and ranged the coast one hundred leagues, as far as Florida. Finally, he made his discovery start from the Panuco river.”¹

Las Casas does not state a date for that expedition, but gives us to understand that it occurred in 1518, which year is set forth explicitly by Gomara. It also appears from his statements that the sailing was from south to north, commencing at Panuco, ending in Florida, and under the command of Camargo.

¹ LAS CASAS, lib. iii., cap. cxviii., Vol. IV., p. 466.

Those three assertions are erroneous.

In the *Real cedula* authorising Francisco de Garay to colonise the province of Amichel, Charles V. (or the Regents acting in his absence), state that Garay equipped in the year 1519, at his own cost, four vessels,² which he sent to discover a western passage; that they sighted Florida, and, not being able to advance in that direction, turned the prows westwards, and coasted more than three hundred leagues, until they fell in with Fernand Cortés :³

“El año de quinientos diez y nueve vos armastes quatro navios . . . y los embiastes para que fuesen á descubrir algund golfo ò estrecho en la tierra firme . . . toparon la tierra Florida, y reconocida y vista quisieronla costear para pasar adelante, è no pudieron . . . fuéles forzado volver costeando la tierra hàcia el poniente . . . et tanto andovieron hasta que toparon con Hernando Cortés.”

To that statement is added that, in the course of the same voyage, they entered a river, very large and very full, where they remained forty days for repairs :

“Entraron por un rio que hallaron muy grande y muy caudaloso . . . y estovieron en él mas de cuarenta dias los navios dando carena.”

The Emperor, and his representatives also say that, having well explored the country, a map of the same was made and brought to him by the pilots of the expedition :

“Mirando muy bien la tierra, puertos è rios como por una figura que ante Nos fué traída por los pilotos que iban en la dicha armada.”

Finally, the Regents remark that the coast and country which were then discovered by Garay are called the Province of Amichel :

“E la costa è tierra que vos habeis así descubierta se llama la provincia de Amichel.”

This language certainly excludes the notion of a previous expedition to, or discovery of that country by or for Garay; particularly in 1518.

As to the leader on that occasion, it was not Diego de Camargo; and Las Casas mixes several voyages undertaken to those regions at the

² Bernal DIAZ says that there were only “tres navios : three ships;” but adds that the expedition numbered two hundred and seventy men, with horses. *Verdadera Historia*, cap. ix. p. 52. GOMARA, *Historia de las Indias*, p. 182, and *Conquista de Mejico*, p. 325, also relates the first adventures of Garay, but very erroneously. See also Hernando CORTES, *Carta Segunda*, in Vedia's Madrid

edition, 8vo, pp. 13, 29, 47, and 51.

³ *Real cedula dando facultad à Francisco de Garay para poblar la provincia de Amichel, en la costa firme que con navios armados por su cuenta para buscar un estrecho habia reconocido. Burgos à . . . dias de . . . quinientos é veinte é un años.*—NAVARRETE, Vol. III., No. 45, p. 147.

cost of Francisco de Garay. As the Bishop of Chiapas is not the only historian who has erred in that respect, we will establish the chronology of Garay's similar enterprises, taking as a basis the narratives of Bernal Diaz, who was an eye-witness. He says :

“Topamos en el camino á cuatro españoles que venian á tomar posesion en aquella tierra por Francisco de Garay, los cuales enviaba un capitan que estaba poblando de pocos dias habia en el rio de Panuco, que se llamaba Alonso Alvarez de Pineda ó Pinedo . . . Preguntóles Cortés por qué titulo . . . Respondieron los cuatros hombres que en el año de 1518, como habia fama en todas las islas de las tierras que descubrimos cuando lo de Francisco Hernandez de Cordoba y Juan de Grijalva, y llevamos á Cuba los 20,000 pesos de oro á Diego Velasquez, que entonces tuvo relacion el Garay del piloto Alonso [*sic pro* Anton] de Alaminos y de otro piloto que habiamos traído con nosotros, que podia pedir á su majestad desde el rio de San Pedro y San Pablo, y todo lo que descubriese; y por aquellas provisiones envió luego tres navios con hasta 270 soldados con bastimentos y caballos, con el capitan por mi nombrado, que se decia Alonso Alvarez Pineda o Pinedo:—We came across four Spaniards who had come to take possession of this country for Francisco de Garay, and were sent by a captain who, for the last few days, was engaged making a settlement on the Panuco river, and whose name was Alonso Alvarez de Pineda or Pinedo . . . Cortés asked them by what right . . . The four men replied that in 1518 the news circulated among all the [West India] islands, concerning the countries which we had discovered with the expeditions of Francisco Hernandez de Cordoba, and of Juan de Grijalva, and the 20,000 piastres in gold⁴ brought to Diego Velasquez. Garay was then informed by the pilot Alonso [*i. e.*, Antonio] de Alaminos, and by another pilot whom we had brought with us, that he could solicit from His Majesty [the concession of] all that which he might discover from the San Pedro and San Pablo river northwards. And it was by virtue of such authorisation that he had sent three ships, with 270 soldiers, provisions, and horses, under [the command of] the captain I have mentioned, who was called Alonso Alvarez de Pineda or Pinedo.”⁵

According to that account, the expedition was composed of three vessels, instead of four, as stated in the letters patent; and Garay acted under leave previously obtained from Charles V. Bernal Diaz is positive on that point :

“Y como el Garay tenia en la corte quien le favoreciese con el favor que esperaba, envió un mayordomo suyo que se decia Torralva,⁶ á lo negociar, y trujo provisiones para que fuese adelantado y gobernador desde el rio de San Pedro y San Pablo y todo lo que

⁴ It is the gold, of which Pedro de ALVARADO brought \$16,000, and Juan DE GRIJALVA \$21,000, in the autumn of 1518. Bernal DIAZ, caps. xiv., xv. and xvi., p. 14.

⁵ Bernal DIAZ, caps. lix. and lx. It is this account which has been copied or abridged by HERRERA, Decad. II., lib. vi., cap. i., p. 135.

⁶ OVIEDO, in giving similar details adds the name in full of that agent, viz. : Johan Lopez DE TORRALVA; lib. xviii., cap. i., Vol. I., p. 582. He also remarks that Francisco de Garay was married to a relative of Diego Columbus,—of his wife Doña Maria DE TOLEDO, we should say.

descubriese:—And as Garay had at Court friends who could obtain for him what he wished, he sent his majordomo, called Torralva, to negotiate and obtain the office of Adelantado and Governor of [the country extending] from the San Pedro and San Pablo river to all which he might discover beyond.”⁷

Diaz here is mistaken. The authorisation by virtue of which Garay undertook his first expedition was granted to him by the Priors of the Order of the Hieronymites, who governed the Indies: “con licencia de los RR. PP. Priores de la orden de S. Gerónimo, nuestros gobernadores que fueron de las Indias.”⁸

For the date of the above-described event, Diaz’ narrative allows us only to say that it occurred between July 6th and the end of August, 1519.⁹ Cortés, who relates the same facts (without giving the name of the captain), enables us, however, to fix a more precise date, viz.: eight or ten days after the 16th of August, 1519,¹⁰ that is, the last week in that month.

We now have the second expedition of Garay, which is related by Diaz, as follows:

“Vinieron cartas á Cortés como habia aportado un navio de los que el Francisco de Garay, habia enviado á poblar á Panuco, e que venia por capitan uno que se decia Fulano Camargo, y que habian dicho que otro capitan que el Garay habia enviado á poblar á Panuco, que se decia Fulano Alvarez Pinedo, que los indios del Panuco lo habian muerto . . . y que este Camargo, viendo el mas suceso, se embarcó . . . y se vino á socorrer á aquel puerto . . . y mas dijeron, que el capitan Camargo habia sido fraile dominico:—Letters were received by Cortés informing him that one of the vessels sent by Garay to colonise Panuco had arrived in port [of Segura de la Frontera], and that it was commanded by one Camargo; that the other captain sent by Garay to colonise Panuco, called Alvarez Pinedo, had been killed by the Indians; and that Camargo, seeing the ill success [of the expedition], had re-embarked, to seek relief in this port. It was also said that Camargo had been a Dominican friar.”¹¹

Further on, Diaz adds:

“Ya he dicho otras veces que los indios de Panuco . . . mataron el capitan Pineda y a todos los soldados y caballos que tenia, excepto obra de sesenta soldados que vinieron

⁷ Bernal DIAZ, *ubi supra*.

⁸ NAVARRETE, above quoted. The Hieronymite governors at that time were friars Luis DE FIGUEROA, Alonso DE SANTO DOMINGO, and Bernardino DE MANZANEDO. But strange as it may seem, they did not reside in the West Indies: “Their actual residence was the monastery of La Mejorada, situated two leagues from Medina del Campo [in Spain]:—Los cuales religiosos solian estar y residir en el monasterio de la Mejorada, que es dos leguas de Medina del Campo.”—Bernal DIAZ, cap. lv., p. 48.

It follows that Garay had to send to Spain for the authorisation mentioned in the patent.

⁹ Bernal DIAZ, *Historia Verdadera*, caps. lvi and lxi. ANGHIERA, *Decad. V. cap. i.*, p. 327, says only “MDXIX,” without mentioning the month.

¹⁰ CORTÉS, *Segunda carta de relacion*, Oct. 30, 1520; GAYANGOS edit. p. 54. We find the same account in OVIEDO, lib. xxxiii., cap. iii., Vol. III., p. 262, but taken literally from Cortés.

¹¹ Bernal DIAZ, chapter cxxxiii., page 144.

al puerto de la Villa-Rica con un navio, y por capitan dellos un Camargo:—I have already said that the Indians of Panuco killed Captain Pineda and all his men and horses, except seventy soldiers, who came to the port of Villa Rica [de la Vera Cruz] in a ship under the command of one Camargo."¹²

Diaz does not give the date of this occurrence; placing only the event after the death of Montezuma, which happened June 30, 1520.¹³ On the other hand, as it is evidently the incident related by Cortés in his letter to Charles V. of October 30, 1520,¹⁴ the arrival of Camargo must be placed between those two dates. But considering that this and the other expeditions of Francisco de Garay sailed straight from Jamaica to Panuco,¹⁵ we need not expatiate on them, for they belong to the history of Mexico, and not to that of North America. What must be noted, however, is the fact that Pinedo conducted the first and second expeditions, while Camargo figured only in the latter; consequently, to Alonso Alvarez Pinedo alone belongs the merit of having discovered and ranged, before any other Spanish captain, the shores of the Gulf of Mexico which now form part of the United States.

But there is another question quite as interesting. How was the exploration accomplished, from north to south, or from south to north; and did Pinedo in 1519 range the Gulf shore once or twice?

There is a divergence on that point between the wording of the patent of 1521, and Garay's sworn declarations in 1523.

The description of the voyage of 1519, in the letters patent, is as follows:

"Anduvieron ocho ó nueve meses . . . entre otra tierra baja esteril que descubrieron toparon la tierra Florida . . . y reconocida y vista quisieron la costear para pasar adelante, é no pudieron, porque le salia la tierra por la proas en derecho donde nace el sol, y por esto y por el viento que les fué siempre contrario, y por la mucha corriente que ansí mismo hallaron, fueles forzado volver costeano la tierra hacia el poniente, por la cual costa fueron muy bien mirando la tierra, puertos, é rios é gente della, é todo lo demas que se debia mirar, é tanto andovieron hasta que toparon con Hernando Cortés é los españoles que con

¹² Bernal DIAZ, chapter clxii., p. 212.

¹³ CLAVIGERO, *Storia de Messico*, Vol. III., p. 131.

¹⁴ "Supe cómo al puerto de Vera Cruz habia llegado una caravela pequena con hasta treinta hombres de mar y tierra, que diz que venia en busca de la gente que Francisco de Garay habia enviado a esta tierra . . ."—*Carta segunda*, p. 51 of Vedia's edition.

¹⁵ TORQUEMADA, *Monarquia Indiana*, lib. iv., cap. lxxix., Vol. I., p. 570. As to the last expedition, which, this time, Garay commanded in person, and was com-

posed, not of thirteen, but of eleven ships: "Honce navios seiscientos hombres" (*Documentos inéditos*, Vol. XXXVIII., p. 500), with one Diego Morillo (*sic pro* Diego Miruelo?) as pilot-major, it did not sail from Jamaica until June 24, 1523, and the most northern point of the continent reached on that occasion was the Rio de Palmas, from which he went immediately to the river and city of Panuco, just founded by Cortés. He died in the city of Mexico, apparently from pneumonia, during Christmas week following. DIAZ, *op. cit.*, cap. clxii.

el estaban en la misma costa, é llegados allí amojonaron el término hasta donde habian descubierto, è en todo lo que descubrieron e costearon, que fueron mas de trescientas leguas, se tomo posesion en nuestro nombre, é fecho todo esto, se tornaron con los dichos navios hácias otras, y entraron por un rio que hallaron muy grande y muy caudaloso, á la entrada del cual diz que hallaron un grande pueblo, y estovieron en él mas de cuarenta días los navios dando carena, y la gente de la tierra muy pacifica con los españoles que en la dicha armada iban, tratando con ellos y dándoles de lo que tenian en término de seis leguas que entraron por el dicho rio arriba. Los dichos navios hallaron cuarenta pueblos de una parte y de otra:—They sailed eight or nine months . . . Among other lands low and barren which they discovered, they came across the country of Florida found by Ponce de Leon; and having sighted and noticed the same, endeavoured to range it, so as to advance further. But they were unable to do so, on account of the land which barred the way in extending eastwardly. For that reason, and owing to constant head winds and strong currents, they were compelled to alter the course of the ships, and followed the coast towards the west, examining carefully the country, harbours, rivers, inhabitants, and all that which deserved to be noted on the said coast. They thus continued sailing until they met with Fernand Cortés and the Spaniards who were in the same locality. When there, they marked the limit of the country which they had discovered; and wherever they made discoveries and coasted, which extended over more than three hundred leagues, they took possession in our name. They then turned back with the said ships, and entered a river which was found to be very large and very deep, at the mouth of which they say they found an extensive town, where they remained forty days and careened their vessels. The natives treated our men in a friendly manner, trading with them, and giving what they possessed. The Spaniards ascended a distance of six leagues up the river, and saw on its banks, right and left, forty villages.”¹⁶

Strictly speaking, the sense of that description is that Garay's lieutenant struck the coast of Florida. In endeavouring to proceed he was impeded by a coast line which trended eastwardly, and driven away by head winds and currents. Consequently, he changed the course of his four ships, and crossed the Gulf of Mexico due west. He then coasted westward and south-westward, until he fell in with Cortés in the Mexican region. Returning home, he followed the coasts of Texas and Louisiana as far as one of the passes of the Mississippi river, which he ascended for several leagues. Thence he sailed back to Jamaica.

A document of the Archives of the Indies contradicts in a measure that statement. It is the sworn testimony of Francisco de Garay concerning the discoveries accomplished by his orders at that time, for his own benefit and at his own cost. It is as follows :

“Parescio Francisco de Garay . . . con licencia de S. M. e a su propia costa, imbió con quatro navios a descubrir tierras nuevas en su Real Servicio, las quales fueron falladas

¹⁶ NAVARRETE, *ubi supra*.

e descubiertas por gracia de Dios Nuestro Señor, que lo encaminó, non tocando a Tierra ni en parte alguna que otra persona obiese fallado nin descubierto en ningund tiempo, que fué dendl Río del Espiritu Santo, e aun mucha parte de tierra mas abaxo hacia el Norte, hacia el rio que discen de San Pedro e San Pablo, donde llegaron los navios :—Francisco de Garay appeared and said that with the authorisation of His Majesty, and at his own cost, he sent four ships to discover new countries for the service of the Crown ; which were found and discovered by the grace of God our Lord, who showed the way. Nor was a landing effected in any land or part already found or disclosed by any one else at any time. This was from the *Río del Espiritu Santo* over a great extent of country, further below in the direction of the north [*sic pro* south] towards the river called *San Pedro e San Pablo*, where the ships arrived . . .”¹⁷

The *Río del Espiritu Santo* is our Mississippi. As to the *Río San Pedro e San Pablo*, it is the *Sant Pedro* of the Cortés map,¹⁸ the *S. p^o y S. pa^o* of Ribero,¹⁹ and the *Río de Sanct Pedro y Sanct Pablo* of Oviedo,²⁰ which they all locate south even of Tampico. That is, according to Garay, his men discovered and coasted, in 1519, from the Mississippi southward to within fifty miles of the city of Vera Cruz.

There is, therefore, an important difference between Garay's statement and our understanding of the description set forth in the letters patent. If we follow Garay, his lieutenant's discoveries were accomplished in navigating from north to south ; whilst the tenor of the patent is that the Gulf shore, at least from Texas to the Mississippi, was discovered and ranged only on the homeward voyage. Let us add, in support of the latter interpretation, that the primary intention, as prompted by the advice of Alaminos, was precisely such a course : “ desde el rio de San Pedro y San Pablo :—from the river of San Pedro and San Pablo,” necessarily northwards, as no discoveries could be or were attempted south of that point. It is likewise the opinion of Las Casas, who may have known the letters patent, but cannot have read the *Historia Verdadera* of Bernal Diaz, which was written only in 1568, and published seventy years afterwards for the first time.

Now, we still possess the map (“figura”) referred to by the Regents, and which Garay sent to them soon after his discovery, in 1519-1520, when he petitioned the Crown for the privilege of settling the countries,

¹⁷ The declaration was made in the course of a judicial inquiry, August 22 (1523?).—*Coleccion de doc. inedit. de Indias*, Vol. XXVIII., p. 500.

¹⁸ That succinct but highly important map is to be found on the same leaf with the plan of Mexico in the Latin Cortés of 1524 ; *Bibliotheca Americana Vetust.*,

No. 125, and *infra*, Part Second, in the *Cartographia*, under the year 1524.

¹⁹ Weimar map of 1529, by about 20° north latitude.

²⁰ OVIEDO, *Historia General*, lib. xxi., cap. viii., Vol. II., p. 142, seems to follow here the map of CHAVES, and places that river 50 leagues north of Vera Cruz.

which had been discovered by his lieutenants. It is the map, or "*traça*," which we have already mentioned when discussing the itinerary of Ponce de Leon on his first voyage to Florida.²¹ That document shows clearly the extent of Garay's discoveries in 1519.

The point where, on that map, we read the legend: "Desde aqui *comenzó* a descubrir Francisco Garay:—From here, Francisco Garay *comenced* discovering," is east of the *Rio del Espiritu santo*, or Mississippi. The locality corresponds, graphically, with the vicinity of our Appalachicola.²² The line of discoveries is thence made to follow the sea-board along the north and north-west coasts of the Gulf of Mexico, crossing the Delta, and descending southwards as far, at least, as the Tampico region. The word "*comenzó*" certainly contradicts the description in the patent; else, we should read there "*hasta aqui*."

There remains to be ascertained the time within which the expedition of 1519 was carried out.

On behalf of Diego Velasquez, Juan Carrillo, the Fiscal, appeared at Santo Domingo before Rodrigo de Figueroa, the Chief Justice of Hispaniola, and preferred charges against Fernand Cortés; one of which was as follows:

"E el dicho Capitan Hernando Cortés xuntado consigo la dicha xente por fuerza por se facer mas fuerte . . . como otra muncha xente de otra armada que abia fecho Francisco de Garay, Teniente e Alcalde por V. A. de la Ysla de Xamaica, ymbio los navios de la dicha armada que abia hecho el dicho Francisco de Garay, sin xente:—And the said Captain Fernand Cortés, so as to increase his troop, enlisted the said men by force; and has acted in the same manner with a great number of men belonging to an expedition sent by Francisco de Garay, the lieutenant of Your Majesty in, and Alcalde of the island of Jamaica. And he sent back the ships of the expedition of the said Francisco de Garay without the men."²³

Now, what is the date of that document?

"Sabado veinte e quatro del mes de Dyciembre de mill e quynientos e diez e nueve años:—Saturday, December 24th, 1519."

It follows that at the latter date the ships of Garay had returned home. And, as the letters patent state that the expedition lasted "eight

²¹ *Supra*, p. 151; and *infra*, in the *Cartographia*, under the year 1519.

²² As Garay's map sets forth neither latitudinal nor longitudinal lines or scales, we cannot fix the degree. But the Weimar chart of 1527, which evidently borrowed its delineation of the Gulf of Mexico from Garay's, inscribes: "desde aquí descubrió fr. de garay," by about

32° longitude, which when transferred to modern charts give the north-western coast of Florida.

²³ "*Testimonio de una Ynformacion fecha en Sancto Domingo a ystancias del Fiscal de aquella Abydencia, sobre aber formado una armada Diego Velasquez . . . In the Coleccion de documentos ineditos de Indias, Vol. XXXV. (1880), p. 7.*"

or nine months :—*anduvieron ocho ó nueve meses,*” the little fleet must have sailed out from Jamaica in April or March preceding. On the other hand, the first part of the voyage terminated when Garay's ships fell in with Cortés at Segura de la Frontera, which we know from the latter's *Carta* was during the last week in August. Allowing one month to go from Jamaica to the Floridian peninsula, the expedition ranged the continental coast during about three-and-a-half months before reaching the Panuco river.

Supposing now that they remained two weeks on the Mexican coast before sailing back home, they would have had from September 15th until the middle of December for the homeward voyage. This leaves ample time for the ranging and exploration of the coast north of Panuco. Unfortunately, Carrillo does not tell us how much earlier than the 24th of December Garay's ships returned to Porto Rico. If it was a couple of months,—which is not impossible, as we can readily understand how, after the ill success of the enterprise and the action of Cortés, Garay's lieutenants should have thought more of returning home than of making discoveries,—then there is not sufficient time left for such a laborious exploration, which, as we have seen, includes a stay for repairs of forty days in the Mississippi river. On the other hand, Pinedo may have sent one of his ships direct from the Mexican coast to Porto Rico, in September, to inform Garay of those untoward events, and, with the other vessels, set out ranging the coast northwards, thus accomplishing in detail the discovery as far as the west coast of Florida.

But there is still another element of discussion.

Peter Martyr, writing from Barcelona, December 1, 1519, to “The Marqueses,” that is, Lopez Hurtado de Mendoza and Pedro Fagiardo, says that :

“Garay contemplates seeking after neighbouring islands ; and with such intent he has equipped ships at his own cost :—*cogitat Garaius alias quærere vicinas insulas, ad id naves instruxit sua impensa.—Calendas Decembris, MDXIX.*”²⁴

We are unable to say whether Peter Martyr, in giving that piece of news alludes to Garay's first expedition, in which case he would be nearly a year behind time, or whether he refers to the second expedition, which sailed from Porto Rico early in 1520. If it be the latter supposition which is correct, for Peter Martyr to know anything on the subject so early as

²⁴ ANGHIERA, *Epistola DCXLIX.*, p. 357.

the 1st of December the news must have been sent from Porto Rico about October 15th, and, consequently, Pinedo would have already reached home at the latter date.²⁵ Counting back "eight or nine months," we have February or January 15th for the time of his departure from Porto Rico for the Gulf, in 1519; leaving, at most, five or six weeks only for the homeward voyage in September. These figures preclude the possibility of an exploration of the northern borders of the Gulf of Mexico during the latter period, as it required a stay of six weeks in the Mississippi river. If so, we have here positive proofs that the discovery was accomplished by Pinedo when going, and not when returning. Unfortunately, Peter Martyr's dates are not always to be trusted.

The reader will see at a glance what complicated hypothesis must be resorted to before the critic can hope to elucidate those data, and present a plausible account of the discovery which was actually accomplished by the lieutenant of Francisco de Garay in 1519. In our turn, we cannot escape the necessity of attempting to harmonize the facts and inferences, much as conjectures and suppositions are averse to our method of study.

We will first consider that the descriptions set forth in the letters patent, in the judicial declarations of Garay, and in the narratives of Las Casas and Bernal Diaz, are devoid of technical pretensions. They must only be viewed as incidental and colloquial, with no other purport than to convey a general notion.

On the other hand, we propose to attach paramount importance to the map of Garay's pilots; and, in that map, to a single legend, viz.: "*Desde aqui comenzó à descubrir Francisco Garay*:—From here, did Garay commence discovering."

Our theory, then, is as follows:

Garay sent his caravels to accomplish discoveries north of the country occupied by Cortés. They sailed from Jamaica in February or March, 1519, and directed their course, not north by the Windward Passage, but west, passing between Yucatan and the western coast of Cuba. Bearing

²⁵ Strange to say, in the days of Oviedo it required more time to return from than to go to the New World: "La vuelta desde aquellas partes á estas suele ser de algo mas tiempo, asi como hasta cincuenta dias, poco mas ó menos. No obstante lo cual, en este presente año de 1525 han venido cuatro naos desde Santo Domingo à Sant Lucar en veinte y cinco dias; pero como dicho es,

no habemos de juzgar lo que raras veces se hace, sino lo que es mas ordinario:—The return voyage requires more time, fifty days more or less. Yet in the present year, 1525, four ships came from Santo Domingo to Sant Lucar in twenty-five days; but, as we say, we must not judge by rare, but by common occurrences."—OVIEDO, *Sumario*, cap. i., p. 473.

towards the north-east, they sighted the apex of the Floridian peninsula, which they approached from the south-west. It was then that, in endeavouring to proceed further, the land was seen to stretch due east: "Salía la tierra por las proas derecho donde nace el sol." Now, why they steered north-east, instead of north-west or due north when passing out of the Caribbean sea, is more than we can tell.

Impeded by this unexpected obstacle,—which shows their ignorance of the geography of Florida, notwithstanding the exploration of Ponce de Leon,—and driven away by headwinds and currents, they sailed across the Gulf of Mexico, not due west, but almost due north, landing on the northern shore, near Appalachee bay, in March or early in April, 1519. And as the critic must account for the long time which elapsed between that landfall and the meeting with Cortés on the Mexican coast at the end of August,—a lapse of four or five months,—we suppose that the navigation west of Florida was extremely arduous, requiring finally the ships to be careened in the first favourable place, which in this instance was the Mississippi river. It is likewise probable that the coasting from Appalachee to Panuco was attended with great difficulty, perhaps in the attempt to find the famous western passage: "fuesen a descubrir algund golfo ó estrecho en la tierra firme," according to their instructions.

We also surmise that, soon after the troubles with Cortés, early in September, the ships, carrying just men enough to man them, returned home. Did they then resume the coasting, but, this time, northwards, rounding the entire north-western shores of the Gulf, passing between the Florida Reef and Cuba? Or did they, on the contrary, sail direct across the Gulf to the north coast of Cuba, touching first at Havana to report to Diego Velasquez, and finally reaching Porto Rico by way of the Windward passage, early in October or November? In the present state of the question, it is impossible to tell. We incline, however, to the latter interpretation, which involves the consequence that Alonzo de Pinedo discovered the coasts of Alabama and the Mississippi river in March or April, and the shores of Louisiana and Texas in June and July, 1519.

Chronological requirements compel us now to leave, in this series of maritime efforts, a break of more than fifteen degrees of latitude, to relate certain Portuguese explorations, heretofore almost unnoticed.

BOOK SEVENTH.

The Portuguese in Nova Scotia.

1521 AND BEFORE.

CHAPTER I.

THE sad fate of Gaspar and Miguel Corte-Real did not deter the Portuguese from returning to the northern regions of the New World. On the contrary, thenceforth, Newfoundland was considered as forming part of the trans-oceanic dominions of Portugal, and frequented by numerous Lusitanian vessels, which, in all probability, paid a royalty to the Corte-Real family. The privileges granted, in 1500 to Gaspar Corte-Real, and in 1502 to Miguel, were re-confirmed on behalf of the descendants of their eldest brother Vasqueanes in 1506, 1522, 1538, 1574, 1579,¹ and, in fact, until Philip II. achieved the conquest of that kingdom. There would have been no necessity for renewing so frequently those letters patent if they had not been a source of profit. On the other hand, we possess a royal ordinance showing that the Crown, so early as October 14, 1506, already levied a tax on cod-fish brought from Newfoundland.²

It does not follow, however, that, as a rule, Portuguese colonies were planted in North America, although at a later period attempts to colonise, first Nova Scotia, then Newfoundland, were actually made, in 1521 by Joam Alvarez Fagundes, and in 1567 by Manoel Corte-Real, a lineal descendant of Gaspar's eldest brother. The appearance is that, generally, Portugal did not exercise her sovereignty otherwise than by establishing fisheries and temporary stations for salting cod and salmon. At all events,

¹ *Les Corte-Real et leurs voyages au Nouveau-Monde*, docs. xxiii., xxix., xxxi., xxxvii., xxxix.

² *Alvara dirigido a Diogo Brandão*, cited from the

original manuscript by C. BOTELHO DE LACERDA LOBO, in the *Memorias Economicas da Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa*, Vol. VIII., p. 338.

no authentic traces of such settlements have yet been found there, and no historian mentions Portuguese colonies in that region.

The English in 1501,³ 1502,⁴ 1503,⁵ 1504,⁶ and 1505;⁷ the Bretons at an early period,⁸ and the Normands frequently, although we can only fix the dates of 1509,⁹ 1524,¹⁰ and 1527,¹¹ sent fishing expeditions to Newfoundland. This implies numerous landing places and stations, which must have been named and figured on maps. Yet, the entire nomenclature for the east coast of the island in charts made during the first half of the sixteenth century, whether in Portugal, Spain, France, or Italy, is exclusively Portuguese; a fact which shows the paramount action of the followers of Gaspar Corte-Real in Newfoundland.

With the exception of the letters patent already mentioned, two or three documents only, concerning *Terra Nova*, have been found thus far in the Torre do Tombo. As they belong to a later date, we will examine them at the end of the present chapter. Meanwhile, it is incumbent on us to see whether there are not some other data enabling the historians of geography to establish a chronology of the discoveries made by the Portuguese in Newfoundland and the North American continent.

The earliest maps may be examined to that effect, but without hoping to obtain positive results. The reader should bear in mind that we have scarcely any original charts of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. What our collections can show are maps made then unquestionably, but from other maps, which themselves may have been mere copies. This untoward fact is demonstrated by the number of meaningless designations which mar every cartographical document of that time. Whether they are the work of Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, or French cartographers, or even pilots, the new regions exhibit names that are plainly corruptions of words which belonged originally to one of the Latin languages, and must have been intelligible on the prototypes. The ignorance or carelessness of copyists to whom the work was entrusted, it does not matter where or by whom, is the principal cause of geographical errors and enigmas, which the critic cannot ever hope to solve entirely.

³ Letters patent granted March 12th, 1501, to Warde, Ashehurst and others, *Excerpta Historica*, p. 126, and BIDDLE, *Memoir of Cabot*, pp. 222, 312-320.

⁴ Letters patent granted to Ashehurst, Gonzales et als., RYMER, *Fœdera*, Vol. V., pars. iv., p. 186; HAKLUYT, *Principall Navigations*, Vol. I., p. 219; and *Excerpta Historica*, p. 129.

⁵ *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 126, 130, by implication.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 131, also by implication.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 133, as a consequence.

⁸ See *infra*, chapter ii. of the present Book VII.

⁹ EUSEBIUS, *Chronicon*, Paris, 1512, 4to, f^o. 172; B. A. V., *Addit.*, p. 57.

¹⁰ J. S. BREWER, *Calendar, Henry VIII.*, Vol. III., part i., p. 33, No. 86.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, No. 3731; *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 292.

Another drawback is due to the unavoidable circumstance that a great deal depended on the model, which may have been more succinct than another. Then the absence of certain names can also be ascribed to voluntary omissions, rather than to discoveries not yet accomplished at the time when the map was being designed. We will, nevertheless, interrogate that class of document which, however approximate, is a resource not to be neglected. As Dr. Asher justly remarks, "The Portuguese, after the time of the Corte-Reals, continued their surveys of the northern coast, most likely for no other purpose than to discover advantageous fisheries. They seem to have advanced slowly, step by step . . . with the ancient maps, we can trace their progress."¹² It is this progress which we will attempt to show by means of the configurations and nomenclatures ascribed to Newfoundland, chiefly by the earliest Portuguese cartographers.

The first map known on which is named a point of the coast of Newfoundland is the King chart,¹³ drawn about the years 1502-1503. Unfortunately, although the coast line in that chart is represented as running north-easterly to its 65° latitude (which, of course, is a great deal too far north), only one name is given; but it is the typical *Capo raso*, placed, relatively, where it should be, and where modern maps still maintain it, viz.: at the south-eastern extremity of the island.

We then find another anonymous chart, which is preserved in the archives of the Bavarian army at Munich. Kunstmann, who first made it known,¹⁴ fixes its date in the year 1504 or 1505. Peschel¹⁵ ascribes to it that of 1502 or 1503. Without attempting to explain the meaning, or to correct the orthography of those names, we give them as they occur in that chart, beginning at the north:

Baxos do medo,¹⁶ by 55°.¹⁷

Ilha emcorporada,¹⁸ by 53° 50'.

Ilha de frey luis,¹⁹ by 52° 50'.

¹² G. M. ASHER; *Henry Hudson, the Navigator*, London, 1860; 8vo, Introd., p. xcvi.

¹³ See *supra*, our facsimile of the King chart.

¹⁴ *Die Entdeckung America's*, p. 129. KUNSTMANN is of opinion that it was designed by the same cartographer who signed thus another map: "Salvat de Pilestrina en Mallorques en lāy MDXI."

¹⁵ *Geschichte des Zeitalters*, p. 331.

¹⁶ *Baxos* or *baixos do medio*, viz.: the central or middle reefs. The word *Baxos* or *Baixos*, so often inscribed on Portuguese and Spanish maps, does not mean precisely

"reefs." It is an hydrographical term applied to small sand banks, or to reefs covered by water.

¹⁷ Those latitudes are taken from the scale which runs through the map, and occupies a position nearly corresponding with the line of demarcation as fixed by the Treaty of Tordesillas.

¹⁸ *Ilha emcorporada*,—Crooked island?

¹⁹ The Island of Father Luis. KOHL is of opinion that *Capo Freels* is an English corruption and contraction of the Portuguese words: *Ilha do frey luis*. If so, it must be located by about 49° 15'.

Rio de rosa,²⁰ by 52°.

Cabo de san antonio,²¹ by 51°.

Baya de sante cyria,²² by 50° 50′.

Cabo de coçepiçion,²³ by 50′.

Between the coast bearing the above designations and Iceland, there is a peninsula certainly intended for Greenland, and on which we read:

Ca. de sã paulo.²⁴

C. de spú spirito ²⁵

C. de mirame et lexame.²⁶

Those names appear here for the first time; but our impression is that they were given by Gaspar Corte-Real, although the Cantino map omits them all. This omission was certainly premeditated on the part of Cantino's cartographer, as he exhibits an elaborate coast line, semi-lunar like, which is reproduced in the King chart, but, in the latter, as we have already said, with the all-important addition of a name inscribed on the south-eastern extremity of the island, viz.: *Capo raso*. This shows that Cantino's prototype for those northern regions contained a nomenclature; the graphic similarity between the two is too great for it to have been otherwise. And, as to the surviving name being Corte-Realean, it is shown by the fact that the King chart is not more recent than the close of 1502, while the results of the exploration made of that coast to ascertain the fate of Gaspar and Miguel Corte-Real (which is the first expedition sent to the north-east after the voyage of those unfortunate navigators) can scarcely have been known in Europe before the middle of 1503, and was limited to such a search. We feel confident that those configurations and names embody the cartographical data brought by Gaspar Corte-Real in the autumn of 1500, and by his captains in October, 1501.

As to the southernmost locality, viz.: *Cabo de coçepiçion*,²⁷ the Pedro Reinel map will show that it is not Cape Race, but a point 2° further north. Nor do we think that the northernmost name, viz.: *Baxos do medo*, is near the apex of Newfoundland, considering that the cartographer has

²⁰ *Rio de Rosas?*—The River of Roses?

²¹ Cape of St. Anthony.

²² Bay of St. Cyria.

²³ Conception Cape. There is still a *Baie de la Conception*, the outlet of which is by about 47° 45′—48° 20′.

²⁴ Cape of St. Paul.

²⁵ Cape of the Holy Ghost.

²⁶ "Cape look at me and avoid me."

²⁷ *Conceicaoam*, or Cape of Conception, that is, of the Conception of the Virgin (December 8th). If that name is Corte-Realean, it must have been given by Gaspar Corte-Real during his first expedition, although we do not know the exact date of his return. Only the date of his departure for the second voyage is now known (after April 21, 1501; *Les Corte-Real, Post Scriptum*, pp. 9-11), but from this he never came back, whilst his captains remained away from April or May until October.

placed it by his latitude of 55°, which on Reinel's map corresponds with a locality south of *Cabo de bona ventura*. It seems rather to be in the vicinity of one of the peninsulas which project eastward from the main body of the island, perhaps half-a-degree south of Belle-Isle Strait.

In the order of approximate dates, the next cartographical document is the chart signed by Pedro Reinel. This is preserved in the Munich Royal and State Library, and was likewise published by Kunstmann.²⁸ Kohl assigns to it²⁹ the date of 1505. Peschel considers the map as being of the year preceding.³⁰

The new names in that map, which we find inscribed on Newfoundland, are the following.

North of *Ilha do frei luis*,³¹ beginning with the name northernmost :

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>Y. da fortuna</i> , ³² by 60° 50'. | <i>Y. dos saues</i> ³⁷ (sic), by 56° 50'. |
| <i>Y. da tormenta</i> , ³³ by 59° 60'. | <i>C. das gamas</i> , ³⁸ by 56°. |
| <i>C. do marco</i> , ³⁴ by 59°. | <i>C. de boaventura</i> , ³⁹ by 55° 55'. |
| <i>Sam Johan</i> , ³⁵ by 58° 50'. | <i>Y. de boaventura</i> , ⁴⁰ by 55° 50'. |
| <i>Sam Pedro</i> , ³⁶ by 58°. | <i>C. do marco</i> , ⁴¹ by 54° 50'. |

We now notice, south of the *Baya de Sante Ciria*, by 53° :

Y. dos bocalhas,⁴² by 52° 50'.

Then, south of *Cabo de coçepicion*,⁴³ by 52°, we read :

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>C. da espera</i> , ⁴⁴ by 50° 50'. | <i>R. de Sam francisquo</i> , ⁴⁶ by 51°. |
| <i>R. da patas</i> , ⁴⁵ by 51° 25'. | <i>C. Raso</i> , ⁴⁷ by 50°. |

²⁸ *Atlas zur Entdeckungen-geschichte America*, plate i.

²⁹ *Documentary History of Maine*, plate ix., p. 178.

³⁰ *Geschichte de Zeitalters*, p. 332. Concerning the REINELS, see *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 162.

³¹ *Frei* is the title given to friars, and means "brother;" but when the friar is in orders or a priest, *frei* is translated by "father."

³² Luck island.

³³ Stormy island

³⁴ We think that here a cedilla has been omitted, which involves the translation not of Cape of Mark, but of "The Cape of March." In the Ribeiro map, we read in the same vicinity, *C. de Março*, which corresponds to the *Cabo de Março* (for *Marzo*) of OVIEDO, lib. xxi., cap. x., Vol. II., p. 149, making of that point a "Cape of March," as we have already in the Cantino chart on the north-east coast, the "Cape of the End of April." GOMARA, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 162, places the *Cabo de Marzo* by 60° north latitude, which is nearly the latitude ascribed here.

³⁵ St. John.

³⁶ St. Peter.

³⁷ Birds Island. "Ile aux Oyseaux. En cette île il

y a telle quantité d'oyseaux, que tous les naires de France s'en pourroient charger sans qu'on s'en aperceut, ce dit le Capitaine Jacques Quartier, et je le croy bien, pour en avoir veu préque de semblables."—LESCARBOT, *Hist. de la Nouvelle-France*, Paris, 1612, 8vo, p. 225. *Dos Saues* is clearly a mistake for *dos aves*.

³⁸ Deer or Stag Cape.

³⁹ Cape of Good Luck.

⁴⁰ The Island of Good Luck.

⁴¹ This is a repetition, unless here we should read the *c* without a cedilla, in which case it would mean "The Cape of Mark."

⁴² Codfish Island. According to LESCARBOT, *ubi supra*, "l'île de Bacaillos" was not Newfoundland, but Cape Breton island.

⁴³ This cape is called by REINEL a bay (*b*) and spelled by him *da comceicō*, which is a modern Portuguese form.

⁴⁴ Cape of Hope. KOHL is of opinion that *Cape Spear* or *Spear* is a corruption and contraction of *Cabo de Espera*. If so, it must be located by about 47° 30' lat.

⁴⁵ Duck's River.

⁴⁶ The San Francisco River.

⁴⁷ The Low or Flat Cape.

Here the coast turns to the west, and forms, with the southern side, a strait intended evidently for the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence; but no names are inscribed on either shore. Yet, as south of that entrance, near the coast, there is an island bearing the inscription *Sam Johan*, the promontory at that place is Cape Breton. It has been shown elsewhere⁴⁸ that this island is one of the chief cartographical characteristics of the coast of Nova Scotia throughout the sixteenth century. At the north, facing the *Y. da fortuna*, there is an inlet, meant unquestionably for the opening which leads to Hudson and Davis straits.

Those data show that when Pedro Reinel made this map, the entire coast of Newfoundland, the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Cape Breton, and a part of the coast of Labrador, had been already explored by the Portuguese.

The map which follows is the mappamundi of the German Johann Ruysch,⁴⁹ inspired certainly, as we have already had occasion to demonstrate, by a Portuguese chart akin to Cantino's or Canerio's, but of an intermediary period. It sets forth on its *Terra nova* five names, four of which are new, whilst three are not to be found on any subsequent maps. Those four names are :

*C. Glaciato.*⁵⁰

*R. Grado.*⁵²

*Baia de Rockas.*⁵¹

*C. de Portogesi.*⁵³

These designations were given by Ruysch after his own voyage to the north-east coast, which did not extend south of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and were probably borrowed from some early English map now lost.

⁴⁸ *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 195.

⁴⁹ *Supra*, chapter v., p. 113, and plate.

⁵⁰ The Frozen Cape.

⁵¹ *Rockas*,—the Rocky Bay.

⁵² The Large River?

⁵³ Cape of the Portuguese.

CHAPTER II.

THE few maps of the intermediary period which we still possess are disconnected as regards each other, very succinct, and bear no inscription worth mentioning in connection with the present inquiry. The portolano of Vesconte de Maggiolo, dated February 11, 1511, alone should be noticed here, on account of the legend inscribed across a region intended, apparently, for Newfoundland: *Terra de corte reale de portugal*, and *Terra de pescaria*. This designation we shall thenceforth read on almost every map, sometimes modified, however, under the term of *Baccalaos* or Cod fish, which indicates the object then of nearly all maritime enterprises in that direction; as for many years the discovery of north-western transatlantic countries resulted from mere fishing expeditions.

The fact is that to find food for everyone was, in those days in a higher degree than now, the great economical problem; inasmuch as the injunctions of the Roman Catholic Church rendered it necessary to abstain from eating flesh several days in the week. The news that fishing banks could be reached after "a voyage of not more than fifteen days," where "the sea is covered with cod-fish, which are caught in vast numbers simply by diving a basket into the water,"¹ must have soon circulated extensively in the seaports of Western Europe, and would induce many mariners to visit at once such a fortunate spot.

The only indications which we have been able to gather concerning those early fishing or exploring expeditions, are the following:

A voyage made by Jehan Denys and a pilot, called Gamart, about thirty-three years before 1539, that is, *circa* 1506.² Gamart is said to have been of Rouen, while the vessel belonged to Honfleur; and, as Ramusio, in relating a voyage accomplished to Brazil about 1519, speaks

¹ Dispatches of Pedro DE AYALA, July 25, 1498, and Raimondo DI SONCINO, August 24, 1497; *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, pp. 323, 329.

² "Sono circa 33 anni che vn nauilio d'Onfleur, del quale era Capitano Giouanni Dionisio, & il Pilotto Gamarto di Roano primamente v'andò." Relation of a

great French captain from Dieppe, in RAMUSIO, Vol. III., f^o. 423, F, and f^o. 426, D. The great captain is Jean PARMENTIER, but the relation was written by Pierre CRIGNON. See Mr. Ch. SCHEFER's introduction to *Le Discours de la Navigation de Jean et Raoul Parmentier*, Paris, 1883, 8vo, p. xxiii.

of a navigator of the name of Denys, who was from Honfleur: "*uno de Honfleur chiamato Dionisio di Honfleur*," it has been inferred that those two Denys were one and the same. Nothing whatever is known concerning the said expedition, and the researches³ instituted in the archives of Honfleur have proved fruitless. We find recorded, May 17, 1502, one Jehan Denis,—profession not named,—and before 1518, Jehan Denys, senior, Jehan Denys, junior, and Jehan Denys, son of Jehan, all three together. This only shows Jehan Denys to have been Honfleur names; but it is only in 1597 that we find a "Jehan Denys, mestier de la mer."

Ramusio then mentions⁴ the expedition sent by Jehan Ango (the father of the great ship-owner), in 1508, under the command of Thomas Aubert. The vessel was named *La Pensée*, and sailed from Dieppe, carrying, it seems, the first colony sent by France to the east coast of North America.

The year following (1509), a Norman vessel brought from the newly-discovered regions "ex ea insula,—quæ terra noua decit," seven Indians, who were landed at Rouen.⁵

The Brittons were doubtless among the first seafarers who, engaging in the venture,⁶ followed the example of the English and Portuguese. Thus far, however, no contemporary documents have been produced to corroborate absolutely, in that respect, the statements of Ramusio, or the traditions reported by modern French authors.⁷ Still, the probability is that in the main these repose on facts; but, as our inquiry is limited to documentary proofs, we can only quote, in support of the French claims, two documents. One is a pardon granted to a sailor, wherein mention is made of the ship *La Jaquette*, from Dahouet (now Pléneuf,

³ *Registres de la confrérie de la Charité; Minutes du tabellionage d'Auge, &c., &c.* We are indebted for those investigations to M. Charles BRÉARD, who has kindly examined at our request the archives at Honfleur.

⁴ "Nell' anno 1508 vn nauilio di Dieppa detto la Pensée, il quale era già di Giouan Ango padre del Monsignor lo Capitano & Visconte di Dieppa v'andò, sendo maestro ouer patron di detta naue maestro Thomaso Aubert, & fu il primo che condusse qui le genti del detto paese."—RAMUSIO, *ubi supra*. It is worthy of mention that *La Pensée* is the name of one of the two ships of Parmentier's expedition to Sumatra, undertaken at the cost of Jean Ango in 1529.

⁵ EUSEBIUS OF CESAREA, *Chronicon*, Paris, 1512, 4to, f^o 172. *Bibliot. Americ. Vetust.*, No. 71.

⁶ "Detta terra è stata scoperta da 35 anni in quà cioè quella parte che corre leuante et ponente per li Brettoni et Normandi, per la qual causa è chimatra questa tierra il capo delli Brettoni."—RAMUSIO, Vol. III., f^o 432.

⁷ DESMARQUETZ, ESTANCELIN, VITET, &c., &c. It is intentionally that we omit the brief accounts given by Father José GUMILLA (*El Orenoco ilustrado*, in the French translation, Avignon-Paris, 1758, 12^o, Vol. II., p. 211) and by Vincent LE BLANC (*Les Voyages fameux*, Paris, 1649, 4to, Part III., p. 63). The veracity of those authors is of a doubtful character, and they quote no authorities for their statements. As to the phrase of WYTFLIET: "Britones et Normani anno a Christo nato M.CCCC.III., has terras inuenero." (*Descript. Ptolem. Augment.*, Lovan., 1598, f^o 185) it is taken from Ramusio.

in Côtes du Nord), which, in September, 1510, had gone to Rouen to "vendre du poisson [*molues* or cod-fish] qu'ils avaient été quérir et pêcher, es partie de la Terre Neuve."⁸

The other document is the cedula from Queen Juana, already quoted, whereby, in October, 1511, one Juan de Agramonte obtained leave to go with two vessels to ascertain all about Newfoundland: "para ir a saber el secreto de la tierra nueva," on condition that two of his pilots should be Brittons brought direct from Brittany: "Ecebito que dos pilotos que lleváredes sean bretones . . . vos habeis de ir por los pilotos que con vos han de ir al dicho viaje a Bretaña."⁹

The earliest map known bearing a legend which confirms the action of the Brittons on the north-east coast is not older than the year 1520.¹⁰ In it, south of the regions ascribed to the Corte-Reals, on the northern extremity of Nova Scotia, we read that this land was discovered by the Brittons: "tera que foij descuberta por bertomes." Hence the legend on all subsequent maps: "*Tierra de los Bretones*," and the name, still in use, of Cape Breton.

Although this shows that fishermen from Brittany frequented Cape Breton island at an early period, it must not be inferred that any portion of the peninsula was colonised by them, or that the ermined banner, either of Anne or of her daughter, the Good Queen (Claude de France), floated on its shores, otherwise than to mark fishing stations. Even then, Nova Scotia, with an area of 21,000 square miles, presents an extent of coasts numerous points of which rival seamen could occupy and call their own, without being aware of a previous possession, and without considering themselves as infringing on the rights of others. This can be exemplified by the action of the Portuguese who followed in the track of Gaspar Corte-Real.

During the first quarter of the sixteenth century, a gentleman from Vianna in Portugal, called Joam Alvares Fagundes, obtained from King Manoel letters patent conceding to him the seignory over the isles and lands which he should discover beyond the Atlantic. Fagundes carried the project into execution, and on his return claimed to have found, on the north-east coast of the New World, a mainland and islands theretofore

⁸ A. DE LA BOUDERIE, *Mélanges d'Histoire et d'Archéologie Bretonnes*, Rennes, 1858, 12°, Vol. II., page 154.

⁹ *Supra*, chap. vi., p. 121. It is noticeable that two of

the ships of Vazquez de Ayllon, were called, the one *El Breton*, the other, *El Breton grande*; OVIEDO, lib. i., cap. xxii., Vol. IV., p. 537.

¹⁰ KUNSTMANN No. IV., and the Havre Atlas.

unknown. The King thereupon conveyed those countries to Fagundes, by letters patent dated March 13, 1521.

The description of the country conveyed by that grant is very important at this juncture, and requires to be carefully analysed.

King Manoel, after recalling the limits assigned for the explorations which Fagundes intended to undertake when he first applied for letters patent, viz.: regions north of the boundaries of Brazil,¹¹ recites that Fagundes has now returned to Portugal, after having discovered certain lands and islands, namely :

“A terra que se dix ser firme que he des a demarcação de Castella que parte da banda do sull com a nossa demarcação atee viir partir com a terra que os Corte Reaes descobriron que hee da banda do norte aas tres ilhas na baya d’Aguada na costa de nordeste e sudueste e as ilhas a que elle poz nome Fagundas sam estas, a saber—Sam Joam e Sam Pedro e Samta Ana e Santo Antonio, e as ilhas do arcepelleguo de Sam Panteliom com a ilha de pitiguoem e a ilhas do arcepelleguo das onze mill virgeens. E a ilha de Santa Cruz que esta no pee do banco. E outra ilha que se chama tanbem de Santa Ana que foy vista et non apadroada.”¹²

The defective punctuation of that document, and the ambiguity of several words, render the meaning rather obscure. Our interpretation is as follows :

“And whereas Fagundes has shown, by the testimony of credible witnesses, that he has discovered the following lands and islands, viz.: The land, said to be continental, commencing at the boundary of Castile,—which boundary is south of our own,—and extending as far as the land discovered by the Corte-Reals, which latter land lies at the north.

Also, the three islands in the Bay of Auguada, which bay is on the north-eastern and south-western coast ;

Also, the isles which he has named *Fagundas*, viz.: Saint John, Saint Peter, Saint Ann, Saint Anthony, and the islands of the archipelago of the Eleven Thousand Virgins ;

Also, the island of the Holy Cross, which is near the bank ;

Also, another island, likewise called Saint Ann, which was sighted, but where no balize has been placed.

Now, all these lands and islands We hereby grant unto him.”

This continental land we take to be Cape Breton island, together with Nova Scotia, then supposed to be connected, as the Gulf of Canso

¹¹ “E que nom podesse ir nem se entendesse esta mercee da primeira terra do Brasill da banda do norte des contra o sull senam pera o norte segundo vimos per o dito alvara elle ffoy a descobrir e ora nos ffez certo por testemunhas dinas de ffee que elle achara as terras e ilhas

seguintes . . .” Letters patent published by E. A. DE BETTENCOURT, *Descobrimetos, guerras e conquista dos Portugueses em terras de Ultramar nos seculos XV. e XVI.* Lisboa (1881), 4to, Vol. I., p. 132-135.

¹² *Ibidem.*

had not, at this time, been yet noticed.¹³ Our hypothesis is borne out, as we believe, by the following facts and details :

In an old genealogical manuscript we read that "Joam Alvarez Fagundes discovered *Terra Nova*, or the country now called *Cabo Bretão*, which the King [Manoel] granted to him, and where he established cod-fisheries, which became a large source of profit to Portugal."¹⁴ Now, Fagundes was, as we have said, a native of Vianna; and in the *Tratado das Ilhas Novas* of Francisco de Sousa, written in 1570, we find that between 1520 and 1525, "certain gentlemen:—*homens fidalgos*, upon information received concerning *Terra Nova de Bacalhão*, determined to go and colonise a part of that country. Accordingly, they equipped a ship and a caravel. But, the country where they went being very cold, the prows of their vessels were turned southward. After they had landed, every ship was lost, and news of their doings and whereabouts could be brought home only by Basque mariners who frequent those regions. And that country is in Cape Breton, on a coast which leads northward to a handsome bay much peopled."¹⁵

The *Tratado* confirms the genealogical document; and when the above quoted statements in those two works are compared with the description in the letters patent granted to Fagundes, but little doubt remains that the continental region therein mentioned lies south of Newfoundland, and is consequently, both Cape Breton island and Nova Scotia. This interpretation is further confirmed by the map of Lazaro Luiz, designed in 1563, where, on a very large peninsular region south of Newfoundland, and bordering at the north an extensive bay and river, which correspond precisely with the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence, we read: "La terra Doo laurador que descobrio Joam Aluerez."¹⁶

At present we must determine what is that *Auguada Bay*, containing three islands not named, which the King of Portugal also concedes to Fagundes.

¹³ Even in the time of LESCARBOT the Gut of Canso was yet scarcely known: "Depuis tant d'années ce détroit [Passage ou Déroit de la baye de Campseau, qui sépare l'île de Bacaillos—Cape Breton island, for Les-carbot,—de la terre ferme] n'est point à peine reconeu." *Hist. de la Nouvelle France*, p. 228.

¹⁴ Communicated by Mr. Ernesto DO CANTO, of San Miguel. For citations of the same character taken from MSS. in the Agrella library, see SOUSA'S *Tratado*, p. 30.

¹⁵ "Haverá 45 annos ou 50 que de Vianna se ajuntarão certos homens fidalgos, e pela informação que tiveram da

terra Novo do Bacalhão se determinaram a ir povoar algume parte della, como de feito foram em uma não e uma caravella, e, por acharem a terra muito fria, donde ião determinados, correram para a costa de Leste Oeste té darem na de Nordeste-Sudoeste . . . e isto é no cabo do Britão logo na entrada da costa que corre ao Norte em uma formosa Bahia donde tem grande provoação . . ." FRANCISCO DE SOUSA, *Tratado das Ilhas Novas*, 2nd edition, Ponta Delgada, 1884, sm. 4to, p. 14.

¹⁶ A facsimile of the map of Lazaro LUIS has been added to Mr. DE BETTENCOURT'S above quoted work.

The expression "na costa de nordeste e sueste" is to the effect that the bay runs from the north-east to the south-west, and the name *Baya d'Auguada* means the Watering Bay, or bay where vessels take in fresh water. These definitions, when brought in connection with the genealogical manuscript above quoted, where mention is made of a "handsome bay much peopled," and lying north of the country discovered by Fagundes, forces upon us the conviction that what is meant by Auguada Bay is the Gulf of St. Lawrence, whilst the place where the Portuguese vessels went in to fill their casks with fresh water is the entrance of the St. Lawrence River.

As to the three islands in that bay, they may belong to the Magdalen group, or to Anticosti and Prince Edward's islands, or only two or three of the projecting peninsulas in the latter, all of which Fagundes could scarcely fail to see when sailing in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, on his way to the Watering Bay.¹⁷

We have now to ascertain the position of the other islands enumerated in the letters patent granted to Fagundes. Here again we are disposed to locate them in or at the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, but subject to a certain interpretation of the term *ilha* as generally conceived by the early navigators, and of which we have already had occasion to speak several times when endeavouring to identify the islands mentioned by John Cabot.

The reader cannot fail to notice, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, several islands, and also numberless capes and headlands projecting into the sea on the south coast of Newfoundland and on the north-east coast of Nova Scotia, which, in maps drawn after 1521, bear designations recalling the names set forth in the letters patent granted to Fagundes.

At that time, erroneous geographical conceptions, arising from surveys necessarily superficial and incorrect, vitiated all charts and nautical descriptions. To those impatient seamen, whose small craft could not carry provisions for a long voyage and leave room for the expected cargo, almost every important cape or promontory was immediately called an island. Not having sufficient time to explore the headland, or being deterred by rocks or shallow waters from approaching the shore, they continued their course convinced of the existence of isles where, in reality,

¹⁷ We notice that insular regions in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, corresponding with the Orleans, Anticosti, and Prince Edward's islands, are coloured yellow, like the escutcheon of Portugal placed over Labrador.

it was a deeply-indented coast of the mainland, or some elongated promontory. We have only to examine, on maps of the sixteenth century, the numberless fragments made to represent Newfoundland, or the many imaginary islands which line the north-eastern shores of the Atlantic, to find proofs of such cosmographical errors, which it required years to dispel and thrust out of charts and sailing directions.

Reverting to Fagundes, we shall only say that several maps, derived more or less directly from Portuguese models, inscribe localities cited in the letters patent granted to him in 1521; and it is worthy of notice that none of those names figure on earlier charts. This circumstance tends to confirm the statement ascribing the discovery of those islands to the Vianna navigator.

The first map mentioning Fagundes' designations is the portolano designed by the Genoese cosmographer, Vesconte de Maggiolo, at Genoa, December 20, 1527.¹⁸ West of *Capo Rasso*, and on the same coast line, there is a *p. de crux*, which may be a modification of the *Ilha de Santa Cruz*, described as being near the bank, and we notice also a cluster of islands named *Vnze mil Virgenes*, which is certainly the *Ilhas do arcepelleguo das onze mill virgeens*.

In the map of Hieronymo da Verrazano, drawn about the year 1529, there is within a gulf, near the south-west end of Newfoundland, an *Isla de Sancto Ioanni*.¹⁹

The chart of the Portuguese Gaspar Viegas, dated 1534, gives *XI. viergens* (the 11,000 virgins) and *s^o. p^o.* (*Santo Pedro* = St. Peter.) The first of these lies west of *Capo Rasso*, close to its coast. The second is on the mainland, corresponding with some point of Cape Breton island.

We have shown elsewhere²⁰ that the Dieppe maps, such as the Harleyan and the two Descelliers, proceed for their north-eastern configurations from Portuguese prototypes. For this reason, it is necessary for us to see whether they reproduce any of the Fagundes names. The Harleyan, which we consider the oldest of those charts (*circa* 1542), inserts one, viz.: *St. Ann*, which is applied to an island on the south-west coast of Newfoundland.

¹⁸ Cornelio DESIMONI, *Allo secondo intorno a Giovanni Verrazzano*, Appendix III., (Genoa, *sine anno*), for a copy of the east coast, and facsimile *infra*.

¹⁹ J. C. BREVOORT, *Verrazano the Navigator*, New

York, 1874, 8vo. We notice also two names west of Cape Race, but they are unintelligible.

²⁰ *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, Nos. 20, 23, 24, pp. 197, 211-220.





THE VOYAGE OF FAGUNDES
(1521)

In the planisphere of Sebastian Cabot (1544), who borrowed his North-American region from a Franco-Lusitanian map, which itself contained data for Newfoundland older than those used by Viegas,²¹ one of the Fagundes names is inserted, viz.: *onsemilyogines*, placed on a cluster of islands where the *XI. virgenes* of Maggiolo and Viegas occur.

The Portuguese portolano of João Freire, bearing the date of 1546,²² but which must be more ancient, if we judge from the appearance of Newfoundland, also places west of Cape Race, and on the same coast line, *C. donze myl v'geis*, with an archipelago denominated *onze myl v'geis*.

The Descelliers map of 1550 inserts two names derived apparently from a Portuguese chart, viz.: *p. de x.* (*Pointe de la Croix*, for *Cabo* or *Ilha de Santa Cruz*), and *ys. S. Pierre* (for *Ilha de Sam Pedro*).

These data, added to the information furnished by the declarations of Francisco de Sousa and Lazaro Luis above mentioned, authorise the critic to locate the discoveries or explorations of Fagundes in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the periplus of which he certainly accomplished, and also along the coast of Nova Scotia, north and south. But what is still more worthy of notice is the fact that this is the identical region known under the name of *Noranbega* (Ramusio), which Jehan Alfonse declared²³ (1544) to be a late discovery of the Portuguese: "nouvellement descouverte par les Portugalois," and hence the verses of Jehan Mallart (1547):

"O quel meschef et quelle ingratitude
Ont commis ceulx qui scavent longitude,
Qui nont voulu descrire onques leur stille,
Car France feust maintenant à ses ysles,
Ou portugays ont place primeraine."²⁴

Applying now the liturgical data, which we have already employed to ascertain the time when certain localities of the Brazilian coast were first sighted, we find that *Sam João* may have been discovered June 21, *Samta Ana*, June 26; *Santo Antonio*, July 13; *Sam Panteliom*, July 27; *Sam Pedro*, August 1; *Santa Cruz*, September 14, and the archipelago of the Eleven Thousand Virgins ("Passio S. Ursulæ et Sanctarum undecim millium virginum martyrum") only October 21, all of which before the year 1521.

²¹ This is shown by the island of Newfoundland being represented, not of one piece, but in a great many fragments, as in early charts.

²² *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, No. 25, p. 220.

²³ *Voyages aventureux du Capitaine Ian Alfonse*, Poitiers, 1559, p. 53; *Notes sur la Nouvelle France*, No. 2, p. 6.

²⁴ *Routier rimé*, in *Jean et Sébast. Cabot*, pp. 227, 229.

Judging from a sentence in the will of Dona Violante,²⁵ the daughter of Joam Alvarez Fagundes, the attempt at colonising Nova Scotia by the Portuguese did not prove profitable, and was abandoned, probably at an early date. We think that one of the reasons of the failure may have been the fierce tribes of Indians who then occupied the country. Jehan Alfonse, speaking, in 1544, as an eye-witness of the aborigines, says: "Les gens de ceste coste et de Cap a Breton sont mauvaise gens, puissans, grandz fleschiers:—The inhabitants of that coast and of Cape Breton are bad people, powerful, and great archers."²⁶

Reverting to the motive of the present digression, viz.: the fact that countries already discovered were afterwards visited by other navigators, who claimed, nevertheless, to be the first discoverers, the letters patent granted to Fagundes may be cited as an example of such erroneous attributions. That document, as we have seen, positively ascribes to him the discovery of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton island, notwithstanding previous voyages accomplished thither by the Brittons,—as is proved by the configurations in Kunstmann No. IV,—and even by the Portuguese long before Fagundes visited that country. Our affirmation results from the continuation of the east coast south of Cape Race, dotted besides with Lusitanian flags, and the delineation of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, all to be found in Kunstmann No. I., which is a map certainly anterior to 1521.

The adjoining geographical outline exhibits the probable extent of Fagundes' explorations in the New World.

²⁵ "E depois de estar o dito testamento [the will of João Alvares Fagundes] feito foi descobrir a Terra Nova, em que fez muita despeza e tomou dinheiro emprestado, do que ficaram muitas dividas." In the *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, No. of June, 1878,

Dona Violante was at the time mentioned the wife of João de Sousa, and lived at Vianna.

²⁶ *Cosmographie avec espere et regime du Soleil*, MS., Paris National Library, Fonds Baluze, 7125,-a; and *Notes sur la Nouvelle France*, p. 7.

BOOK EIGHTH.

Chicora and the East Coast.

1519—1521—1526.

CHAPTER I.

THE GULF STREAM.

WE cannot describe the explorations of our east coast,¹ north of Florida, without first mentioning the voyage from Vera Cruz to Spain which Anton de Alaminos accomplished in 1519, by the order of Fernand Cortés. It is generally believed to have initiated or encouraged the early official Spanish expeditions to those parts, by making known the existence of a clear sea-way between the West India islands and the continent; and, particularly, the momentous current which carries, rather than impedes, vessels on their way from the south-west to the north-east,—in other words, the Gulf Stream. Certain writers even think that this great discovery, which has exerted such a paramount influence on the commercial as well as the geographical history of North America, was meditated by Alaminos, if not by Cortés himself.

On those important points we scarcely possess any information. The little we know, however, needs to be critically examined.

Let us take, first, the chroniclers and historians.

Both Peter Martyr and Oviedo refer to that voyage, but vaguely. The former simply says :

“Nuncios ad regem mittendos eligunt eodum Alamino nauclero duce :—They chose also certeyne messengiers to sende to the Kyng by the conduction of Alaminus the pylot.”²

Although Oviedo had personal intercourse then with Alaminos, he

¹ When using the term “east coast,” we always mean the east coast of North America.

² ANGHIERA, *Enchiridion*, f^o. 73, A ; Decad. IV., cap. vii., p. 311.

refers to that voyage only on account of the gold and silver ornaments brought by the commissioners sent to Spain by Cortés.³

It is in the *Conquista de Mexico* of Gomara that we find the first description; but it is extremely succinct, and as follows:

“Partieron pues Alonso Hernandez Portocarrero y Francisco de Montejo y Anton de Alaminos, de Aquiahuiztlan y Villarica, en una razonable nave, á 26 dias del mes de Julio del año de 1519 . . . Tocaron de camino en el Marien de Cuba; y diciendo que iban à la Habana, pasaron sin detenerse por la canal de Bahama; y navegaron con harte próspero tiempo hasta llegar à España:—Alonso Hernandez Portocarrero, Francisco de Montejo, and Anton de Alaminos, then sailed from Aquiahuiztlan and Villa Rica [de la Vera Cruz], in a good ship, on the 26th day of the month of July, 1519 . . . On the way they touched at Marien of Cuba. It is said that they went to Havana, and crossed, without stopping, through the Bahama channel. After a prosperous passage, they arrived in Spain.”⁴

As Gomara was the chaplain and secretary of Cortés, who furnished him with information to write the history of his conquests, the above extract shows that the “conquistador” himself had no knowledge of the discovery made by Alaminos. Else, his historian would not have failed to mention a fact which redounded to the credit of Cortés: having been accomplished in the course of an expedition sent by his orders.

As to Las Casas, after relating the famous destruction of the fleet, he merely says:

“No dejando más de uno [navio] en que fuesen los procuradores que à Castilla envió . . . Proveyó luégo enviar à Castilla procuradores, que fueron, á los dichos Alonso Puerto Carrero, de Medellin, tierra de Cortés, y á Francisco de Montejo, natural de Salamanca . . . Partiéronse en aquella nao que de los barrenos se escapó, del puerto del Peñon, que llamaron la Villa Rica, por el mes de Julio, el año de 1519; llegaron à Sevilla, creo, por Octubre . . . los dichos procuradores y el piloto Alaminos . . . viniéronse con la corte hasta llegar à la Coruña, y en este camino los cognosci yo:—He saved only one ship, in which went the commissioners whom he sent to Castile, who were Alonso Puerto Carrero, of Medellin, the country of Cortés, and Francisco de Montejo, a native of Salamanca . . . They sailed in the ship which escaped the scuttling [of the rest of the fleet], from the Port of the Cliff, which was called La Villa Rica, in the month of July, of the year 1519, and arrived at Seville, I think, in October . . . The said commissioners and the pilot Alaminos went with the Court as far as La Coruña; and it is in that trip that I, myself, formed their personal acquaintance.”⁵

Here, again, Las Casas knows nothing of the discovery, although he derived his information concerning that important voyage from the voyagers themselves, including Alaminos, the Pilot-Major.

³ OVIEDO, lib. xxxiii., cap. i., pp. 259-260.

⁴ GOMARA, *Conquista de Mexico*, p. 823.

⁵ LAS CASAS, *Historia de las Indias*, lib. iii., cap. cxiii., Vol. IV., p. 498.

We commence to find a few details relative to the voyage only in the *Verdadera Historia* of Bernal Diaz, who was an eye-witness of the departure of the ship from Vera Cruz.

They are as follows :

“Se mandó apercebir el mejor navío de toda la flota, y con dos pilotos, que fué uno Anton de Alaminos, que sabia como habian de desembarcar por la canal de Bahama, porque él fué el primero que navegó por aquella canal:—Orders were given to equip the best ship in the entire fleet, with two pilots, one of whom was Anton de Alaminos, who knew how to sail out of the canal at Bahama ; for he is the first who ever sailed in that canal.”⁶

This shows that the Bahama canal was not explored for the first time on that occasion, and that the knowledge which Alaminos possessed of those passages had been acquired on a previous expedition ; for instance, when he led Ponce de Leon to Florida.

Nor can there be any confusion possible between the Florida Gulf Stream, which would have been the course followed by Alaminos if, at the outset, he had attempted to find a new route from Vera Cruz by the north-east, and the Bahama Channel, which was the name then given chiefly to the sea region parallel with the north coast of Cuba.⁷ It is clearly the latter route which was sketched out for Alaminos, when he sailed from San Juan de Ulloa, though with urgent recommendations to steer as far north from Cuba as he could, to avoid being caught by Diego Velazquez.

The commissioners who were sent to Spain were not instructed, consequently, to navigate by a route heretofore unknown ; but simply to avoid going to Havana, so that Diego Velasquez might not be informed of their voyage and mission :

“Les encomendamos mucho que por via ninguna entrasen en la Habana . . . porque no alcanzase á saber el Diego Velazquez lo que pasaba :—They were earnestly warned not to enter Havana in any way whatever, in order to prevent Diego Velazquez from being apprised of what was being done.”⁸

The next time Diaz speaks of that voyage, it is in these words :

“Ya he dicho que partieron nuestros procuradores del puerto de San Juan de Ulua en 6 [sic] del mes del Julio de 1519 años, y con buen viaje llegaron á la Habana y luego desembocaron la canal, é dice que aquella fué la primera vez que por alli navegaron, y en poco

⁶ Bernal DIAZ DEL CASTILLO, *Verdadera Historia*, cap. liiii., p. 47.

⁷ See the following note.

⁸ Bernal DIAZ, cap. liv., p. 48. These expressions also show that what they called the Bahama channel in those days was parallel with Cuba.

tiempo llegaron à las islas de la Terceira :—I have remarked that our commissioners left the port of San Juan de Ulloa on the 6th of July, in the year 1519. After a good passage they arrived in Havana, and then came out of the channel. This navigation is the first which was made by that route. In a short time they reached the Terceira islands.”⁹

It follows from the above extracts that all which contemporaneous historians knew of the voyage of Alaminos from Mexico to Spain, in 1519, is comprised in these few details, viz.:

He sailed from Vera Cruz, July 26, 1519, touched at Marien in Cuba; from thence either crossed what those writers call “the Bahama Channel” throughout, without stopping (*Gomara*); or came out of that channel by a route said never to have been attempted before (*Diaz*); and, after a quick run, arrived at Terceira (*Diaz*), and, in October, at Seville (*Las Casas*).

It is well to note that Gomara wrote in 1551, Las Casas in 1559, and Bernal Diaz in 1568; that is, at a time when the sea-way between the Lucayas and the continent had been entirely explored, and was perfectly depicted on maps, but not under the name of the Bahama Channel, which we have failed to discover on any chart of the sixteenth century. Nor do we find in their writings the reasons for such a statement; and we take the latter to be nothing else than an inference on their part, based upon the important fact, however, that Alaminos sailed over a new route. Nay, we are not even prepared to affirm that what then went by the name of “Bahama Channel” was at all the passage between Florida and the Lucayan islands. There are reasons to think that the term applied to the sea route, extending from west to east, between the north coast of Cuba and the Bahama bank. Hence the name of “Old Bahama Channel,” given to the latter region in our sailing charts.

It is with Herrera that we begin to see the notion assume a sort of technical character, with postulates, motives, and inductions; which, however, have no other basis than the above few facts, likewise derived from the authorities we have quoted. Here is his narrative:

“Dioles Hernando Cortés el mejor navio, i por piloto á Anton de Alaminos, porque hacian cuenta, por apartarse de Cuba, de pasar la Canal de Bahama: i este piloto era el mas experimentado de aquella Mar, i por acompañado fue otro piloto. Partieronse à 26 de Julio de este año, con quince marineros, i tocando en el Marien de Cuba, pasaron à la Habana, i desembocaron la Canal de Bahama, i llegaron con prospero tiempo à España, siendo los primeros que hicieron aquella navegacion, por no dár en manos de Diego Velazquez; i a

⁹ *Ibidem*, cap. lvi., p. 49.

esto se determinó Anton de Alaminos, juzgando con la mucha platica que tenia de los Lucayos, i de la Costa de la Florida, que aquellas corrientes havian de acabar en alguna parte, i fue metendiose à el Norte: i sucediole bien, porque salido de la Canal con bien, halló el espacioso mar, i dichosamente entró en San Lucar por Octubre:—Cortés gave them the best ship, and, for pilot, Anton de Alaminos, for they were warned to eschew Cuba in passing through the Bahama channel. He was the pilot best versed in navigating that sea; and he was adjoined another pilot. They left July 26th of that year, with fifteen sailors, touched at Marien of Cuba, passed by Havana, and came out of the Bahama Channel. After a prosperous passage they arrived in Spain; being the first who had accomplished such a navigation, so as not to fall into the hands of Diego Velazquez. Anton de Alaminos adopted that course, judging from his great experience of the Lucayas and the coasts of Florida, that those currents must end somewhere. [Therefore] he sailed northwards, which proved favorable; for he came out of the channel successfully, found the broad sea, and, after a prosperous voyage, entered San Lucar in October."¹⁰

We feel no hesitation in considering the above narrative as a mere interpretation based upon the statements of Gomara, of Las Casas (for the date of arrival in Spain), and of Bernal Diaz, whose work, although printed only in 1632, was known to Herrera even when preparing the first edition of his *Decades*, published in 1601.¹¹ But he, certainly, had not access to original maps or technical accounts. The inferences of that historian may be correct, and, upon the whole, are such as all of us would draw *a priori*; but the critic is bound to notice that they were not derived from positive geographical data. This is so much the more important as in none of the authentic details which have reached us is there any mention of the "Costa de la Florida," nor of the "corrientes," which must have been the necessary factors in Alaminos' project of discovery, as set forth by Herrera.

We now proceed to examine the original documents themselves.

The *Carta de Relacion* of Cortés, dated Villa-Rica de la Vera Cruz, July 10, 1519, which may have contained some allusion to the then intended voyage, has not yet been discovered, either in print or in MSS. The *Carta de la Justicia*, under the same date, which supplies it in a measure, merely mentions the imminent departure of the messengers: "elegimos por nuestros procuradores à Alonso Fernandez Portocarrero y à Francisco de Montejo, los cuales enviamos à V. M."¹²

¹⁰ HERRERA, *Historia General de los hechos de los Castellanos*, Decad. II., lib. v., cap. xiv., p. 132.

¹¹ See the list of "Autores impresos, y de mano," and

a reference, Decad. II., lib. iii., cap. x., Vol. I., p. 96, of the edition of 1601, which is the *princeps*.

¹² *Cartas de Cortés*, Gayangos' edition, p. 21.

Cortés' *Carta* of October 30, 1520, fixes the date of the sailing out of the ship from Vera Cruz, which was neither the 6th nor the 26th, as Gomara, Diaz, and Herrera state, but the 16th of July, 1519:

"En vna nao, que de Esta Nueva-España de Vuestra Sacra Magestad despaché à diez i seiz de Julio del año de quinientos i diez i nueve, embié à Vuestra Alteça mui larga, i particular Relacion . . . la qual llevaron Alonso Hernandez Puertocarrero, i Francisco de Montejo:—In a ship which I sent forth from this New Spain of Your Sacred Majesty, on the sixteenth of July of the year 1519, I have addressed to Your Highness a very extensive and detailed account, which was entrusted to Alonso Hernandez Portocarrero and Francisco de Montejo."¹³

Notwithstanding positive orders, the pilot Alaminos, at the urgent request of Montejo, went to Cuba, touching at a point of the north-west coast, called Marien, where Montejo owned a plantation; but the arrival there, after the departure from Vera Cruz, was not so soon as the expression of Diaz: "con buen viage," would lead us to believe. It required more than five weeks, from July 16th to August 23rd, to cross the Gulf of Mexico. This we learn from the judicial petition addressed by Diego Velazquez to the King, November 19, 1519:

"En veinte e tres dias de Agosto pasado abia llegado a un puerto escondido de la dicha Habana una caravela que venia de las dichas Thierras . . . e que venia dentro en ella un Anton de Alaminos, Piloto Mayor ques del prencypio que fice descubrir aquellas Thierras . . . venian un Francisco de Montexo e otro Alonso Hernandez de Puerto-Carreño [*sic*].—On the 23rd day of August last, there arrived from a secluded port of the said Havana [Cuba?], a ship which came from those lands; having on board Anton de Alaminos, Pilot-Major, who from the beginning, had accomplished discoveries in that region; Francisco de Montejo, and Alonso Hernandez de Puerto-Carreño."¹⁴

Such a voyage usually required from five to seven days only, says Oviedo.¹⁵ Must we infer that it was during those five long weeks that the exploration northwards was effected? This is scarcely admissible, as it would imply their turning back, and sailing south one hundred leagues or more, for no other purpose than to allow Montejo to visit his farm, and at a time when a speedy voyage to Spain was absolutely required.

The first indication relative to the route which they then adopted is to be found in a letter addressed by Diego Velazquez to Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon, on the 27th of November, 1519. Referring to their departure from Marien, after having embarked fresh provisions, within a few days, he says:

¹³ *Carta de Relacion*, BARCIA, *Historiadores primitivos de las Indias Occidentales*, Vol. I., p. 1.

¹⁴ *Testimonio*, in the *Coleccion de documentos ineditos de Indias*, Vol. XXXV., p. 21.

¹⁵ "Y desde ella [Santo Domingo] á Tierra-Firme atraviesan las naos en cinco, y seis, y siete dias, y mas, segun á la parte donde van guiadas;" OVIEDO, *Sumario*, cap. i., p. 473, of Vedia's edition.

“Thoma la derrota e syguieron su viaxe facia las Yslas de los Yucayos por parte innavegante, non sabida nin usada por ninguno :—They set out and pursued their voyage in the direction of the Lucayas islands, through parts heretofore unknown or sailed over by anyone.”¹⁶

The letter which Miguel de Pasamonte wrote to the King, from Santo Domingo, January 15, 1520, is somewhat more explicit :

“El adelantado Diego Velazquez me a escripto que por el mes de Agosto pasado, aportó a la Isla Fernandina unas de las caravelas que fueron en el armada que ymbio à las Thierras nuevas que abia descubierto, des que ymbio por Capitan Hernando Cortes e que la dicha caravela tomo agua e mantenimientos en la punta de la dicha ysla, en una estancia de uno que venio en ella que se disce Montexo. Disce que se fycieron a la vela e tomaron su derrota por la parte del Norte la via Despaña o de Ingalaterra:—The Adelantado Diego Velazquez has written to me that, in the month of August last, there arrived in the island of Fernandina [Cuba] one of the ships of the expedition which he had sent to the new regions discovered by [*sic pro* for] him, and under the command of Captain Fernand Cortés ; and that the said ship took in fresh water and provisions at the extremity of the island, at a farm belonging to one of those who were on board, called Montexo. He says that they set sail, and directed their course towards the north in the direction of Spain or of England.”¹⁷

Diego Velazquez, in his letter to Ayllon, gives the slight grounds upon which he bases his opinion in respect to the route then adopted by Alaminos :

“A lo que se pudo colexir segund los yndios e la manera e calidad de las personas quen el dicho navio van, que se van a Reynosos e otras partes estrañas :—As far as can be ascertained from the Indians, and the action and character of the persons on board, they are bound for foreign parts.”¹⁸

The conclusion to be drawn from our tedious analysis is that we scarcely know anything at all about the voyage of Alaminos. It amounts simply to this :

Alaminos sailed from the western extremity of Cuba, during the last week of August, 1519. He sailed, not north, this being an impossibility, as it would have carried him straight to Apalachee Bay, in West Florida, but in the direction of Spain or England ; that is, north-east, and by adopting a new route.

The reference to his having started towards the Lucayos islands : “facia las Yslas de los Yucayos,” would imply a route across one of the Providence channels ; for it is to the north-east of Cuba, and even of Hispaniola, that the maps of the time, from Peter Martyr’s to Kunstmann

¹⁶ *Documentos ineditos de Indias*, Vol. XXXV., p. 33.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, Vol. XXXV., p. 245.

¹⁸ *Coleccion de documentos de Indias*, volume and page above quoted.

No. IV., inscribe "los Iucaios;" and that part of the archipelago may not have been explored before the year 1519.

We know, however, that Alaminos was prompted, above all, by the necessity of avoiding falling into the hands of Diego Velazquez, who, immediately upon hearing of his arrival on the coast, despatched two light, fast sailing vessels to seize his ship:

"De presto mandó armar dos navios de poco porte, grandes veleros, con toda la artilleria y soldados que pudo haber y con dos capitanes que fueron en ellos, que se decian Gabriel de Rojas, y el otro capitan se decia fulano de Guzman, y le mandó que fuesen hasta la Habana . . . llegaron en ciertos dias á la canal de Bahama, y preguntaba los de los navios á barcos que andaban por la mar de acarreto que si abian visto ir una nao de mucho porte, y todos daban noticia della y que ya seria desembocada por la canal de Bahama, porque siempre tuvieron buen tiempo; y después de andar barloventeado con aquellos dos navios entre la canal y la Habana . . . se volvieron à Santiago de Cuba:— He ordered at once to arm two ships of small tonnage, but fast sailers, with all the artillery and soldiers which could be lodged on board, under the command of two captains, one named Gabriel de Rojas, the other [Gonzalo] de Guzman, and ordered them to go as far as Havana . . . After a few days they reached the Bahama channel, and enquired from every coasting ship and bark if they had seen a large vessel. They all replied having met such a ship, which doubtless cleared the Bahama channel, as she had fair weather. After cruising in the channel and [between] Havana, the two small vessels returned to Santiago de Cuba."¹⁹

Alaminos therefore ran the risk of falling in with any ship which Velazquez might send after him, if he ventured to sail east or north-east of Havana; as it must have been by the Windward Passage that such a vessel, coming from Santiago de Cuba, would enter what is now called the "Bahama Old Channel." It is natural, therefore, that the skilful pilot, who, when ranging the south coast of Florida, first with Ponce de Leon, and then with Hernandez de Cordova, had certainly noticed the Gulf Stream and its direction, should have attempted to float it down, with the hope of reaching the Atlantic Ocean, north of the Antillies. But how far he sailed along the Gulf of Florida, or at what latitude he took his course due east, and whether he explored any part of the coast of Florida, Georgia, or the Carolinas, are questions which we are wholly unable to solve.

All we can say is that, although the commissioners had no time to lose, they may have tarried on the way and effected a landing, inasmuch as Porto Carrero was very ill. Las Casas names the month of October for the return of Alaminos, but dubiously: "creo por Octubre." Oviedo,

¹⁹ Bernal DIAZ, cap. lv., p. 48.

who was a witness of the arrival of the commissioners, and went to admire the gold ornaments they had brought with them, says that it was near the close of the year 1519: "quassi en fin del año mill é quinientos e diez y nueve."²⁰ And, in support of a late landing in Spain, it must also be noted that the gold and valuables sent by Cortés were not ordered to be forwarded to the Casa de Contratacion of Seville before December 5, 1519.²¹ Finally, Peter Martyr does not announce the coming of the messengers until the 9th of that month.²² This implies a lapse of at least ten weeks between the sailing from Marien de Cuba (August 27th) and arrival in the Spanish port.

²⁰ OVIEDO, *Ubi supra*.

²¹ *Manual del Tesorero*, MS. of the archives, quoted

by GAYANGOS, after MUÑOZ, *op. cit.*, p. 34, note.

²² ANGHIERA, *Epistola DCL.*, p. 358.

CHAPTER II.

AYLLON'S FIRST VOYAGE.

1521.

THERE are documents in existence concerning the first voyage of Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon to the east coast of the New Continent,¹ but we have been unable to discover or to obtain copies of them, and must therefore limit our investigations to the few facts which may be gathered from contemporaneous historians.

In the *Historia de las Indias* of Lopez de Gomara, we notice a chapter, entitled "Rio Jordan en tierra de Chicora:—The River of Jordan in the country of Chicora," which begins as follows:

"Siete vecinos de Santo Domingo, entre los cuales fué uno el licenciado Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon, oidor de aquella isla, armaron dos navios en puerto de Plata, el año de 20, para ir por indios á las islas Lucayos . . . Fueron, y no hallaron en ellas hombres que rescatar ó saltear para atraer á sus minas, hatos y granjerias. Y así, acordaron de ir mas al norte á buscar tierra donde los hallasen, y no tornase vacios. Fueron pues á una tierra que llamaban Chicora y Gualdape, la cual está en treinta y dos grados, y es lo que llaman agora cabo de Santa Elena y rio Jordan; algunos con todo esto, dicen como el tiempo, y no la voluntad, los echó allá."

"Seven inhabitants of Santo Domingo, among whom was the licentiate Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon, judge of that island, equipped two ships in Puerto de Plata, to go in search of Indians from the Lucayas islands. They went, but failed to find men to seize for the purpose of working in their mines and farms, and decided therefore to go further north in quest of a country where such [Indians] could be found, so as not to return with empty hands. They reached a land named Chicora and Gualdape, which is by 32°, and is that which is now called Cape of Santa Elena and the River of Jordan. Withal some say it was by stress of weather, and not intentionally, that they arrived there."²

Gomara then relates how they enticed on board a number of Indians, after having returned two natives, a man and a woman, as decoys; that the King sent to the ships fifty of his men, all carrying victuals; that thereupon

¹ The Hon. Henry C. MURPHY has referred to such documents as far back as 1875: "As we learn from the testimony of Pedro de Quejo, the pilot of Matienzo," said he when discussing the landfall of Ayllon, and quoted: "Proceedings before the Auditors of St. Domingo, by

virtue of a royal decree of Nov. 1525, in relation to the dispute between Ayllon and Matienzo concerning their discovery, preserved in MS. at Seville."—*The Voyage of Verrazzano*, p. 123.

² GOMARA, *op. cit.*, cap. xliiii., p. 179.

the Spaniards suddenly set sail, and brought to Santo Domingo a number of Chicoreans (as slaves); but that one of the vessels foundered at sea, with all on board.

That narrative has served as a basis for every account written since of the first expedition of Vasquez de Ayllon. It has been literally copied by Herrera; and modern historians have followed that chronicler.

Gomara, as usual, has not consulted any original authority. His account is a mere paraphrase of the second chapter of the Seventh Decade of Peter Martyr. This chapter, as we have shown,³ has also furnished Las Casas with all the elements of a description, based upon the same materials as those used by Gomara in the present instance, but to which Las Casas ascribes a date anterior to the first expedition of Ayllon, and without connecting him with it, directly or indirectly. The critic therefore must revert to Peter Martyr as the sole origin of all those narratives.

Now, Peter Martyr does not present that expedition to the north-west of the island of Cuba as having been accomplished in 1520, nor by Vazquez de Ayllon, nor does he place by 32° north latitude the region then discovered or visited.

These particulars have been first advanced by Gomara, who mixed the details of the predatory cruise related at the beginning of the Seventh Decade, with the account of an expedition of Ayllon given also by Peter Martyr, but which is related as if entirely distinct and independent. In fact, we have failed to find any phrase where Peter Martyr ascribes that first slave hunt, expressly or implicitly, to the Santo Domingo judge; although he was well acquainted with him personally, and they even conversed together about his voyage to Chicora.

Under the circumstances, it is necessary to reproduce literally Peter Martyr's own account, to show the origin of those statements. The text tends rather to deprive Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon of the merit of having sent the expedition which first landed on the shores of the Carolinas. This compels us to repeat the commencement of Anghiera's narrative, which we have already cited, but only to disprove certain allegations of the Bishop Bartholomew de Las Casas.⁴

"Cupiditate igitur habendi lucaios, more venatorum qui per nemora montana perque palustria loca feras insectantur, ita quidam Hispani duobus nauigiis septem virorum impensa constructis, ex oppido Portus platæ

" Prompted by the lust of possessing [?] the Lucayas, the Spaniards, after the mode of hunters who pursue wild beasts across forests, mountains, and swamps, sailed from the town of Puerto de Plata, on the north side of

³ *Supra*, chapter ii., p. 143.

⁴ *Supra*, chapter i. p. 137.

dicto, in Hispaniolæ sito latere, qua septentrionem spectat, ad Lucaias homo cupii causa, anno ab hinc tertio transfretarunt . . . Ierunt ergo illi, vestigarunt universas has insulas, præda non reperta, quod eorum conuicini, iandiu ex amussim exploratas depopulati fuerant. Ne consociis irrisui forent si vacui ad Hispaniolam reuerterentur direxere proras ad Arctoon boatem. Aiunt plarique mentitos, qui sua sponte dixerint elegisse illud iter, sed iniquiunt ab exorta et biduo perseuerata repentina tempestate fuisse raptatos, ad eius terræ, quam describemus, prospectum, viso a longe celso promontorio. Quum se ad littus nostri applicarent, miraculo stupidi monstrum aliquod ad se venire putarunt incolæ, quòd usu navium ipsi careant : visendi studio primum ad littus certatim concurrunt, mox a descendentibus cum scaphis aura velocius aufugerunt omnes, littusque reliquere desertum : sequuntur abeuntes nostri. Præeunt agmen agiliores quidam juvenes, citatiore cursu properant, duos ignavius currentes virum et fœminam præhendunt, ad naves perductos vestibibus ornant, solvunt. Moti ea liberalitate littora complent iterum incolæ. Rex eorum intellecta nostrorum beneficentio . . . Sed quid? Hospitii fidem violarunt Hispani tandem. Astu nanque artibusque variis, post cuncta diligenter vestigata, operam dederunt ut una dierum ad naves visendi causa multi concurrerent, implerentur naves inspectantibus ; ubi refertas viris ac fœminis habuere, anchoris evulsis velis protentis, lugentes abduxerunt in servitum. Ita regiones eas universas ex amicis reliquerunt inimicas, et ex pacatis perturbatas, filiis a parentibus ablatis, ab uxoribus maritis. Sed è duabus navibus una tantum evasit, altera nusquam ulterius visa est : submersam fuisse cum sontibus et insontibus, quòd esset vetusta conjectantur. Id spoliolum fuit Hispaniolæ senatui molestissimum : impunitos tamen reliquerunt. Cum de præda remittenda consultassent, nil executioni mandatum est, rei difficultate animadversa, deperdita præcipue unâ. Particularia quædam ex

Hispaniola, facing the Lucayas, with two ships constructed at the cost of seven individuals, in search of men [*i. e.*, to enslave]. That occurred three years ago . . . They then scoured all the said islands without finding any prey, because those living near had long before explored and completely dispeopled them. So as not to become the laughing-stock of their partners if they returned to Hispaniola with empty hands, they turned the prows of their vessels northward. Those who say they selected such a route of their own accord speak falsely. [On the contrary] they were driven thither by a storm which burst suddenly, and lasted two days. It carried them to the land which we describe, and of which they had seen from afar the high promontory. As our men landed, the astonishment of the natives was very great, thinking that they were witnessing a prodigious phenomenon, as they had never seen ships before. Impelled by curiosity, they first ran to the shore ; but, as soon as the Spaniards alighted from their boats, they fled like the wind. Some of our young men, among the swiftest, caught two of the natives, a man and a woman, whom they brought on board. Dresses were given to them, and they were set free. Moved by such generosity on our part, the natives again flocked to the shore ; and their King having been informed of our kindness . . . sent us fifty of his followers loaded with products of the country . . . Finally, the Spaniards violated the laws of hospitality . . . They enticed the natives on board, and, when the ships were filled with men and women, they weighed anchor . . . and carried them into slavery . . . But only one of the two vessels escaped ; and, as the other never was seen again, it is supposed that, being old, she foundered at sea, carrying to the bottom both the guilty and innocent. That abduction was resented in a high degree by the Tribunal of Hispaniola, which, however, failed to inflict any punishment. The judges deliberated as to

his à sapiente viro jurisperito sacerdote, qui dicitur Baccalarius Alvarus à Castro, ea didici. Is ob litteras et morum honestatem decanus est effectus antistete conceptionis in Hispaniola, et idem Vicarius ac una hereseos inquisitor, cui præstanda est his super fides liberior . . . Ad eorum patriam, unde sumus digressi; revertamur: vel Bacchalaos anno abhinc vigesimo sexto ex Anglia per Cabotum repertos, aut Bacchalais, de quibus late alias, contiguas, arbitror esse terras illas. De illarum cœlesti situ ritibusque ac proventibus et moribus nunc dicendum est. Sub altitudine graduum eorundem et sub iisdem jacere parallelis affirmant, sub quibus Hispana jacet Vandalia, vulgo Andalusia. Regiones perlustrarunt paucorum dierum intercapedine, plærasque simul longe protento in terram adhærentes, ubi anchoras jacere, Chicoram et Duhâre primarias.

the means of returning [the Indians] who had been taken; but this was found to be impossible, especially on account of the loss of one of the vessels. Those details were given to me by the bachelor Alvaro de Castro, who was both a very able jurist and a priest . . . On this point, the greatest reliance should be placed in him. . . . He says that several complaints were lodged against the ravishers . . . that the women were dressed in lions' skins, and that the race has a white complexion . . . As to the country, I think it is the land of Baccallaos, which was discovered by Cabot twenty-six years ago, or one adjoining the same. It is said to be in the latitude of Andalusia . . . The Spaniards coasted the country during a few days, landed in several places, and went inland after casting anchor. The two principal parts are Chicora and Duharhe."

After describing further the appearance of the Chicoreans, Peter Martyr invokes another testimony, but only as regards the looks, habits, and customs of those Indians, as follows:

"Chicoranos aiunt semifuscos esse, uti nostri sunt agricolæ sole adusti æstivo. Capillos nigros cingulo tenus viri nutriunt, fœminæ longiores in giros: uterque sexus nectit comam. Sunt imberbes: sit ne id a natura, vel ab arte, medicamento aliquo genere adhibito, vel pilos evellant more Tenustitanæ gentis, est in ambiguo: utcunque sit ostendere se leuigatos delectantur Testem alium cito non minoris inter laicos autoritatis, quam decanus ille sit inter initiatos: Is Lucas Vazquez Aiglionus licentiatus dicitur, civis Toletanus, et ex Hispaniolæ senatoribus unus, eius [sic⁵] impensæ duorum navigiorum particeps: ad nostrum rerum Indicarum senatum ab Hispaniola missus procurator, venit et diu efflagitavit dari sibi veniam repetendi terras illas, condendæ in eis coloniæ causa. Ex Chicoranis advectis unum adduxit secum, qui ei famuletur, baptizatum appellat Franciscum, ab suo natali Chicora cognomen induit. Dum negociis intendens moraretur, habui aliquando

"It is said that the Chicoreans are semi-brown, like our sun-burned husbandmen. The men let their hair, which is black, grow until it falls to the waist. The women carry their hair, which is curled, longer . . . They have no beard. Whether it be natural, or caused by their pulling off the hair, like the people of Tenustitan [Mexico], I cannot tell. I shall quote another testimony, appreciated by laymen in as high a degree as that of Alvaro de Castro is valued by the initiated. It is the attestation of Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon, who came [to Spain] on a mission from the Tribunal of Hispaniola to our Council of the Indies. Having been a partner in the equipment, at his own cost, of two ships, he long solicited the authorisation of returning there to plant a colony. He had brought with him, as a servant, one of the Chicoreans taken over [to Hispaniola],

⁵ This sentence is almost unintelligible. Perhaps we should read: "cum Matienzo particeps," although it would not render it much more correct. The above text

is the same in the *editio princeps* and in the edition given by HAKLUYT, *De Orbe Novo*, Paris, 1588, 8vo.

⁶ Those or any such accounts are lost.

convivas et Aiglionum herum et Franciscum Chicoranum famulantem. Non est hebes ingenio is Chicoranus, nec inepte sapit, idiomaque sat commode didicit Hispanum. Quæ igitur Aiglionus ipse licentiatu ex sociorum relatu literis mandata mihi ostendit, et quæ Chicoranus viva voce fassus est miranda quidem, ea recensebo. Demat addatque fidei rerum, quas recitabo, ex ingenio quisque suo . . . Chicora ergo relicta, latus aliud sinus ejus adierunt et regionem captarunt dictam Duharhe: hos incolas esse candidos ait Aiglionus, affirmante Francisco Chicorano suffusco, sed flavis demissisque ad talum usque crinibus. Regem habent hi gigantææ proceritatis . . . Regio est alia huic propinqua nomine Xapida."

whom he caused to be baptized and called Francis, with the surname of *Chicora*, from his native land. I entertained both at my house on several occasions. I shall now proceed to repeat the contents of the accounts composed by Ayllon with the relations written by his companions,⁶ and what Francisco Chicorano told me. . . . Having left Chicora, they went to another region called Duharhe, whose inhabitants are said by Ayllon to have a white complexion, but Chicorano asserts that it is brown. . . Their hair is fallow, and comes to the heels. Their King is of gigantic size. . . . There is another country near, called Xapida."⁷

It must be confessed that the enterprise first described by Peter Martyr in his Seventh Decade, resembles in important particulars what we know from other and authentic sources, of the expedition which Ayllon sent to our east coast in 1521. For instance:

The date of both is nearly the same. The letters patent of 1523, which we will soon discuss, say that it was a short time before the latter year: "nuevamente;" while Peter Martyr states that this event took place "three years before writing his Seventh Decade," which was completed in 1525.⁸

Ayllon's expedition, as well as the other one, was composed of two ships: "dos carabelas," and "duobus navigiis," equipped in and sailing from Puerto de Plata: "ex oppido Portus Platae."⁹

The object of both was to kidnap Indians from the Lucayas islands: "ad Lucaias homo cupii causa," and "por yndios lucayos."¹⁰

The two expeditions directed their course northward: "a la parte del norte," and "direxere proras ad Arctoon bootem."

The part of the continent where they both landed contained provinces severally named "Chicora" and "Duharhe" (Peter Martyr); "Chicora" and "Duache" (Letters patent,¹¹ and Oviedo).

But there is a most important circumstance which, thus far, belongs only to the anonymous expedition. We refer to the loss at sea of one of

⁷ ANGHIERA, *De Orbe Novo*, Compluti, 1530, fol., *Decas Septima*, cap. ii., f. xcii., and pp. 458-472 of Hakluyt's edition.

⁸ On the 7th of March, 1525, according to his own statement. See *supra*, p. 138.

⁹ The documents published in the *Coleccion de documentos ineditos de Indias*, Vol. XXXIV., pp. 563-7, and XXXV., pp. 547-62, show that Puerto de Plata was the

place where Ayllon equipped his expeditions. It is described by ENCISO, *Suma de Geografia*, verso of H, as a poor port, but little frequented: "El lugar es pequeño y el puerto no es bueno, y a esta causa es poco el trato."

¹⁰ Complaint of MATIENZO in the *Documentos ineditos de Indias*, Vol. XXXIV., p. 563.

¹¹ Text of the *Doc. ined. de Indias*.

the two ships, with all on board; and that event being given, besides, as the reason why the captured Indians were not returned to their native land.

It is also an extraordinary fact that Peter Martyr, who relates the two voyages from trustworthy sources, such as Alvarez de Castro for the one, and Ayllon himself for the other, should have represented them as wholly distinct; if, in reality, they were found to be one and the same. It was impossible that he should be so misinformed on the subject. If he knew that there was no difference between the two expeditions, we must infer that, being a perfect courtier, he avoided connecting the name of Ayllon, who was an influential judge, with a piratical enterprise which he had just branded as an injustice and a disgrace.

Now, there is a consequence to be drawn from this analysis. If the anonymous expedition and that of Ayllon are entirely distinct, then he did not discover the Carolinas, and we must ascribe the discovery to the unknown and predatory adventurers whose disgraceful exploits are related by Peter Martyr at the commencement of his Seventh Decade.

Be that as it may, Ayllon cannot be deprived of the merit of having caused those shores to be explored, and, afterwards, of having attempted to plant a colony there. Unfortunately, the only document which has come to our knowledge concerning his first expedition is the patent which was granted to him by Charles V. on the 12th of June, 1523, to which we have already referred.

According to those letters patent,¹² the enterprise required two ships,¹³ which were equipped by Ayllon in partnership with a brother judge of the Court of Santo Domingo, called Juan Ortiz de Matienzo,¹⁴ and a notary of the same place, named Diego Caballero.

That expedition discovered a land theretofore unknown, not a long time before the month of June in the year 1523.

¹² *Real Cédula que contiene el asiento capitulado con Lucas Vazquez de Aillon para proseguir el descubrimiento principiado con buques suyos y de otros por los 35° à 37° N-S. de la isla Española, y para buscar un estrecho.*—NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 153, and *Doc. inedit. de Indias*, Vol. XXII.

¹³ KOHL says (*Documentary History of Maine*, p. 246) we do not know on what authority, that "the chief pilot of the expedition was Diego MIRUELO." Our late friend J. CARSON BREVOORT stated in his *Verrazzano*, published in 1874, that the other pilot of Ayllon's ship was PEDRO DE QUEJO, and that the vessel of Matienzo had for pilot FERNANDO SOTIL. The names of Quejo, or Quexo, and

of Sotil, together with the remark that the two ships in Ayllon's first expedition belonged to separate owners, indicate also on the part of BREVOORT a knowledge of the documents quoted, as above stated, by the Hon. H. C. MURPHY in 1875. We are disposed to think that those "Proceedings" were found among the papers of the late Buckingham SMITH.

¹⁴ This MATIENZO afterwards removed to Mexico, where in 1530 he was excommunicated, not, however, for having engaged in the slave trade: "pudiendo la absolucion de la excomunicacion por aber sacado del corral de San Francesco al reo de Christobal de Angulo." In the *Documentos ineditos de Indias*, Vol. XLI.

That land was at the north, and extended from 35° to 37° latitude (according to the scale then in use by Spanish navigators).

It was fertile, appropriate for colonisation, containing many trees and plants like those in Spain,¹⁵ and peopled with inhabitants better fitted for civilisation than those of Hispaniola.

The country was under the sway of a king of gigantic size, and was divided into provinces severally named :

| | |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| LETTERS PATENT : | OVIEDO : |
| Suache. | Duahe. |
| Chicora. | Chicora. |
| Xapira and Tatanca. | Xapira. |
| Anicatiye. | Anica. |
| Cocayo, | Tiveçocayo. |
| Guacaya. | Guacaya. |
| Xoxi. | Xoxi. |
| Sona. | Sona. |
| Pasqui. | Pasqui. |
| Arambe. | Aranui. |
| Xamunambe. | Xamunamuc. |
| Huaq. | Huaque. |
| Tanzaca. | Tanaca. |
| Yenyohol. | Yenyohol. |
| Paor. | Pahoc. |
| Yamiscaron. | Yamiscaron. |
| Corixaynsiguanin. | Orixa and Inisiguanin. |
| Anoxa. | Noxa. |

We possess no means of controlling those statements, except with regard to the names which are set forth in the letters patent as representing parts of the country just discovered. Oviedo, who was in a position to be well informed on the subject, having known personally, at the time, the parties engaged in the enterprise,¹⁶ affirms that those names were wholly imaginary, and invented by the Indian called Francisco Chicora, whom Ayllon had brought with him to Spain :

¹⁵ RIBERO inscribes on his map : “Tiera de Ayllon : el qual descubrio y boluiendo la a poblar porque es tierra muy dispuesta para dar pan y vino y todas las cosas de España :—The country of Ayllon, who discovered it, and

returned there to make a settlement, being a land well calculated to yield bread and wine, and all things of Spain.”

¹⁶ OVIEDO, *Historia General de las Indias*, lib. xxxvii., cap. i., Vol. III., p. 628.

"Y en toda la costa, ni en lo que dentro de la tierra vieron los españoles, ni se pudo ver ni aver noticia de provincia ni puerto, ni rio ni poblacion que tal nombre tuviesse: ni vieron tierra ni provincia que se llamasse de los nombres que se contenian en la capitulacion quel licenciado tuvo con S. M., que yo he visto, que son los quel dicho indio le debiera avisar."

"And, neither on the coast nor inland, did the Spaniards see or have notice of provinces, harbors, rivers, or population so named [*i. e.*, Chicora]. Nor did they see any lands or provinces bearing the names inserted in the letters patent granted by His Majesty, which I have seen, and were doubtless furnished by that Indian."¹⁷

The preceding pages were already in type when our attention was called to a succinct, but new and clear, account of Ayllon's first voyage to the east coast, written by Mr. John Gilmary Shea,¹⁸ and based upon documents which, so far as we know, have not yet been published. They belong to the files¹⁹ in the suits which Matienzo brought against Ayllon, at Santo Domingo, in 1525 and 1526.

Being unable at this late hour to institute researches in the Archives of the Indies, or to obtain copies of those documents, we depart from our custom of taking all historic data from original authorities, and borrow the narrative of Mr. Shea, who, moreover, is one of our few trustworthy historians.

"In 1520, Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon having secured the necessary license, despatched a caravel under the command of Francisco Gordillo, with directions to sail northward through the Bahamas, and thence strike the shore of the continent. Gordillo set out on his exploration, and near the island of Lucayoneque, one of the Lucayuelos, descried another caravel. His pilot, Alonso Fernandez Sotil, proceeded towards it in a boat, and soon recognised it as a caravel commanded by a kinsman of his, Pedro de Quexos, and fitted out, in part, by Juan Ortiz de Matienzo. This caravel was returning from an unsuccessful cruise among the Bahamas for Caribs,—the object of the expedition being to capture Indians in order to sell them as slaves. On ascertaining the object of Gordillo's voyage, Quexos proposed that they should continue the exploration together. After a sail of eight or ten days, in which they ran little

¹⁷ OVIEDO, *ubi supra*. As to the names of *Chicora* and *Gualdape*, the following remark of HERREKA (Decad. III., lib. viii., cap. viii., p. 241) must be noted: "Adonde estaba vn Pueblo, que por llamarle *Oritza*, le dixeran *Chicora*, porque los Castellanos nunca repararon en romper poco los vocablos, i otro lugar, que se decia *Guale*, llamaron *Gualdape*."—There is in that locality a village called *Oritza*, which the Spaniards, with their habit of corrupting names, call *Chicora*; and another denominated *Guale*, they name *Gualdape*."

¹⁸ *Narrative and Critical History of America*, edited by Mr. Justin WINSOR; Boston, s. a., Vol. II., pp. 238-239.

¹⁹ Those documents are probably preserved at Seville in what is called the *Patronato* (*Estante 2, Cajon 1?*) from which were taken the complaint of MATIENZO, and certain depositions collected on behalf of AYLLON inserted in the *Documentos ineditos de Indias*, Vol. XXXIV., pp. 563-67, and XXXV., p. 547-62. These two documents are far less interesting than those which Mr. SHEA had the good fortune to secure. They contain only two facts of importance. The first is, that the object of the expedition was to kidnap Indians from the Lucayos, as well as to accomplish discoveries; the other fact is that Ayllon's second expedition returned to Santo Domingo in August, 1525.

more than a hundred leagues, they reached the coast of the continent, at the mouth of a considerable river, to which they gave the name of St. John the Baptist, from the fact that they touched the coast on the day set apart to honor the Precursor of Christ. The year was 1521, and the point reached was, according to the estimate of the explorers, in latitude 33° 30' (*Testimony of Pedro de Quexos, and Act of taking possession by Quexos*).

Boats put off from the caravels, and landed some twenty men on the shore; and, while the ships endeavoured to enter the river, these men were surrounded by Indians, whose goodwill they gained by presents.

Some days later, Gordillo formally took possession of the country in the name of Ayllon, and of his associate Diego Caballero, and of the King, as Quexos did also in the name of his employers, on Sunday, June 30, 1521. Crosses were cut on the trunks of trees to mark the Spanish occupancy (*Testimony of Aldana*).

Although Ayllon had charged Gordillo to cultivate friendly relations with the Indians of any new land he might discover (*Answer of Ayllon to Matienzo*), Gordillo joined with Quexos in seizing some seventy of the natives, with whom they sailed away, without any attempt to make an exploration of the coast.

On the return of the vessel to Santo Domingo, Ayllon condemned his captain's act, and the matter was brought before a commission presided over by Diego Columbus, for the consideration of important affairs. The Indians were declared free, and it was ordered that they should be restored to their native land at the earliest possible moment. Meanwhile they were to remain in the hands of Ayllon and Matienzo."²⁰

In his critical essay on the sources of information, Mr. Shea adds the following important detail:

"As regards the joint exploration of the vessels of Gordillo and Quexos, the testimony of the latter helps us, as well as his act of taking possession, which puts the proceeding in 1521; though some of the witnesses give 1520 as the date; both parties unite in calling the river which they reached, the San Juan Bautista. Herrera is wrong in calling the river the Jordan,—named, as he says, after the captain or pilot of one of the vessels,—since no such person was on either vessel, and no such name appears in the testimony."²¹

The above-quoted testimonies contradict, in an important particular, the leading statement of the letters patent of June 12, 1523, viz.:

"Dos carabelas descubrieron tierra . . . á la parte del norte, la cual dicha tierra diz que está en treinta y cinco, y treinta y seis, y treinta y siete grados:—The two caravels discovered land at the north, which land, they say, is by thirty-five, *and* thirty-six, *and* thirty-seven degrees."²²

This technical description implies that the two ships of Ayllon and Matienzo did actually range the coast extending from 35° to 37° north latitude; that is, a space corresponding with us to the distance between

²⁰ *Narrative and Critical History*, edited by Justin Winsor, Vol. II., pp. 238-239.

²¹ *Narrative and Critical History*, p. 285.

²² NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 153.

Pamlico Sound, in North Carolina, and Cape Henry, in Virginia. It means that they did not limit their action to a mere disembarkment in one place only, but that, on the contrary, the expedition followed the coast for a distance of at least two degrees of latitude, with several landings.²³

Now, according to the deposition of Pedro de Quexos, their landfall was in latitude $33^{\circ} 30'$, at the mouth of a large river, which they ascended a certain distance. This happened on the 24th of June, 1521. From that place, so far from coasting at all, shortly afterwards "they sailed away, without any attempt to make an exploration of the coast."²⁴

As to the Jordan river, Herrera is doubtless mistaken when he states that it was so named after the captain or pilot of one of the ships, since Mr. Shea has not found such a name in the testimony. But the explorers must have called "Rio Jordan" a river of the newly-discovered region, as we already see a "R. Jordan" in the Ribero map, by $31^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude, carried, however, by Oviedo to $33^{\circ} 40'$.²⁵ This name is not uncommon in the early charts. Kunstmann No. 2 inscribes a *Rio Jordan* on the Brazilian coast; the Maggiolo of 1527, on the shores of Newfoundland; whilst the Turin map has a *Rio Giordan* by 36° , and a *Rio de Jordan* by 23° south latitudes. But, as the present designation appears in cartographical documents only in 1529, and that, between 1520 and 1527, Ayllon sent three expeditions to our east coast, it is impossible to say in the course of which this Carolina stream was so named. If, however, the first expedition sighted no other part of the coast than the mouth of a river which was then called the St. John, it is evident that we must make the name of "Rio Jordan" date either from 1525 or 1526. We incline to consider the name of Jordan as having been given at the latter date, being probably the landfall in the third voyage; else it would figure in the Weimar chart of 1527.

There remains to be seen whether the above data permit the critic to ascertain where the landfall was in 1521.

Notwithstanding the discrepancy existing between those accounts, and our inability to demonstrate absolutely which of the two statements is the correct one, we will base our hypothesis upon the declarations of Pedro de Quexos, as summed up by Mr. Shea. Our reason for the preference

²³ Peter MARTYR states also that the expedition did not remain in one place, but speaks only of "the Spaniards having sailed during a few days, landing in several localities: — Regiones perlustrarunt paucorum dierum

intercapedine, plerasque simul longe protendo in terram adhærentes." *Supra*, p. 201.

²⁴ SHEA, *ubi supra*.

²⁵ OVIEDO, lib. xxxvii., cap. i., Vol. III., p. 628.

is that Ayllon was interested in magnifying the efforts of his lieutenant, being, in 1523, an applicant for new privileges from the Crown. Under the circumstances, it was a much better argument to claim an extensive search than to limit his action to a mere landing and prompt departure after having secured a cargo of Indian slaves. Quexos, on the other hand, could have no interest in diminishing his own efforts, and besides, as the declaration was made in the course of a judicial enquiry, he would have been promptly contradicted, had his assertion proved to be untrue.

Now, Quexos says that he visited only one point of the coast, which was in latitude $33^{\circ} 30'$.

What did that latitude represent exactly in the eyes of a Spanish pilot in 1526, when those sworn testimonies were taken?

We possess a precious document on that question. It is the Weimar chart of 1527. It records the discovery of Ayllon; at the latter date, however, he had already accomplished, personally or by his lieutenants, three voyages to the east coast; and we must therefore endeavour to determine which of these furnished the geographical data inscribed on that chart.

The second expedition of Ayllon was carried out in the spring of 1525, and Mr. Shea informs us that not less than two hundred and fifty leagues of the coast were then explored. But, as the chief object of the voyage was to prevent Ayllon's privileges from becoming void for non-performance of the conditions, we are inclined to think that the report remained in the hands of the local authorities at Santo Domingo, in the form of a legal notice.

The third expedition set out in the middle of July, 1526. Ayllon, who had led it in person (his first visit to that country), died on the 18th of October following. It was the commencement of a series of misfortunes and unsuccessful attempts at colonising in two places, which ended with internal feuds. Judging from Oviedo's account, those sad events absorbed much time, and were not possibly known elsewhere until the survivors of the expedition returned to Santo Domingo. The geographical data which they brought with them cannot therefore have reached Spain seasonably enough to be used by the maker of the chart of 1527.

At all events, if the data in that map were derived from either of the two last expeditions, the cartographer would not have inscribed only "Tierra del licenciado Ayllon," but, as in the case of Narvaez: "Tierra

que aora va a poblar Lucas de Ayllon;" it being well known that the letters patent of 1523 were predicated upon a colonisation of the newly-discovered land.

The Weimar chart of 1527 gives us therefore the point of the coast where the first expedition of Ayllon effected its only landing and only survey of the country.

With what part of modern maps does the legend in the chart of 1527, "Tierra del licenciado Ayllon," correspond?

The distance in that chart between Cape Sable, at the extremity of Florida, and Cape Race, at the southern apex of Newfoundland, covers twenty-two and one-third degrees of latitude. In our Admiralty maps, that interval of space embraces twenty-two degrees. There is, therefore, a difference of only twenty miles between the two measurements.

Both in the chart of 1527 and in the Admiralty maps, the south end of Florida is by 25° north latitude. It follows that both on the chart of 1527 and on Admiralty maps, 33° 30' (which is the latitude given by Pedro de Quexos for his first landfall on the east coast) must be accepted as the exact point of the discovery in 1521.

That point, in our opinion, is Georgetown Entrance in South Carolina, which, besides, is only half-a-degree further south than the locality where is inscribed, on the chart of 1527, "Tierra de Ayllon." We must also remark that, with the exception of the Santee, there is no river or mouth of river, within fifty or seventy-five miles, north or south of 33° 30', which is sufficiently important to answer the description, however succinct it may be. And, if we do not name the banks of the Santee as the landfall on that occasion, it is because its latitude is still further south; while the indications lead rather more to the north.

The first intimation of an intervening voyage to Chicora undertaken by the orders of Ayllon, is to be found in Herrera, *sub anno* 1525. And although his references to the legal proceedings instituted by Matienzo against Ayllon show that he has had access to the documents since published, and to which we shall call the attention of our readers, the details to be gathered from the Decades are extremely brief. They convey no other information, though valuable so far as it goes, than the fact that the expedition was composed of two ships, which returned promptly to Santo Domingo:

“Armó dos Navios en la Ciudad de Santo Domingo, i las embió, con pensamiento de apercibir maiores fuerças, si el Viage sucedia bien . . . Bolvieron presto, con relacion de que havian descubierto Tierras de buenas muestras . . . por lo qual se declaró, que para cumplir mejor con lo capitulado, queria armar otro Navio, demàs de los dos, i hacer, en Persona, la Jornada :—He equipped two ships in the city of Santo Domingo, and sent them, with the intention of preparing a larger expedition if the voyage proved successful . . . They returned to port promptly, with the news of a discovery of lands of good appearance. Upon which Ayllon announced his intention, so as to fulfil better the conditions of his patent, to equip a ship, in addition to the other two, and lead the enterprise in person.”²⁶

That important statement escaped the attention of Navarrete, who, like Gomara and others, thought that Ayllon had undertaken but two expeditions, one in 1521 and the other in 1526.

It was only when the new volume of the *Coleccion de documentos ineditos de Indias* appeared, in 1888, that documents commenced to be published. These consisted of the judicial allegations mentioned by Herrera as regards the action brought by Matienzo against his former partner, and, particularly, of the petition which Ayllon addressed to the Audiencia or Tribunal of Santo Domingo, as he was preparing his third and last expedition. It confirmed the statement of Herrera, by giving the exact date of the return, in August, 1525, of ships which Ayllon had sent on a voyage of discovery :

“Desde que vynieron las carabelas del descubrymiento de la dicha Tierra que fué por el mes de Agosto del año passado :—Since the arrival of the caravels from the discovery of the said country, which was in the month of August of last year.”²⁷

The document is dated March 5, 1526. Consequently, the voyage alluded to, or the return of the ships, “el año passado,” occurred in 1525. And, as to the fact itself, it is corroborated by four eye-witnesses.

Notwithstanding our efforts, we could find no further information concerning that second voyage. Here, again, light is thrown upon the subject by the documents of Mr. Shea, who mentions the expedition as follows :

“To secure his rights under the *Asiento*, Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon despatched two caravels under Pedro de Quexos to the newly-discovered land, early in 1525. They regained the goodwill of the natives, and explored the coast for two hundred and fifty leagues, setting up stone crosses with the name of Charles V. and the date of taking possession. They returned to Santo Domingo in July [August? *see above*], 1525, bringing one or two Indians from each province, who might be trained as interpreters (*Interrogatories of Ayllon; Testimony of Quexos*).”²⁸

²⁶ HERRERA, *Historia de los Hechos de los Españoles*; Decad. III., lib. viii., cap. viii., p. 241.

²⁷ *Ynformacion fecha en la Abdyencia de Santo Domingo a petycion del Oydor Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon*

sobre una espedycion que obo de facer en la Florida, March 5, 1526. *Coleccion de doc. ineditos de Indias*, Vol. XXXV., p. 549.

²⁸ SHEA, *ubi supra*.

We suppose that those two hundred and fifty leagues were coasted northward, and, as we also presume, north of the landfall in 1521, which was by 33° 30'. One reason is that the voyage was made in furtherance of the conditions imposed by the patent of 1523, which required a coasting of eight hundred leagues, or until the commander had reached lands already discovered: "navegareis ochocientas leguas ó hasta dar en tierra descubierta." Now, Ayllon's lieutenant could not turn the prow of his ships southward, and expect to run along the east coast, without feeling convinced that he would soon reach the Florida regions, which he certainly knew had been discovered by and conceded to Ponce de Leon. On the other hand, he could go towards the north as far as he wished, without running any other risk than to come across countries claimed by the English or the Portuguese.

Another argument is that the regions attributed by the Ribero map of 1529 to Ayllon, and which extend to 39° north latitude, can have been discovered only in the course of his second voyage.

This fact compels us to break our chronology, in order to discuss the expedition which Ayllon led in person in 1526.

All we know concerning that voyage is borrowed exclusively from the account given by Oviedo. It amounts to this:

Being threatened by the Royal Council of the Indies to have his letters patent revoked, and another captain entrusted with the undertaking, Ayllon sailed from Puerto de Plata in the middle of July, 1526.²⁹ The expedition was composed of a large vessel, *La Bretona*, which served as flagship; another, *La Sancta Cathalina*; a third, *La Chorruga*; a brig, and a lighter or barge, carrying together five hundred men and eighty or ninety horses. Ayllon, who this time, and for the first time, was on board, sailed direct from Hispaniola to the east coast, landing near a river called (since when?) *Rio Jordan*. The entrance of that river is set at 33° 40': "en treynta e tres grados e dos terçios," which is within ten miles only of the first landfall of 1521, as set forth by Quexos. In entering the river, the flag-ship went aground and was entirely lost; but the other ships sailed up successfully, we do not know to what distance.

²⁹ OVIEDO, lib., xxxvii., cap. i., Vol. III., p. 628. Mr. SHEA says "the date is clearly fixed after May 26 and before June 9, as Ayllon testified on the former day, and on the latter his procurator appeared for him." *Op. cit.*, p. 240, note 3. That historian also quotes "Testimony of Alonzo Despinosa Cervantes, and of Father

Antonio de Cervantes, O. S. D. in 1561." The latter, it seems, was a companion of Ayllon in the voyage of 1526, together with Antonio DE MONTESINOS and Pedro DE ESTRADA. There is a reference to some writings of MONTESINOS on the subject, but we have failed to find them in the Archives of the Indies.

Finding the land inappropriate for a colony, they determined, after a few days, to leave, and make a settlement elsewhere. What follows, in Oviedo, comprises all that can be ascertained relative to the future movements of Ayllon, or of his men after he died. It is in these words :

“Acordaron de yrse á poblar la costa adelante haçia la costa ocçidental, é fueron á un grand rio (quarenta o quarenta é çinco leguas de allí, pocas más ò menos) que se diçe Gualdape é allí assentaron su campo ó real en la costa dél :—They decided to go and settle on the coast beyond, in the direction of the west coast ; and they went to a large river (forty or forty-five leagues from that place, more or less) called Gualdape ; and there they established their camp or settlement on the coast.”

We are constrained to take Oviedo's text and figures as they stand, and endeavour to ascertain whether logical deductions can be drawn from the same.

Being at the east, on a continental coast, Ayllon, strictly speaking, could direct his ships towards a western coast, “haçia la costa ocçidental,” only through a water-way which was inland, and running westward.

That water-way, according to Oviedo's description, presented two peculiarities, viz. : a large river, “un grand rio,” poured into it ; and the entrance to that large river was distant from the point whence Ayllon set out after breaking up his first encampment : “de allí,” one hundred and twenty or one hundred and thirty-five miles : “quarenta o quarenta é çinco leguas.”

The point from which Ayllon started on this subsequent coasting exploration, we infer from Oviedo's statement to have been in the vicinity of the landfall, that is, the estuary of the Rio Jordan, which he locates by 33° 40'.

Now, taking a wide range, there are on the east coast, between 32° and 34° 30' north latitude, only three inland water-ways answering at all to the above description, viz :

The *Santee River*, by 33° 7', and which extends over 130 miles.

Georgetown Entrance, with Winyah Bay and the *Great Pedee*, by 33° 10' ; extending together over 150 navigable miles.

Cap Fear River, by 33° 50', and 250 miles long.

Which of these was navigated by Ayllon after leaving the Rio Jordan, and where he made his last attempt to plant a colony ?

The first datum to notice in Oviedo's narrative is the word “costa,” which he applies to the region explored by Ayllon. In Spanish it has no other meaning than a sea-coast.

If Oviedo had used the term "orilla," instead of "costa," we should assume at once that Ayllon simply ascended a river, which the critic would have to select from the three streams above mentioned. But the word "costa" compels us to introduce some *sea coast* as a necessary factor in the investigation. We are also bound to place the locality beyond 33° 40' north latitude, that having been the starting point.

To understand Oviedo's meaning, we must suppose him writing with a map before his eyes, Ribero's for instance, and notice that, north of its Rio Jordan, the sea coast is made to trend considerably eastward; which is also the case in the reality of things, if we consider the north-eastern shores of Long Bay in modern maps. This reasonable hypothesis permits us to imagine how Oviedo may call "west" the recess exhibited by the coast in the longitude of his Rio Jordan, relatively to the eastward trend which is seen north of the supposed locality of that river.

Now, the extent of sea coast, from either of the two estuaries above mentioned to the entrance of Cape Fear River, cannot be less than one hundred miles; taking into account the curves and windings which the ships followed closely, being in search of an eligible spot to land. We then find the mouth of the river, which, almost as high up as Wilmington, is sufficiently wide to permit the term "costa" to be applied to its shores as a continuation of the sea coast below. This approximate trajet gives about twenty miles more, and indicates a point of Cape Fear River, between Smithville and Wilmington, as the locality where Ayllon probably made his second settlement in the summer of 1526, and where he died a couple of months afterwards.

It also follows from what precedes that, in 1521 and 1526, Ayllon's expeditions did not range the sea coast beyond 33° 50' north latitude; and that, until new documents show that there was another Spanish voyage to the east coast, at those dates, or before 1529, the names: *C. de S. Roman*, *Rio del Principe*, *C. Traffalgar*, *Rio del Espiritu Santo* (at the north), *B. de S^a Maria*, and *C. de St. Juan*, inscribed for the first time by Ribero, must be attributed to the second expedition sent by Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon, in 1525.

CHAPTER III.

GIOVANNI DA VERRAZANO.

1523—1524.

IT is almost universally admitted that a navigator, or corsair, called Giovanni da Verrazano, of Florentine birth, sailing under the French flag by command of Francis the First, discovered, or explored, the Atlantic coast of North America, from Florida to Nova Scotia, between the years 1523 and 1524.

That belief, which has been shared by all historians for three centuries, was based at first solely upon an account published by Ramusio in 1556, in the third volume of his celebrated *Raccolta*, under the following title :

“Relazione di Gioianni da Verrazzano Fiorentino della terra per lui scoperta in nome di sua Maestà, scritta in Dieppa, adi 8. Luglio, M.D.XXIII.:—Relation by Giovanni da Verrazano, a Florentine, of the country which he has discovered in the name of His Majesty, written at Dieppe, on the 8th day of July, 1524.”

Such an opinion could only be strengthened when Hakluyt, in the dedication to Philip Sidney of his *Divers voyages touching the discoveries of America*, printed in 1582, referring to the north-west passage, made the following statement :

“Master John Verarzanus which had been thrise on that coast [*i. e.*, the north-east coast of America] in an olde excellent mappe, which he gave to King Henry the eight, and is yet in custody of Master Locke, doth so lay it out as it is to bee seene in the mappe annexed to the end of this boke, being made according to Verarzanus plat.”

Finally, an older text than the one published by Ramusio, but printed only in 1841,¹ together with another document since so frequently quoted as “the Carli letter,”² also added weight to the belief then entertained by every one that the publication of Ramusio was genuine, the statement

¹ Florence National Library; ex-Magliabecchiana; MS., Class XIII., Cod. 89; *Verrazano*;—*Collections of the New York Historical Society*, Vol. I., new series, 1841, p. 55.

² *Lettera di Fernando Carli a suo Padre*; Lyons,

August 4, 1524, first printed in the Roman journal of history, *Il Saggiatore*, I., 257, says Mr. MURPHY. But see for a more exact text, *Archivio Storico Italiano*, of Viusseux, Vol. IX., Appendix, 1853. See also the Bibliography in *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 279.

of Hakluyt entirely reliable, and the voyage ascribed to Giovanni da Verrazano absolutely authentic.

The first doubts were raised by Buckingham Smith, in 1864,³ and supported with additional arguments, in 1875, by the Hon. Henry C. Murphy.⁴ The question has since been ably discussed *pro* and *con* in a number of elaborate dissertations.

Not being yet in possession of the new facts which we hope may result from researches initiated, at our special request, by the French Government among the papers of Admiral Bonnavet, and in the Parliamentary archives at Rouen (Honfleur and Dieppe have been exhausted), as well as in the Torre do Tombo at Lisbon, by a friend whom we have commissioned to sift through the diplomatic correspondence of João da Silveyra, Pedro Gomez Teixeira, and Diego de Gouveya, we shall abstain for the present from discussing the documents above mentioned.

We propose to limit our task, just now, to an analysis and arguments based exclusively upon what might be termed extrinsic or parallel evidence. That is, we will ignore entirely the account of Ramusio and the Carli letter, although both are given as representing either the very words or the substance of the official report addressed by Giovanni da Verrazano to the King of France. We will even leave aside the statements and map of Hakluyt, which could be made important factors in a discussion almost entirely cartographical. The case would be otherwise, perhaps, if we had before us the original of the Ramusio and Carli transcripts, and of the "olde excellent mappe" which Hakluyt ascribes to Giovanni da Verrazano; neither of which, however, we mean to question. There is so much to be said in regard to those documents, particularly the account said to have been addressed to Francis I. (no French text of which has yet been found), that we thought it interesting to see whether the problem could not be solved otherwise. Withal, the reader should know that the absence of original French documents relative to that voyage of Verrazano, thus far, can be easily explained; as the documentary history of the Valois is in course of formation. When we see that the patents of Francis I. increase from 3,500 to 18,000, hopes may yet be entertained.

³ Buckingham SMITH, *An Inquiry into the authenticity of documents concerning a discovery in North America, claimed to have been made by Verrazano*; New York, 1864, 4to.

⁴ Henry C. MURPHY, *The Voyage of Verrazano: a chapter in the Early History of Maritime Discovery in America*; New York, 1875, 8vo. An appendix was published by the author in 1876 or 1877.

The *Bibliotheca Ambrosiana* at Milan possesses a mappamundi on two sheets of vellum, one of which is devoted exclusively to the New World.

That valuable map bears the following inscription :

“VESCONTE DE MAIOLLO CONPOSUY HANC CARTAN. IN JANUA ANNO DNY 15.7. DIE XX. DECENBRIS:—
Vesconte de Maiollo composed this map at Genoa, in the year 15.7, on the 20th day of December.”

It is intentionally that we have placed a dot where the inscription inserts a numeral. The reason is that the entire date must be explained.

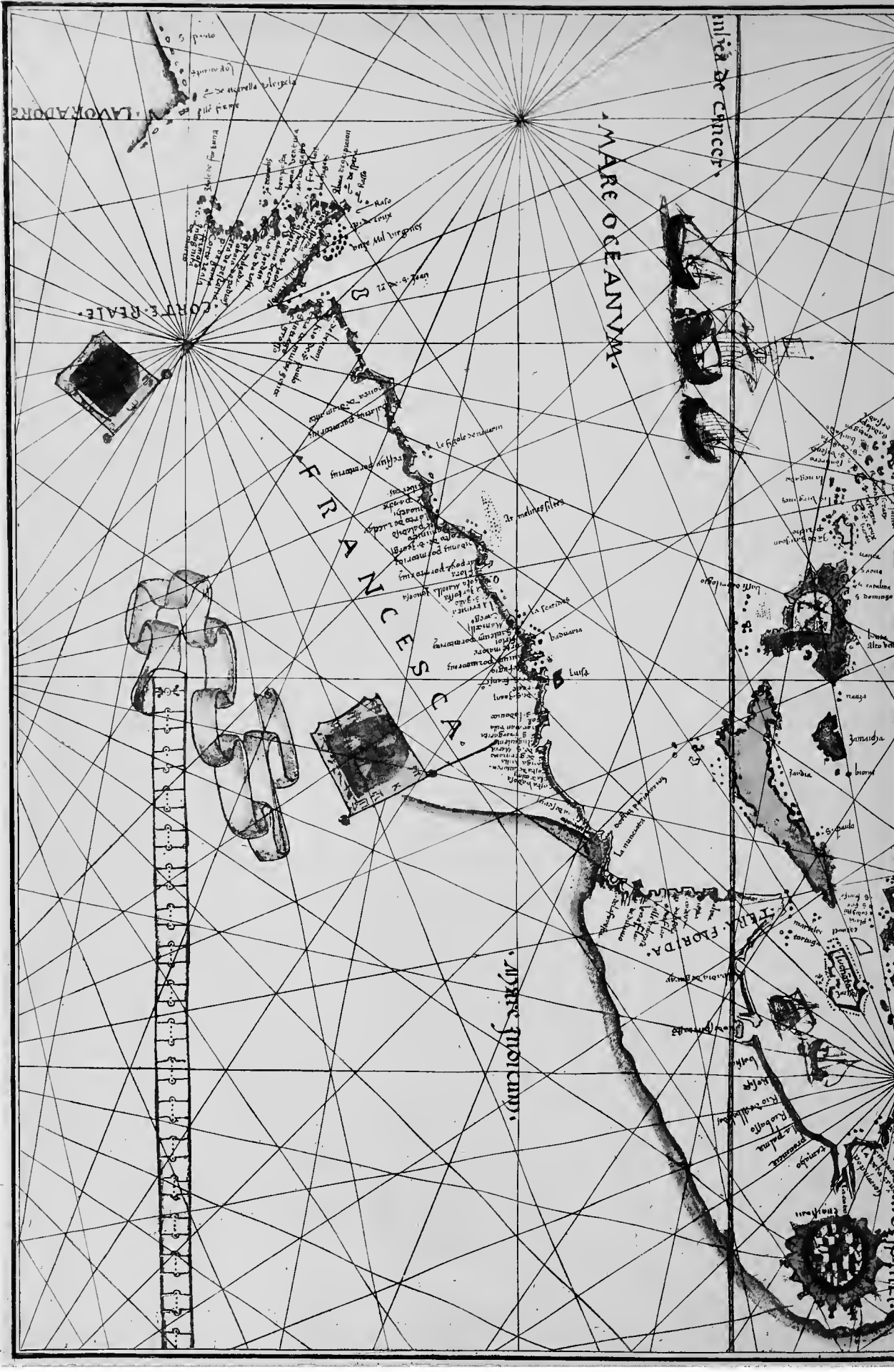
At first sight, the figures, which are Arabic, read 1587; and, for a long time, the map was believed to have been constructed in that year.

The palæography, however, was a cause of doubt and misgivings, as it seemed to be older than 1587. The fact that the Pacific coast of South America, instead of the nomenclature which dots with numerous names the same region in the maps of the second half of the sixteenth century, exhibits only the legend “Terra Incognita,” ignoring even Peru and the first discoveries of Pizarro, also appeared strange in an important cartographical document, alleged to be of a much later period than the atlases of Agnese, Martines, and Oliva; not to speak of the engraved maps of Gastaldi, which circulated everywhere in Italy. Another motive for doubting *prima facie* the exact character of the date of 1587 sprung from the fact that the signature was the only trace of a Maggiollo, pre-named Vesconte,⁵ existing after the one who died between 1547 and 1551. That family of cartographers had produced a Giovanni-Antonio, and a Jacopo, both sons of the Vesconte of 1511-1547, and a Baldassare, who lived in 1588; but in none of the copious *Abecedarios* and lists of names of the Genoese archives⁶ was there any mention of a Vesconte de Maggiolo after the year 1551. The characteristic language and orthography used in the legends, viz: “conposuy,” and “cartan,” instead of “composuy,” and “cartam,” deserve also to be noted; the latter forms having been adopted by Vesconte de Maggiolo only towards the end of his career, as shown by his portolano of 1547. Finally, the handwriting and palæographical peculiarities of the legend were precisely those, not only of the Paris Maggiolo map of 1547, but also of the other Ambrosiana Maggiolo map of 1524. Was it likely that, after sixty-three years, there could exist a Vesconte de Maggiolo whose penmanship and spelling resembled perfectly that of his supposed homonymous ancestor?

⁵ The Vesconte of 1588 was pre-named “Baldassare.”

⁶ *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*; Genoa, Vol. III. (1866), p. cxxlii.; Marcello STAGLIENO,

Sopra Agostino Noli e Visconte Maggiolo cartografi, in the *Giornale Ligustico*; Genoa, No. for both the months of February and March, 1875, p. 71.



LAVORADORS

CORTE REALE

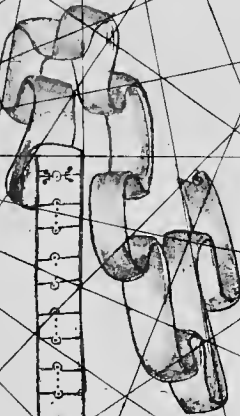
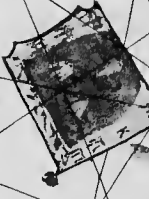
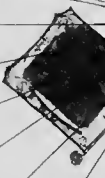
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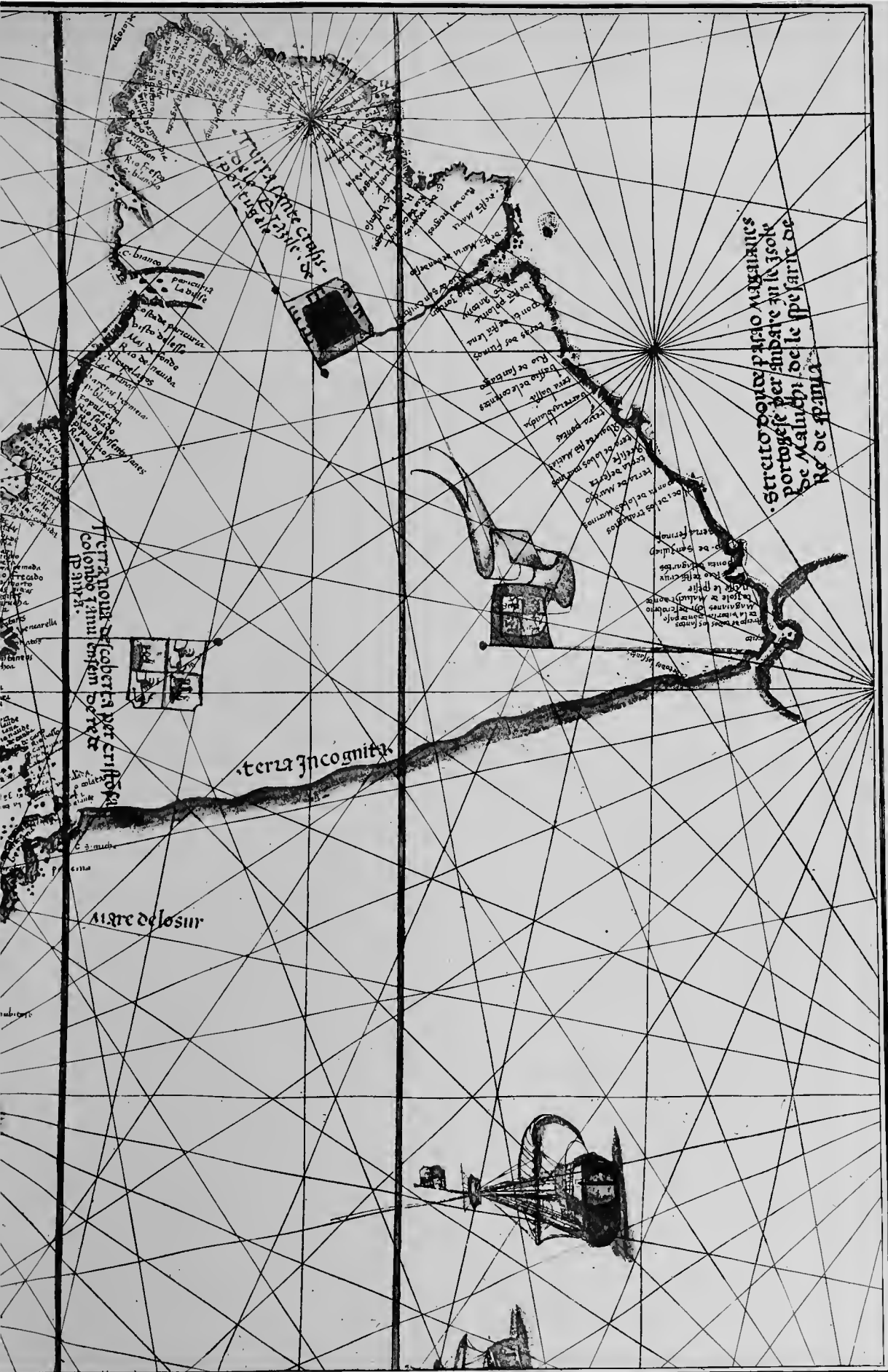
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FLORIDA





THE NEW WORLD IN THE MAP OF VESCONTE DE MAGGIOLO

(1527)

It was reserved for the distinguished Genoese archivist and scholar, Signor Cornelio Desimoni, to solve the question simply by comparing the two legends, viz.:

·Vesconte de Maiollo composuy hanc cartan.
·31 Janua anno dñy. 1587. die XX. Decenbris.

·Vesconte de Maiollo composuy hanc cartan.
·31 Janua de anno dñy. 1527. die X. Augusty.

Then, by bringing the figures closely together, Signor Desimoni discovered that the numeral 8, in the date of the first legend, was only a 2, which had been altered by an oblique line being drawn across.⁷

The present map, therefore, was constructed not in 1587, but in 1527.

It behoves us now to describe the configurations of the New World in that map.⁸ They are entirely novel; and, thus far, we have failed to find any cartographical document, whether Spanish, Portuguese, Majorcan, or Italian, from which Maggiolo can have borrowed data for a single one of his delineations and nomenclature.

The east coast of America is drawn at the north from what seems to be Greenland, there called "Lavoratore," as far south as the "Streito donde pacio magaianes." The Atlantic profiles and latitudes differ from contemporaneous Sevillian charts, as, for instance, those which are preserved at Weimar, although the general aspect and trending of the coast, north of Florida, indicate a complete exploration, different, however, from that of Gomez; as graphic details and names tend to prove. The position assigned, in 1527, to such well-known parts as the West India islands and the neighbouring continental coast are also peculiar. Cuba appears as extending far south of the tropic of Cancer, and yet with its septentrional coast projecting to about 1° 30' north of the apex of Florida.

The most curious part is the western seaboard of the continent. The coast is made to continue; but, above the equator, it forms an elbow projecting far into the Pacific Ocean, and there turns abruptly.

⁷ Cornelio DESIMONI, *Allo studio secundo intorno a Giovanni Verrazzano; Appendice III.*; in the *Atti della Societa Ligure di S. P.*, 1881, pp. 355-378. We are under obligations to the learned abbé CERIANI for a

photographic facsimile, here reproduced, of the legends in the two Maiollo or Maggiolo maps preserved in the *Ambrosiana*.

⁸ See adjoining facsimile of Maggiolo map of 1527.

The trend eastward is so considerable, that it approaches the east coast sufficiently near to depict, where we place in modern maps the Carolinas, a very narrow isthmus, a mere thread, which alone separates, in that latitude, *Mare Oceanus* (Atlantic) from *Mare Indicum* (Pacific). Such a peculiar form, together with a regular strait cut from north to south, back of Yucatan, indicate, on the part of the maker of the prototype used by Maggiolo, the necessity of explaining cartographically the hypothesis of a western passage. This intention, and the dubious character of the drawing, are shown by the legend: "Stretto dubitoso:—Doubtful Strait," placed at the southern entrance of the aperture. The fact must be noted, for it is an important factor in the present discussion.

Withal, the point of leading importance, just now, lies in the nomenclature of the east coast from Florida to about 42° north latitude.

We notice first, in the middle of that extensive space, inland, the royal standard of France, with three lilies in the centre, and a border containing a number of those emblematic flowers. Then there is, across the region, in large letters: *FRANCESCA*, and, along the coast, a nomenclature which, so far as is known, appears here for the first time. It consists of fifty names, among which must be noted the following:

On the Floridian coast: *Diepa* and *Anaflor*. These are evidently translations into Italian of "Dieppe" and "Honfleur."

On the coast of our Middle States: *S. Ludowico*, *Monicelli*, *Normanvilla*, *Anguileme*, *G. de Germano*, *Longavilla*. Here, again, we have French names Italianised, viz.: "Saint Louis, Monceaux, de [St.] Germain, Normanville, Angouleme," and "Longueville."

An island close to the shore is named *Luisa*, for "Louise," and a group of islets are called *Le figole de nauarin*, which may be interpreted as "Les fils de la Navarre:—The sons of Navarra."

It is impossible not to see in that flag, in the general designation *FRANCESCA*, and in those names, proofs that, in the opinion of Maggiolo, the entire coast had been ranged by French ships, and the country taken possession of in the name of France, or of her King Francis. Further, both the exploration and the claim are of a date prior to December, 1527; Maggiolo's present map having been completely executed on the 20th day of that year and month. The critic is also bound to note that, no name of discoverer being given in the map, the tacit attribution cannot be considered as intended to redound to the glory of any navigator in particular.

Finally, in 1527, Francis I. was an unfortunate king, who, after having suffered a crushing defeat at Pavia, remained, only the year before, a prisoner in the hands of Charles V., then the leading spirit in Italy. Under the circumstances, it is difficult to imagine an Italian endeavouring to flatter France or her vanquished monarch, by attributing to him a merit which he should not have possessed. The tendency would have been rather the reverse.

What is that French expedition which ranged the east coast from Florida to Nova Scotia, before the year 1527? Maggiolo's map yields, on that point, only the following data:

The flag with the lilies shows that it was not a private enterprise. The hypothetical configurations about a strait indicate that its object was to discover a passage leading from the Atlantic to the Indian seas. The names Dieppe, Longueville,⁹ Normanville,¹⁰ Monceaux,¹¹ Honfleur, &c., prove that it was an expedition equipped in Normandy, or manned by Normand mariners.

Facts still more specific, even than these, can be gathered from other cartographical sources.

There is, in the library of the Propaganda Fide at Rome, a large manuscript planisphere, undated, but the chirography of which is of the first half of the sixteenth century, and the work of an Italian cartographer. The latter fact is shown, besides, by the inscription: "Hieronemvs de Verrazano faciebat:—Made by Jerome de Verrazano."¹²

Its configuration of the east coast differs materially from that in the Maggiolo map, and shows on that account, and for other geographical reasons, a different origin. That outline was certainly borrowed from a Sevillan chart resembling, in a high degree, the Weimar planisphere of 1527; as can easily be ascertained by comparing the north-eastern profiles in both. But it is an eclectic construction, for its west coast, in the parts which the Weimar charts omit to delineate, is traced here entirely, and after the model presented by the Maggiolo map. That is, the Pacific seaboard is distinctly laid out from the Strait of Magellan to latitude 62° north, forming, in 45°, an extensive elbow west of the Mexican regions, but turning abruptly to the east, and carried so far in the latter direction as

⁹ *Longueville*, in the Department of Seine-Inférieure, in Normandy.

¹⁰ *Normanville*. There are two towns of that name in Normandy, one in Eure, the other in Seine-Inférieure.

¹¹ *Monceaux* or *Monticelli*. There are two towns so called in Normandy, one in Calvados, the other in Eure.

¹² See the engraved reduction of that map in the work of Mr. MURPHY, above quoted.

to form, by its 42° north latitude, that most narrow isthmus which is the distinctive trait in that series of maps; of which the Maggiolo planisphere of 1527 is the oldest specimen known.

The great importance of this document in the present enquiry does not consist, however, either of those or of its Atlantic configurations. Nay, the latter can be traced back to Spanish data, based upon the voyages of Ponce de Leon, Ayllon, and even Estevam Gomez; as shown by the legends of the Ribero map, inscribed in the midst of geographical delineations and along minute profiles, all borrowed servilely from the Weimar map of 1527. The importance lies chiefly in a series of inscriptions of an affirmative character, which appear in the present map for the first time; and in the nomenclature, which connects the latter with the Maggiolo map of 1527.

Taking only the French typical names, we again find: *Dieppa* = Dieppe; *Daraflor* (for *Anaflor*) = Honfleur; *Lungavilla* = Longueville; *San Germano* = Saint Germain; *Angolemente* = Angoulême; *Luisa* = Louise; *C. de S. Luis* = C. de Saint Louis; *Le figle de navarra* = Les fils de Navarre. But to those should be added: *Tolonvilla* = Turlaville;¹³ *Vendomo* = Vendôme; *Navarro* = La Navarre; *Bonivetto* = Bonnavet,¹⁴ and *Orlean* = Orleans.

As to the claim, it is laid in the following general title and legend:

“Nova Gallia sive Iucatania.—The New Gaul or Iucatania.”

“Verrazana seu Gallia Nova quale discopri 5 anni fa Giovanni di Verrazano fiorentino per ordine et comandamento del Chrystianissimo Re di Francia:—Verrazana, or New Gaul, which was discovered five years ago by Giovanni di Verrazano, a Florentine, by order and command of the Most Christian King of France.”

Nothing can be clearer thus far. The critic now must show that there have been two men named, the one, Hieronymo da Verrazano, who made the map; the other, Giovanni da Verrazano, who is alleged to have accomplished the discovery. He should also prove that both of those Verrazanos were in the conditions of time, place, and avocations warranting the acts ascribed to them, implicitly by the Maggiolo map, and positively by the cartographical document which we have just analysed.

And, first of all, the parties above mentioned must be connected with France, particularly with Normandy, and before the year 1527.

¹³ *Turlaville*, a town of Normandy, in the Manche.

¹⁴ Charles GOUFFIER DE BONNAVET, celebrated French

Admiral, and favourite of Francis I.

He was killed at the battle of Pavia in 1525.

The Judicial archives of Rouen contain a power of attorney given to one "Jerosme de Varasenne," in that city, "le vendredi onze mai 1526:—Friday, May 12th, 1526."¹⁵ So much for the maker of the map.¹⁶

That document is signed "Janus Verrazanus," otherwise called in the body of the forensic act "Noble homme Jehan de Varasenne, capitaine des navires:—John [or Giovanni] de Varasenne [or da Verrazano], captain of the ships."¹⁷

There are two other documents corroborating the above, in regard to that Giovanni da Verrazano.

One is a petition for a stay of proceedings ("clameur de haro"), addressed to the Tribunal at Rouen, on behalf of "Messire Jehan de Verrasane," by a merchant of that place, called Zanobis de Rousselay,¹⁸ "Vendredi pénultième jour de Septembre, 1525:—Friday, the last but one day of September, 1525."

Finally, we possess another and more special power of attorney given by "Messire Jehan de Varasenne," to a citizen of Rouen: "bourgeois de Rouen," on the 12th of May, 1526.¹⁹

In the latter, as in the first document, Verrazano is called a captain of ships, and the acts refer to an intended voyage to the Indies: "Capitaine des navires equippez pour aller au voiaige des Indes."

Consequently, it cannot be doubted that, in 1525 and 1526, there resided in Normandy a sea-captain, called, in Italian, Giovanni da Verrazano, who, in the latter year, was in command of a small fleet, "des navires." It is also shown that there and then resided, likewise, an individual, named, in Italian, Hieronymo da Verrazano, who, moreover, was the brother and heir of Giovanni: "Son frère et héritier." These circumstances tend to show that the latter was in a position to obtain geographical data for a map setting forth maritime discoveries accomplished by the said Giovanni.

¹⁵ *Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature*, Paris, No. of January 1, 1876.

¹⁶ The other attorney in fact appointed by Giovanni da Verrazano on that occasion, is "Zanobis DE ROUSSELAY." Now in the Maggiolo map we notice on the coast of the region called *Francesca*, a place called, *Lorto de rucelay*, that is "Rucelay's Garden." The *c.* with or without a cedilla, would convey here to an Italian the sound of the French double *ss*; which leads us to see in that denomination a reference to Verrazano's legal representative in Normandy. Just as we see in *Bonivetto*, inscribed on the

Verrazano map, a reference to BONNIVET, the admiral who necessarily supervised the equipping at that time of all maritime expeditions in a Normandy port, such as Dieppe, Honfleur or Havre. Cf. the intervention of CHABOT (who was Bonnivet's successor as "Amiral de France"), in the contract made with Verrazano in 1526.

¹⁷ *Revue Critique*, above quoted.

¹⁸ DE COSTA, *Verrazano, the Explorer*, New York, 1881, 4to, with facsimile of the globe of ULPUS.

¹⁹ Our article in the *Revue critique*, on the *Verrazano* of the Hon. Henry C. MURPHY.

The above "Voiaige des Indies" has the appearance of a private enterprise only, since Giovanni da Verrazano binds himself formally to pay back, on his return, the money which is to be expended in equipping one of the ships, viz.: "La Barque de Fescamp, dont est maistre, après Dieu, Pierre Cauvay." But, as the map of Hieronymo claims that the discovery of the east coast was accomplished by the command and order of the King of France, we must show that Giovanni was in a position to be employed by Francis I. for such an enterprise.

In the Manuscript Department of the Paris National Library there is a very old and authentic copy of an agreement for a maritime expedition.²⁰ That enterprise was to consist of three ships equipped at the joint cost of the French government, implicitly represented by Philippe de Chabot, called in the act "*Amiral de France*," and Guillaume Preudhomme, therein designated as "*General [des Finances] de Normandie*," the famous Jehan Anjo, of Dieppe, two other individuals, and "Jehan de Varesam principale pillote." And, although it was ostensibly "pour faire le voiaige des espiceryes aux Indies," the real object consisted simply in cruising the ocean to seize and plunder merchantmen or galleons returning from Asia or from America. This is shown by the character of the contracting parties, and the expressions: "pour le bien prouffict et utilite de la chose publique du royaume de France," which would scarcely be employed if the question at stake was only to barter, and secure a cargo of pepper or of nutmegs. Further, the agreement specifies that it will be executory only after letters patent shall have been obtained from the King: "Et fera mondit Sr. Lamyral expedier lettres du Roy en patent pour avoir licence et congé de faire le dit voiaige." Finally, it was considered as Verrazano's own expedition, since the document bears the heading: "Pour le voiaige de Messire Joan."

As to the date of those stipulations, it was in April, 1526; since Chabot received the title of "Amiral de France," March 23, 1526 (1525 old style).²¹ while Guillaume Preudhomme had ceased to be "Général des Finances," to become what we now call the Secretary of the Treasury ("Trésorier de l'Épargne") on the 18th of April following.²²

²⁰ It has been correctly printed by Mr. MURPHY, *op. cit.*, under the title of *Agreement of Philippe Chabot with certain Adventurers*. We have the original document before us. It is now in the *Fonds Moreau*, 770, f^o. 60.

²¹ *Catalogue des actes de François Ier.* Published by M. PICOT, Paris, 1888, in 8vo, Vol. I., No. 2305.

²² MS. Depart. of the Paris National Library, *Fonds Français*, 25720, doc. 255.

A mariner who, in 1526, was Pilot-Major of an expedition sailing under the royal flag of France, can well have been entrusted with ships sent, a couple of years before, to accomplish maritime discoveries, "by order of the Most Christian King Francis I."

Withal, the possibility is not sufficient. The critic must show, outside the assertions of Hieronymo da Verrazano, that his brother was actually put in command, not only of an expedition, but of one intended to discover a western passage to Cathay, in 1523.

This proof also exists. We find it in a diplomatic dispatch addressed by João da Silveyra, the Portuguese Ambassador in France, to King Joam III. The document is dated from Poissy, near Paris, on the 25th day of April, 1523, and contains this decisive piece of information:

"By what I hear, Maestro João Verazano, who is going on the *discovery of Cathay*, has not left up to this date, for want of opportunity and because of differences, I understand, between himself and men; and on this topic, though knowing nothing positively, I have written my doubts in accompanying letters. I shall continue to doubt unless he take his departure."²³

We have failed to find thus far, in the diplomatic correspondence of Silveyra any further mention of Verrazano. But, in the History of Joam III., written by Francisco d'Andrada, historian of Philip III., who ordered him to write the work, there is a detailed account of Silveyra's embassy to France; which was sent expressly to regulate certain maritime affairs between the two kingdoms. It contains the following passage:

"Neste mesmo tempo foy el Rey ausado por alguns Portugueses qué negoceauão em França que hum Ioão varezano Florentino de nação se offerecera a el Rey Francisco para descubrir no Oriente outros reynos que os Portugueses não tinham descobertos:—At that time [shortly after the discovery accomplished by Magellan; the news of which was known in Portugal only in the autumn of 1522] the King was informed by certain Portuguese who traded in France, that one John Varezano, of Florentine nationality, had proffered his services to King Francis to discover, in the East, kingdoms different from those which the Portuguese had yet discovered."²⁴

The ambassador states positively that the expedition was a voyage of discovery contemplated towards "Cathay," giving to understand that the ships were already equipped; since what prevented Verrazano from sailing out was only a favourable opportunity, and differences with his

²³ Letter of João da Silveira, the Portuguese Ambassador; MS. *Arquivo de la Torre do Tombo*, in Lisbon, *Corpo Chronologico, Part I., maço 29, documento 54*, quoted by Mr. MURPHY, in his *Verrazzano*, p. 162.

²⁴ FRANCISCO D'ANDRADA, *Cronica do muyto alto e muyto poderoso Rey destes Reynos de Portugal D. João o III. deste nome*; Lisboa, 1613, large 8vo, Part I., caps. xiii. and xiv., f^{os}. 13, 14.

men. The chronicler says that the object of the enterprise was to find eastern regions as yet undiscovered by the Portuguese; which is nearly the same thing. The one therefore confirms the other, thus far.

But then, Andrada, summing up the results of Silveyra's embassy to France, adds that, during the following nine consecutive years which the ambassador spent in France, of all the matters entrusted to him he only succeeded in the one which consisted in preventing the voyage of the Florentine :

“João da Silveyra que forão noue annos continuos, nos quais em fim nam acabou mais em todos os negocios que leuaua a cargo que embargar a viagem do Florentino de que atras fiz menção.”

That sentence would dispose at once of the question if it stood by itself, or was to be construed literally. It allows, however, of a different inference when connected with the entire text. And first, Verrazano was not prevented from sailing again “in the nine consecutive years,” since we have positive proofs, unfortunately for him, that three years afterwards, in September or October, 1527, he was captured by a Spanish fleet while in command of a large privateer carrying the French flag, brought to Cadiz, and hung as a pirate in November following.²⁵ Then we do not see by virtue of what right Portugal could require France to abandon a project of sending an expedition to Cathay, and discovering a western passage. Nor is it likely that a solemn embassy would have been sent to France for such a purpose. There was something else!

After the above-quoted passage, Andrada says :

“Foy el Rey auisado . . . que nos portos de Normandia se fazião prestes armadas para com fauor dos almirantes da costa de Frãça, et dissimulação del Rey Francisco, irem pouar a terra de Santa Cruz lhamada Brasil . . . Et a juntandosse a isto as queixas que auia no reyno dos danos que recebia dos cossayros Franceses pareceolhe a el Rey necessario acudir a isto con toda aprestez a possiuel, et para isto mandou por embaixador a França João da silueyra :—King João was also informed that a fleet was being equipped in the ports of

²⁵ *Letter from the Judge of Cadiz* [JUAN DE GILES] to Charles V., giving the Names of the Principal Persons Captured with Juan Florin [Giovanni da Verrazano], and of his death; and *Letter from the same in answer to a Royal Missive, stating by whom Juan Florin was Captured, and his Execution*. These two documents from the Simancas archives (*Estado: Legajo 13, fol. 346*) contain the dates extending from October 13, 1527, to the middle of November following, and have been published (in English) by Mr. MURPHY, *ubi supra*. Those dates show that the pretended “letter of Verrazano dated

Paris, November 14, 1527, stating that he is preparing to visit America with five ships,” which Mr. Pierre MARGRY claims to possess (*apud* Rev. DE COSTA, *op. cit.*) is a forgery. Nearly all historians relate that Verrazano was killed and eaten up by savages in a subsequent voyage to America. The legend probably sprung from Oviedo's account of the death of “Johan FLORIN, gascon ó francés,” the companion of Iñigo DE VASCUÑA, who was sent to Coro in Venezuela, by Ambrosio DE ALFINGER, about the year 1528, and killed by the Indians. OVIEDO, *Hist. General*, lib. xxv., cap. vi., Vol. II., pp. 287, 288, 291.

Normandy under the auspices of the admirals of the coast,²⁶ and concealed by [King] Francis, to colonise the land of Santa Cruz, called Brazil. This, together with the complaints made on all sides relative to the harm done by French corsairs, required that steps should be taken at once by the King [of Portugal]. Accordingly, he sent as ambassador to France João da Silveira."

We then learn that the mission proved successful, as Francis I. "gave orders that the ships which were being prepared in his ports should be stopped:—mandou sobrestar os nauios que nos seus portos se armauão para a India."

In other words, Andrada connects in his mind Verrazano's intended voyage to Cathay with the expedition which the King of France was preparing to send out to Brazil, and to the East Indies; in which the chronicler is doubtless right, as the first was probably a mere cloak to scour the seas. His conclusion is also correct when he says that Francis I. abandoned the project, and embargoed the voyage of Verrazano; but, as we think, only in so far as it related to its connection with those enterprises, or even with predatory excursions against the Portuguese. Nor do these concessions on the part of the French King necessarily involve the abandoning of any contemplated voyage of discovery towards Cathay. On the contrary, it was one more reason why the expedition should then, that is in 1523, be promptly undertaken; so as not to lose entirely the benefit of the preparations which had been made with great expense in the ports of Normandy.

At this stage of the discussion we must endeavour to find a new link, and prove that, about that time, a new country was discovered, and was named so as to recall the agency of France.

There is, in the Geographical Department of the National Library at Paris, a brass globe of perfect workmanship, gilt over,—hence its name "Le Globe Doré,"—and constructed, apparently, in Germany. It is not dated, but the legends and configurations exhibit geographical data which do not extend beyond the year 1528. For that, and other reasons,²⁷ we have assigned to this fine metallic sphere the latter date.

The delineations indicate a family of maps entirely different from that to which belonged the prototypes of Maggiolo and of Hieronymo da Verrazano. The east coast runs almost due north from Florida to

²⁶ The admirals mentioned, can have been only, for Brittany, Louis II., *Sire DE LA TREMOILLE*, and for France proper, Charles *GOUFFIER DE BONNIVET*.

We are now investigating their papers and letters, which, however, are extremely incomplete.

²⁷ See *infra*, in the *Cartographia*, under the year 1528.

the latitude of Newfoundland. Then only do we notice the excessive easterly trend which is one of the peculiarities of all the early maps. But what is more typical still, is the west coast, about the equator, represented as continuing uninterruptedly westward, and absolutely joining America with Asia. This is a notion which originated so late as 1525, and in Belgium, as we will afterwards demonstrate.

The nomenclature also presents capital differences. The east coast, for instance, does not set forth a single name to be found in the Maggiolo, Verrazano, or Weimar maps, while several of its designations date so far back as the early Lusitano-Germanic cartography.

These peculiarities prove beyond a doubt, that the prototype of the Gilt Globe was wholly different from the one which had been used by the two Italian cartographers above mentioned. The only complete point of resemblance, and it is of the utmost importance, lies in a legend stamped across the north-eastern region, viz.: TERRA FRANCISCA, which in the Gilt Globe contains besides, the significant words: NVPER LVSTRATA. That is, "The French country, recently discovered." And this legend we find repeated thenceforth, in a series of globes and maps, such as the Sloane map, the Wooden and the Nancy globes, &c., &c., which are not copies of the present, although based upon historical data of similar origin. Nay, by analogy, it can be shown that such is likewise the case with the double cordiform mappamundi of Orontius Fineus of 1531, as the inscription *Terra Francesca nuper lustrata* is also inscribed on the single cordiform engraved map of the World of that celebrated cosmographer.

We have expatiated upon the above legend because it was necessary to trace its genesis, so to speak, from 1527 (when we see it for the first time, thus far), to some ten or fifteen years afterwards. Otherwise, misinformed critics might have been tempted to consider the designation, together with the attribute "nuper lustrata," as referring to the discoveries made in Canada by Jacques Cartier in 1534, 1536, and even 1541, under the French flag and for Francis the First.

The name "*Terra Francesca*" refers therefore to a transatlantic discovery accomplished under the auspices of France or of her King, and shows, by implication, that the discovery was recent when Maggiolo designed his map, or when its prototype,—as yet unknown,—was constructed. The words "*nuper lustrata*," prove, but, this time, explicitly, that such was likewise the case at the date of the making of the Gilt Globe or of its model.

It remains to find the year when that voyage was accomplished.

The despatch addressed by João da Silveyra to the King of Portugal, April 25, 1523, above quoted, shows that at the latter date, Verrazano was in command of a maritime expedition; and the extracts which we have published from the chronicle of Andrada, prove a delay of not less than five or six months before Francis I. changed its destination,—according to our reasoning.

In the narrative of a voyage published by Ramusio,²⁸ but entirely different from Verrazano's, and entitled: "*Discorso d'un gran capitano di mare Francese del luoco di Dieppa* :—Discourse of a great French sea captain, from Dieppe," we find the following passage, in relation to the east coast extending from Cape Breton to Florida:

"La qual costa fu scoperta 15 anni fa per messer Giouanni da Verrazzano in nome del Re Francesco et di madamma la Reggente,²⁹ et questa terra da molti é detta la Francese, et similmente per li Portoghesi medesimí :—This coast was discovered 15 years ago by Giovanni da Verrazzano, who took possession of the same in the name of King Francis and of My Lady the Regent. That country is called 'The French Land' by many, even by the Portuguese themselves."

The Discourse is not dated; but Ramusio in his introduction says³⁰ that it was written in the year 1539: "discorso fatto del 1539." Is it an inference drawn by him from the above mentioned and from the date of Verrazano's account published in his *Raccolta*, or is it derived from the French original manuscript, now lost? At all events, the critic cannot reject Ramusio's assertion in that respect, until rebutting evidence has been produced; inasmuch as the date coincides with the time inferred from the contemporary documents which we have analysed.³¹ Deducting 15 from 1539, yields 1524, as the year when Verrazano accomplished that discovery.

Now, as there are traces before 1534 of *only one* French expedition of that character; and as "the great French captain,"—whoever he may have been,—ascribes to the present the date of 1524, while his attributing the discovery to Giovanni da Verrazano is confirmed by the Propaganda

²⁸ RAMUSIO, Vol. III., f^os. 423-426; with a map bearing the inscription: *La Nuova Francia*.

²⁹ The Regent was Louise DE SAVOIE, the mother of Francis I. This seems to account for the inscription both on the Maggiolo and Verrazano maps: *Luisa*.

³⁰ RAMUSIO, *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi*: Venetia, 1565, f^o. 417, verso, F.

³¹ Although Juan FLORIN, the French corsair, has been fully identified with Giovanni da Verrazano, and we possess a number of dates for his exploits and whereabouts, no document has yet been adduced showing that Verrazano cannot have been ranging the east coast of America in 1524. See our article in the *Revue Critique*, for January, 1876, p. 20. note 3.

map, and stands corroborated,—though it be only implicitly,—rather than contradicted by the other cartographical documents known, we do not see how, in the present state of the question, the authenticity of the voyage and discovery credited to the Florentine mariner by such an array of authorities, can be questioned.

The only serious objection is the fact that the French kings and government never based their claim to the possession of Canada on the voyage of Verrazano; which is not even mentioned in the diplomatic correspondences. They always made the rights of France date no further back than the expeditions of Jacques Cartier. The reason of such a neglect may be the ill-success of the enterprise, as Verrazano returned to France without having discovered the famous Strait (which had been the sole object of the expedition), and without bringing any articles of value, such as gold, cotton, or spice. The fact that the country was reported to be fertile, could be no inducement, as in those days France was not desirous to colonise anywhere. Besides, when Verrazano returned from his expedition in 1525, the battle of Pavia had just been fought and lost; Francis I. was a prisoner in Spain, and he did not recover his liberty until 1526. We may well presume that in the midst of such distress, but little attention was paid to the unsuccessful voyage of the bold corsair, and still less to whatever written account he may have addressed to the King, who, then confined in his Madrid jail, was certainly not in a position to receive such a report.

Basing our data upon the nomenclature and positions in the Maggiolo map, which, thus far, is certainly the cartographical document nearest to the date given for the expedition of Verrazano, we find that it embraced a ranging of the east coast in north latitudes from about 27° (*Dieppa*, its most southern new name) to about 43° (*R. de la buelta*, its most northern new designation); that is, from some point in Florida, to a locality in Maine, at all events.

CHAPTER IV.

ESTEVAM GOMEZ.

1524—1525.

ON the 27th of March, 1523, while at Valladolid, Charles V. entered into an agreement for a voyage of maritime discovery with the Portuguese pilot Estevam Gomez, who had been in his service since the 10th of February, 1518, and had sailed with Magellan.

The expedition was to be composed of one ship only, of 50 tons burthen, equipped at the expense of the Crown, victualled for one year, and at a maximum cost of 1,500 ducats (that is less than 2,600 dollars of the time), or, according to the tenor of the letters patent :

“Armar una caravella de porte de hasta cinquenta toneles, armada y fornecida de mantenimientos por un año hasta mil y quinientos ducados. . . . Vos mandaré armar a Nuestra costa la dicha caravela.”¹

It is therefore inexact to say, with Antonio Galvam,² that the cost of the enterprise was borne by three private citizens, one of them being called Dr. Beltram. The only agency of the latter consisted in counter-signing the agreement, simply by virtue of his official position, just as three months later he affixed his signature to the letters patent granted to Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon.

One year elapsed before the project was carried into effect. It seems for a while even to have been abandoned, as its intended leader was appointed in February 1524, one of the consulting mariners of the Badajoz conference for settling the question of the Moluccas. A month afterwards however, March 21st, Charles V. appointed in his place the Dominican friar and mathematician Tomas Duran, “the services of Gomez being wanted elsewhere.” Yet again nine months passed away before the expedition set out from Spain.

The object of that voyage is not clearly expressed in the agreement :

¹ *Capitulacion que se tomó con Esteban Gomez, piloto, para el descubrimiento del Catayo Oriental. Fecha en Valladolid a veinte y siete del mes de Marzo de mil é*

quiniento y veinte y tres años; in the Documentos ineditos de Indias, Vol. XX., pp. 74-78.

² See *infra*, p. 232.

"Vos os oferecis de ir a descubrir el Catayo oriental, de que teneis noticia y relacion, por donde hazeis fundamento de descubrir hasta las Nuestras Islas de Maluco:—You propose to go in search of Eastern Cathay, concerning which you possess notions and reports affording ground for making discoveries as far as Our Molucca Islands."

Peter Martyr is more explicit, as he states clearly that Gomez was commissioned to reach Cathay by a strait supposed to exist between Florida and Newfoundland:

"Misimus artis maritimæ peritum virum quendam nomine Stephanus Gomez, cum una tantum navi, *Caravella* vulgo, ex Clunio discessit, fretum quæsiturus inter floridam tellurem et Baccalaos. Cataium inde se repertum inquit, eat bonis avibus:—We have just sent a man versed in the art of navigation, called Stephen Gomez. With one ship only, [of the kind] commonly called *Caravels*, he sailed from Coruña in search of a passage between the land of Florida and the Baccalaos. He says that, starting thence, he will find Cathay. Good luck to him."³

We possess but little information concerning that important voyage, as the account which Gomez wrote on his return to Spain, and handed to Charles V. in Toledo,⁴ is lost, notwithstanding the repeated assertion of Buckingham Smith⁵ that it exists in the still unpublished *Islario General* of Andrés Garcia de Céspedes.⁶

That work is still preserved in the National Library at Madrid.⁷ The manuscript has been examined, and we are positively informed that it does not, nor ever did, contain the narrative which Gomez addressed to the Spanish Government, or any original description of his voyage. With the exception of a few details and a map, which we will soon mention, the historian therefore can only consult brief allusions scattered in the writings of Peter Martyr,⁸ Oviedo,⁹ Gomara,¹⁰ Galvam,¹¹ Herrera,¹² and the legends inscribed on the planispheres of Nuño Garcia de Toreno and Diego Ribero.

³ ANGHIERA, *Epistola* DCCC., p. 474; and Decad. VI., cap. x., f^o xc., verso.

⁴ "E truxo relacion de lo que vido en esta costa del Norte el mesmo año (de mill é quinientos y veinte y cinco años) á Toledo, lo qual se dirá adelante, en otra parte mas oportuna."—OVIEDO, lib. xxi., cap. ix., Vol. II., p. 147. This promised description of that historian is not to be found in any of his works, printed or manuscript.

⁵ BUCKINGHAM SMITH, *Hernando Magellanes and Estevan Gomez; a paper read before the N. Y. Historical Society, June 5, 1866.*

⁶ CÉSPEDES, *Regimiento de Nauegacion mando hazer el rei*; Madrid, 1606, fol. f^o 152.

⁷ *Islario general de todas las islas del mundo dirigido á la S. C. R. M. del Rey don Philipe [III.] nuestro Sor,*

por Andrés Garcia de Céspedes su cosmographo mayor. MS. of the Madrid Biblioteca Nacional, folio, with coloured maps, J.-92.

⁸ ANGHIERA, *De Orbe Nouo*, Decad. VI., cap. x., and Decad. VIII., cap. x.

⁹ OVIEDO, *Sumario de la Natural historia de las Indias*, cap. x., p. 480; and *Historia General*, lib. xxi., caps. ix. and x., Vol. II., page 147.

¹⁰ GOMARA, *Historia de las Indias*, p. 178. It is only an amalgamation of Peter MARTYR with OVIEDO.

¹¹ GALVAM, *Tratado dos diversos e desuayrados caminhos . . . veyo da India*; pp. 67, 68.

¹² HERRERA, Decad. II., lib. iii., cap. vii.; Decad. III., lib. i., cap. xiv.; lib. iv., caps. iv. and xx.; lib. vi., cap. i.; lib. viii., cap. viii.

Gomez sailed from Coruña with one ship only, as it had been stipulated in the agreement: "Cum una missum caravella dixi ad fretum aliud floridam tellurem et Bachalaos satis tritos quærendum."¹³ In what year?

Navarrete cites a çedula of February 10, 1525, appointing Estevam Gomez Pilot to the King, from which it has been inferred¹⁴ that he undertook his voyage soon after. We hesitate to accept this inference, for it is necessary to ascertain first whether Navarrete does not mistake his çedula of February 10, 1525, with that of February 10, 1518,¹⁵ in both of which Gomez receives the appointment of Pilot to the King; as, according to the documents which we have examined, those pilots were not appointed for more than one year at a time. Our hesitation is also prompted by the official report of the voyage of Gomez, addressed to Charles V., as we find it mentioned in Oviedo, and where the date of 1524 is given, as follows:

"Despues que V. Mag. està en esta Cibdad de Toledo, llego aqui en el Mes de Noviembre, el Piloto Estevan Gomez, el qual en el año pasado de 1524. por mandado de V. Mag. fue a la parte del Norte:—Since Your Majesty has gone to the city of Toledo, Stephen Gomez, the pilot who, by the order of Your Majesty, went north last year, 1524, returned here in the month of November."¹⁶

The above passage is to be found in Oviedo's *Sumario*, which was completely printed February 15, 1526.¹⁷ If we consider the time required to print a volume in folio, with plates, and the fact that our quotation occurs in the beginning of the book, we are authorised to infer that it was written in 1525, and that the sentence "en el año pasado," actually refers, as therein expressly stated, to the year 1524. Yet, we must say that Oviedo, in his *Historia General*, written fourteen years after the *Sumario*, says that the discovery was accomplished in 1525: "Descubrió el piloto Esteban Gomez, el año de mille é quinientos y veinte y çinco años."¹⁸ Finally, Diego Ribero, in his map of 1529, also says: "laqual descubrió por mandado de su magestad el año de 1525."

¹³ ANGHIERA, Decad. VIII., cap. x., f^o. cxvii.

¹⁴ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 179; KOHL, *Documentary History of Maine*, p. 273.

¹⁵ *Libro de Títulos i Mercedes*, in the Muñoz collection of copies, Vol. A, 103, f^o. 84.

¹⁶ OVIEDO, *Sumario*, cap. x., p. 16.

¹⁷ "Se acabo en la cibdad de Toledo a xv. dias del mes de Hebrero de A. D. xxvj. años." *B. A. V.*, No. 139.

¹⁸ OVIEDO, *Historia General*, lib. xxi., cap. x., Vol. II., p. 147. Peter MARTYR in his epistle of August 8, 1524 (DCCC., p. 474) says: "We have just sent off a very expert seaman, Estevam Gomez:—Misimus artis maritimæ peritum vium quendam nomine Stephanus Gomez," which is one of the mistakes in dates we find so frequently in his works. See *infra*, p. 233, a corresponding account, taken from the Decades.

These dates may be conciliated by admitting that Gomez sailed from Coruña at the close of the year 1524, made his landfall in the New World in February 1525, and was back in Spain during the month of December following. What may be objected to in those dates are the statements of Peter Martyr and Santa Cruz, that the voyage of Gomez lasted ten months: "Is nec freto neque a se promisso Cataio repertis regressus est intra mensem decimum a dicessu." Now, as Gomez is said to have returned in November, 1525, the date of his departure, to agree with Peter Martyr, would require to be placed in January of that year, which, at all events, is one month earlier than the *çedula* from which Navarrete claims to derive the date of the sailing out of Gomez from Spain.

What was the extent of his discovery?

The most ancient data concerning his voyage of 1524-1525 are to be found also in the *Sumario* of Oviedo. They are in these words:

"Fué à la parte del Norte, i halló mucha Tierra, continuada con la que se llama de los Bacallaos, discurriendo al Occidente, i puesta en quarenta Grados, i quarenta i vno, i asi algo mas, i algo menos, de donde truxo algunos Indios, i los ai de ellos al presento en esta Cibdad, los quales son de maior estatura que los de la Tierra firme, segun lo que de ellos parece comun, i porque el dicho Piloto dice, que vido muchos de ellos, i que son asi todos: la color es asi como los de Tierra-firme, i son grandes Frecheros, i andan cubiertos de Cueros de Venados, i otros Animales, i ai en aquella Tierra excelentes Martas Cebellinas, i otros ricos enforros, i de estas pieles truxo algunas el dicho Piloto: tienen plata, i cobre, segun estos Indios dicen, i los dàn à entender por senas, i adoran el Sol, i la Luna, i asi ternan otras idolatrias, i errores, como los de Tierra firme"

"Gomez went to the northern parts, where he discovered an extensive country, which is a continuation of the one called the Baccalaos [*i. e.*, the cod-fish region], and continued westward, reaching 40° and 41°, more or less. He brought from that country several Indians, who are at present in this city [Seville?]. They are generally taller than those of the continent according to the statement of the said pilot [Gomez], who has seen many of them. Their complexion is like that of those of the mainland. They are great archers, and wear skins of wild beasts and others. The country contains excellent martens of the sable kind, and other fine fur-bearing animals. The said pilot brought some of those skins. They have silver and copper, as they gave to understand by signs. They worship the Sun and Moon, and share the other idolatries and errors of the natives on the continent" ¹⁹

Oviedo speaks evidently as an eye-witness, and repeats what he must have heard Gomez himself say. Yet, in his *Historia General*, the limit reached by Gomez is extended to 42° 30': "desde quarenta é un grados hasta quarenta é dos y medio," ²⁰ instead of 40°—41°, without alleging

¹⁹ OVIEDO, *Sumario*, *loc. cit.*

²⁰ OVIEDO, *Historia General*, *loc. cit.*

any fact for the addition. Nor can he be said to have been prompted by the sight of Ribero's map, as the latter locates the discoveries accomplished by Gomez at least five degrees further north. As to Garcia de Toreno, he inscribes the name of the Portuguese navigator near a large estuary, by his 45°, and which appears to be Penobscot Bay. If so, the Spanish cosmographers of the time seemed to place the country discovered by Gomez in Nova Scotia; for the charts of the Sevillan Hydrography inscribe, by 45° north latitude, the "Tierra de los Bretones."

As to the return of Gomez to Spain, Peter Martyr supplies us with additional details, but no date :

"Nunc ad Stephanum Gomez, quem cum vna missum carauella dixi ad fretum aliud inter floridam tellurem et Bachalaos satis tritos quærendum. Is nec freto neque à se promisso Cataio repertis regressus est intra mensem decimum à discessu. Inanes huius boni hominis fore cogitatum existitimaui ego semper et præposui Stephanus hic Gomez nil horum assecutus quæ se reperturum arbitrabatur, ne vacuus rediret contra leges à nobis dictatas, ne quis vlli gentium vim afferat, ab innocentibus quibusdam seminudis populis, magalibus pro domibus contentis, utriusque sexus hominibus nauim farciuit. Vbi accessit in portum Clunium, vnde vela fecerat"

"I now come to Stephen Gomez, whom, as I have said, was sent with a caravel in search of another strait between Florida and the Baccalaos, [a region] sufficiently known and frequented. Finding neither the passage nor Cathay, as he had promised, he has returned, within ten months after his departure . . . That same Stephen Gomez having obtained nothing of what he expected to discover, so as not to return with empty hands; and contrary to the instructions which we had given him not to molest anyone whatever, filled his ship with innocent people of both sexes, half naked, who were satisfied with living in huts in lieu of houses. When he arrived in Coruña, whence he had set out" ^{20a}

Antonio Galvam gives a different account. According to that historian,²¹ the Count Fernando d'Andrade, Dr. Beltram, and a merchant whom he calls Christoval de Sarro (Christoval de Haro, a rich shipowner of Antwerp, who, after having had an establishment at Lisbon, removed to Seville in 1519²²), supplied Gomez with a galliass equipped at their joint expense, thus making of the expedition a private enterprise altogether. This assertion we have already shown to be entirely erroneous.

Gomez then, sailing from La Coruña, went to Cuba, thence to Florida, and, navigating only in the day-time to avoid shoals and reefs, steered northward as far as the 44° latitude. From this point he returned to Spain with a cargo of kidnapped Indians, to be sold as slaves.

^{20a} ANGHIERA, Decad. VIII., cap. x., f^o cxvi., recto.

²¹ GALVAM, *loc. cit.*

²² NAVARRETE, *Coleccion de viages de los Españoles*; Vol. IV., p. lxxiv.

Galvam's statement may be based upon Portuguese data; yet we find in it details which he certainly borrowed from Peter Martyr, particularly the poor pun: "Esclavos enim Hispanium idioma servos appellat, et gariophyllos noncupat clavos."²³

Such a paucity of facts concerning this important expedition, compels the critic to interrogate all sources of information, although with little hope of obtaining salient details. The *Islario* of Alonso de Santa Cruz, which has not yet been printed, is one of those sources.

The great Spanish cosmographer must have known Estevam Gomez personally in Spain, from 1521 until 1524, and during the winter of 1526. Besides, by his official position, he had access to all documents relating to the maritime expeditions sent by the Spanish government. Under the circumstances, we could not fail to consult his *Islario General del Mundo*, written by order of Philip II., though it was at such a late date as 1560. Thanks to Dr. A. Gölldin de Tiefenau, custodian of the Vienna Imperial Library, and Mr. Castan, director of the Besançon Library,²⁴ who, at our request, have kindly re-examined the manuscripts of that work preserved in those two institutions, we are enabled to publish the passage which refers to Gomez and his voyage to the east coast.

"Esteuan Gomez Piloto de quien arriba diximos en aquella jornada y espediçion que hiço con mandado y liçençia de V. m^{te} en demanda y descubrimiento del Catayo ciudad oriental de la Yndia y de aquel passo, o estrecho tan desseado que saliese al mar comunmente llamado del sur enel qual estuuo diez meses dentro de los quales descubrio por esta costa gran numero de yslas, juntas* al continente, y principalmente vn Rio muy ancho y caudaloso que el lo puso nombre de los gamos, por los muchos que alli havia sembrado, todo de yslas en las quales en el verano venian los yndios de la tierra firme a habitar en ellas por razon de las muchas pesquerias que

"Stephen Gomez, the pilot whom we have already mentioned²⁵ in connection with the voyage and expedition which he made by the order and leave of Your Majesty, in search of and to discover Cathay, which is a city of East India, as well as the passage or strait so much desired, and leading to the sea commonly called the South Sea. It took him ten months, and he discovered on that coast a great many islands near the continent; and particularly a very large and deep river, which he called Deer River, on account of the great number of those animals which he found there. It is full of islands in which the Indians of the continent come to live in summer, owing to large fisheries

²³ The word "esclavos, or slaves," being understood "clavos, or spice,"—the latter having been supposed to be the nature of the cargo brought by GOMEZ; "pro esclavis clausos esse aduectos præconando."

²⁴ For an account of the manuscript copies of the *Islario*

of SANTA CRUZ, see *infra* in the *Cartographia*, under the year 1536.

* *Gentes*; Besançon MS.

²⁵ The only other reference to GOMEZ in the *Islario*, is the extract which we give *infra*, p. 237.

junto a ellas havia de salmones y savalos y bogas y otros muchos generos de pescados que en estas partes ay. El qual Rio el navego por mucho espacio creiendo fuesse el estrecho que el deseava hallar pero alo fin hallo esto ser vn famoso Rio de gran concurso de aguas de donde se arguyo el gran tracto y espacio del continente que alli ay y puesto que el creiese la muy firme oppinion que ay de la Canal y passo que arriba diximos contra el continente de los bacalaos y la tierra llamada del labrador el tuuo por cierto que no havia necesidad de esperiençia por no ser possible poderse pasar por ella segun el impedimento que avria de frialdad † en las partes vezinas laqual oppinion y desculpa de no haver intrado a pasar por el quedo tan asentada por buena escusa que nunca se ha mas yntentado a proçeder en este caso siendo cosa que tanto importaça al bien e seruiçio de V. m^t por que se pretendia por alli el gobierno y trato de las yslas de los malucos con otras muchas que por alli ay del dominio y derecho de su corona real aunque este estrecho o canal y aqui se pudiese passar pues por comparacion de lo que oy se sabe que se nauega a la rredonda de escondia era possible que da un grande scrupulo que seria estremadamente dificultoso para los habitadores a temperamiento tan contrario, o distante de tan gran extremo como España de la parte tan setentrional como esta [?] por loqual si los grandes cuidados que a V. m^t fatigan diesen lugar que su magnanimo coraçon conçebiesen vna cosa tan vtil y necesaria cosa como era juntar el mar del Sur y el Oçeano Oçidental por ‡ aquel estrecho de tierra de Panama al Nombre de Dios pues ayuda a ello la dispuçion del lugar de dieziete leguas que son las doze y mas de vn Rio llano y façil que pueden subir por el vergantines y varcos por

of salmon, shads,²⁸ and boops²⁷ [?], as well as other species of fish which are found in that part of the stream. He sailed up the river for a considerable distance, thinking that it was the strait which he desired to discover, but ascertained instead that it was a grand river with a very great flow of water, from which he inferred that it belonged to the continent of immense size which is there. And although firmly believing in the existence of the aforesaid canal or passage close to the Cod-fish continent and the country called Labrador, he was also convinced of the inutility of proving it experimentally, as the obstacles arising from the cold temperature of the neighbouring regions would prevent the passage from being used. This opinion and plea was deemed sufficient to prevent in the future any further attempt to effect the object, although it was of great moment to Your Majesty, being calculated to insure the government of the Molucca islands, and of many others belonging to the dominion of the Crown. Still, that strait or passage could be crossed, judging from the navigations which, we know, are being secretly carried out in its vicinity; though it would perhaps prove extremely difficult for people [who live under] a climate so much adverse and distant as is that of Spain from such a high northern region. If notwithstanding the great cares of Your Majesty, his magnanimous heart should conceive an enterprise so useful and necessary as that of joining the South Sea with the Western Ocean by such a strait, from Panama to Nombre de Dios,²⁸ the undertaking would be facilitated by the space which is [only] 17 leagues, more than 12 of which are over a river navigable for brigantines and barks. The undertaking is not 72 miles²⁹ across land, like that of Sesostris, the King of Egypt, then of Darius, the King of the Persians,

† *Dificultad*; Besançon MS.

‡ *Para*; Besançon MS.

²⁶ Probably *Alosa menhaden*, which ascend the rivers of the Middle States in such vast numbers.

²⁷ Or some sparoid fish.

²⁸ This is not the earliest suggestion relative to cutting a canal from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The idea dates so far back as Fernand CORTÉS.

²⁹ That canal was 200 kilometers long. It is attributed by HERODOTUS, not to "Sesostris," but to NEKOU II.

manera que [no] § sesenta y dos milas de espacio de tierra como intento Sosotis Rey de Egipto y despues Dario Rey de los Persas y despues casi la acabo Tolomeo intentando de juntar la mar bermeja con el Rio Nilo de Egipto loqual despues de hecha se dexo de juntar por ciertas causas sino hasta quinze serian las que rrestarian de rrasgar boluiendo las yslas del Rio de las gamas y de las adiaçentes al continente vezinos son las mas como dicho tengo pobladas y principalmente de verano de yndias como las de sant domingo dequien luego diremos y de mejores cuerpos ellas y ellos tienen sus arcos y flechas y lanças tostadas con que pelean en la tierra muy templada y de mucha arboleda que en estas partes ay como enzinas y robles, olliuas hallaron se muchas partes siluestras con hubas y muchas plantas e yeruas como las de España y mucha margarita que pensaron ser oro. truxieron en el galeon muchos yndios de la tierra a España los quales pusieron en su libertad pasado este Rio e yslas al Poniente. Junto a la costa hazia la Florida se hallan muchas yslas y todas desiertas y de pocho prouecho las quales vido y descubrio el liçençiado Ayllon que era oidor de la chançilleria de Sancto Domingo yendo a poblar al continente do murio el y mucha gente de la que llevo consigo y se perdio toda su armada como largo habraremos en nuestra general geografia. || estan pues todas estas yslas en altura de quarenta y tres y quarenta y quatro grados y en el clima setima y su maior dia es de quinze horas y un quarto." ¶

In addition to that interesting extract we must mention a certain passage of the *Islario* of Andrés Garcia de Céspedes, which has always

§ The Besançon text inserts here the word *no*, which we have adopted, as rendering the sense clearer.

|| *Tractaremos*; Besançon MS.

¶ Vienna Imperial Library, MSS. *Cod. Pal. Vindob.* 5542; f^o. 40, *sequitur*.

³⁰ The legend inscribed by RIBERO on the map of 1529 is much in the same words: "Ay en ella muchos arboles y fructas de los de españa y muchos Rodouallos, y salmones y sollos: no han allado oro:—There are many trees and fruits like those of Spain, and quantities of *rodovall*os [?], salmon and pikes [sturgeons?]; but no gold."

³¹ Mineralogists call now Marguerite a mica, which is sometimes yellowish, and found in Massachussets. In

which was almost accomplished by Ptolemy, and purported to unite the Red Sea with the Nile of Egypt, but was afterwards abandoned for certain reasons, leaving only fifteen miles unfinished. Reverting to the islands in Deer River, and the islands near the continent, they are mostly inhabited, as we have said, particularly in summer, by Indians like those of Santo Domingo, of whom we will speak afterwards. These are of larger frame, and likewise possess bows, arrows, and sharp lances, which they use in fighting. The country is quite temperate, containing many [species of] trees, such as oak, birch, olive, wild vines with grapes in great quantity, and many plants and herbs like those of Spain.³⁰ There is also much margarita,³¹ which was [then] supposed to be gold. They brought over to Spain in the galleon, many Indians,³² who were set at liberty.³³ Passing beyond those islands and that river, westward, near the coast, there are many islands, all deserted and poor, which were discovered by the licentiate Ayllon, of the Court in Santo Domingo, when he went to settle the continent, where he lost his life, with many of his followers and his entire expedition, as we will relate at length in our General Geography.³⁴ All those islands are by 43° and 44° north latitude, in the seventh climate,³⁵ and their longest day is 15¼ hours."

Europe it is frequently taken for gold. But GOMEZ' *Margarita* was apparently iron or copper pyrites.

³² Regarding those Indians, see *supra*, p. 232.

³³ We are not convinced that the Indians brought by GOMEZ were set at liberty; but see ANGHIERA, *Decad.* VIII., cap. x., p. 602.

³⁴ It is probably the *Corografia de los lugares de todo el mundo*, which VANEGAS ascribes to him (*Diferencias de los libros que hay en el Universo*; Toledo, 1540, chapter xvi.), but which is lost.

³⁵ About that seventh climate see *infra* our facsimile of the Wooden Globe, and GLAREANUS, *De Geographia Liber unus*, Freyburg, 1533, 4to, p. 12.

been attributed to that cosmographer.³⁶ We have since ascertained that it was boldly plagiarised from the *Islario* of Santa Cruz. This discovery adds weight to the statement itself, which is now found to have originated not so late as the beginning of the seventeenth century, but so early as the time when the first news was received in Spain; since it is reported by an eye-witness of the return of Gomez, who was also his colleague in the naval service. Besides, Santa Cruz himself ascribes explicitly the information to that navigator.

The unexpected character of the facts stated, and our remarks concerning the plagiarism committed by Céspedes, prompt us to give the version and its duplicate:

SANTA CRUZ :

“En la baya que diximos llamarse de los bretones y en muchas cartas de navegar a los principio a quando esta tierra se començo a descubrir se puso assi asta que estevan gomez [truxo] esta relacion algo discrepante de la qual se tenia estar esta ysla no en la baya do dezian que estava sino junto a esta tierra do agora esta de la qual no hay uso que contarse a salvo que el dicho estevan gomez piloto dize que a la pasada por ella vido muchos humos en ella y señales de ser habitada hay a un canal entre ella y tierra firme llamado canal de sanct Julian de cinco o seis leguas de ancho.”

CÉSPEDES :

“En la baya que diximos llamarse de los bretones y en muchas cartas de navegar á los principios, quando esta tierra se comenzo á descubrir se ponía assi, hasta que estevan gomez piloto truxo esta relacion algo discrepante de la que se tenia, que es estar esta ysla nó en la baya do dezian que estaua, sino junto a esta tierra do agora está de la qual ysla no ay cosa que de contar sea, salua ql. dicho esteuan gomez piloto dize qè á la passada por ella vido muchos humos en ella y señales de ser habitada hazesse una canal entre ella y tierra firme llamada canal de San Julian de cinco ó seys leguas de ancho.”

We now proceed to give the entire passage as it reads in the *Islario General del Mundo* of Alonso de Santa Cruz :

“Passadas las yslas de las onze mil virgines hazía la mar una gran enseña llamada baya de bretones que por la venida que hazen cada año pescàr a esse Baya y tierra los dichos Bretones en esta enseñad dizen haver muchas yslas y todas despobladas principalmente ay una dicha de sancta elmo a la qual le pusieron el tal nombre

“Passing beyond the islands of the Eleven Thousand Virgins,³⁷ towards the sea, there is a large bay, called “Bay of the Brittons,” because every year the Brittons come to fish in that bay and country. The said bay is represented to contain many islands, all without inhabitants, particularly one called “Sanct Elmo,”³⁸ so named

³⁶ *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 285.

³⁷ The Eleven Thousand Virgins constitute a small archipelago situate, in the Maggiolo map of 1527, close to the south-west of Newfoundland, and to which OVIEDO (Vol. II., p. 149) ascribes the latitude of 49°. The reference to those islands indicates either that SANTA

CRUZ makes his description from north to south, or that such was the traject of GOMEZ when he explored that part of the north-east coast.

³⁸ The map of CHAVES mentioned the “Isla de Sanct Telmo,” which, OVIEDO says (Vol. II., p. 148), belongs to the group of islands so named.

ciertos pescadores bretones que por una noche tomandoles sobre ellos una tormenta diezen que bieron en la ysla muchas candelas ardiendes aquellos laman sanct elmo que dizen que viene en tal figura, passada la dicha baya mas al occidente y junto a una punta llamada cabo breton comiença à prolongarse a una ysla levante poniente dicho de sanct Joan que tiene de largo cinquenta y seis leguas y por lo mas ancho veinte esta ysla dixieron algunos pilotos que no estava en esta parte de mar sino metido en la baya que diximos llamarse delos bretones y en muchas cartas de navegar a los principios a quando esta tierra se començo a descubrir se puso assi asta que estavan gomez [truxo] esta relacion algo discrepante de la qual se tenia estar esta ysla no en la baya do dezian que estava sino junto a esta tierra do agora esta de la qual no hay uso que contarse a salvo que el dicho estevan gomez piloto dize que a la pasada por ella vido muchos humos en ella y señales de ser habitada hay a un canal entre ella y tierra firme llamado canal de sanct Julian de cinco o seis leguas de ancho dizen tener muy buena vista y de mucho arboleda y rios que salen a la mar tienen a la redonda des . . . muchos ysleos todas deshabitadas esta deste quarenta y seys hasta quarenta ocho grados y en el³⁹[?] ocho tiene su mayor dia de buinze horas y dos tercios junto al cabo Breton se hallan algunas ysletas deshabitadas do ay muchos avez y al viedor dellas ay grandes pesquerias."

It is to be regretted that Santa Cruz and Céspedes should refer to "muchas cartas de navegar," instead of limiting their description to the alleged narrative of Gomez. The reason of our regret is that the above extracts betray endeavours to establish a concordance, which increases still more the confusion of the subject; particularly as regards the mysterious island of St. John, which is one of the obscure problems of the early cartography of the north-east coast.

³⁹ Here there are two or three words illegible or incomprehensible.

by some fishermen from Brittany, who say that during a very stormy night they saw many of those burning lights known as St. Helmo flames [will o' the wisp], which are said to assume such appearance. Passing the bay, more towards the west, and close to a point of land named "Cape Breton," the [coast] begins to extend towards an island [which is] east and west, called "Sanct Joan," 56 leagues long by 20 leagues wide. Certain pilots state that the latter island is not in that part of the sea, but within the bay which we call "Bay of the Brittons;" and in many early sailing charts, when that country was first discovered, it was so depicted, until Stephen Gomez brought that information, which differed in some respect from the opinion entertained concerning the position assigned to the island within the bay. *He said* [on the contrary] that it was joined to the land where it is now. The statement should not be contradicted, except where Estevan Gomez says that in passing before [the island] *he saw* many [columns of] smoke, and signs that it was inhabited. There is between the island and the continent, a passage, called "Canal de Sanct Julian,"⁴⁰ from five to six leagues wide. [The island] is said to be of good appearance, with many trees, and rivers which empty into the sea. There are around it many islets, all without inhabitants. The island extends from 46° to 48° . . . [?]. The longest day is fifteen hours and two-thirds. Close to Cape Breton there are deserted islets, with birds in great numbers, and, apparently, extensive fishing grounds."

⁴⁰ We possess neither map nor ancient account mentioning a "Canal de Sanct Julian," in that northern latitude.

And, in the first place, what is that "Baya de los Bretones?" We knew already a "Tierra de los Bretones," a "Cabo de los Bretones," an "Entrée des Bretons," and an "Isola de Bretoni," but it is the first time that mention is made of a bay of that name. As in all the maps and accounts of the sixteenth century, what is ascribed to the Brittons is the northern region of Nova Scotia, or Cape Breton Island, the "Baya de los Bretones" can only be the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

To comprehend the statement of Santa Cruz, we must try to ascertain the exact character of the cartographical elements which he had before him when describing the voyage of Gomez.

The great Spanish cosmographer first states that the island of St. John, before the exploration commenced by Gomez, was placed within the bay: "en la baya do dezian que estava." We have no knowledge of any map of the first quarter of the sixteenth century which represents the interior of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The two earliest delineations of that north-eastern region, viz.: the map of Pedro Reinel or Kunstmann No. I., and the Havre Catalan atlas, set forth only the entrance of that gulf. If, in 1525, which is the year of Gomez' voyage, there existed maps depicting the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, we have no reason to think that they were more complete in that respect than the portolano of Gaspar Viegas, which is of the year 1534. This exhibits only reefs or islets within the gulf; but, at its Atlantic opening, it delineates a nameless island of vast size, longitudinal in form and position. Our opinion is that we have here the earliest imagery of Cape Breton Island, transmitted through Portuguese maps now lost; and which, on account of its fictitious canal running from south to north, is the origin of the island of St. John in many of the old charts,—Spanish, Lusitanian, and French.⁴¹

Both Santa Cruz and Céspedes state that the alleged situation of that island was first shown to be erroneous by Estevam Gomez. The error, they say, was ascertained by the Portuguese navigator, *de visu*, when he passed before the island, and brought back to Spain a description of the country: "A la pasado por ella vido . . . truxo esta relacion." He reported then that the island was adjacent to the continent, and not in the bay: "es esta ysla no en la baya do dezian que estaua, sino junto á esta tierra;" and that, between the two, there is a channel, five or six leagues wide, called the "Canal de Sanct Julian."

⁴¹ *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 233.

How could Gomez ascertain that fact unless he had ranged the coast beyond 44° north latitude?

The consequence of those averments of Gomez, as set forth by Santa Cruz, is that the Portuguese pilot continued coasting Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island, as far as the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and there ascertained that the imaginary island of St. John did not exist. Or, if there was such a region, that it had been misplaced; its proper place being north, very near the mainland. The "Canal de Sanct Julian," in such a case, can only be the Gut of Canseau; unexpected as the supposition will doubtless appear at first sight. Or we may suppose that Santa Cruz made his description simply from one of those numerous maps which depict their island of St. John parallel with the coast of the country, where modern geographers locate Nova Scotia.

Withal, the historian must accept the account ascribed to Gomez as it stands in the words of Santa Cruz. And we are constrained to say that it does not allow of any other interpretation than a voyage carried as far, at least, as the southern extremity of Newfoundland, and an exploration of the east coast south of that island.

But we possess, besides those written accounts, Spanish maps of the time. Do they permit the critic to carry the discoveries of Gomez to such high latitudes?

A survey of that character would have resulted in geographical information which the Sevillian Hydrography could not ignore. Now, we have only to glance at the Weimar maps to see that, as regards those north-eastern regions, Spanish cartographers know nothing beyond the first data which had been transmitted by Pedro Reinel, so far back as 1504 or 1505. This would scarcely be the case if they had ever been in possession,—as they were entitled to be,—of specific details brought by Estevam Gomez from his voyage to Cape Breton island. It is true that the famous "Ilha de Sam Joam" is not to be found in the Weimar mappamundi of 1527 and 1529, which omission may be interpreted as a result of the data brought by Gomez, according to the averments of Santa Cruz. Yet, let it be said, we find still that imaginary island cast into the Atlantic, parallel with the "Country of the Brittons," or Nova Scotia, in the manuscript map of one of the Royal cosmographers, Diego Gutierrez; who designed it at Seville, so late as 1550.⁴²

⁴² *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 231.

There is another map, unpublished until now, which accompanies, in the *Islario* of Santa Cruz, his account of the voyage of Gomez, and of which we subjoin a facsimile, reduced only a couple of inches.

The reader will notice, on the right side of that map, eight dots, the second of which, at the extremity of the north-east coast, is numbered 45, and the seventh 40. There is also a *Scala de leguas*, or scale of distances, which, when applied to the configurations of the map, yields about 120 leagues, from north to south, for the area of the country represented to have been discovered by Gomez. This, Alonso de Santa Cruz locates between 38°—45° north latitude; that is, from about the Chesapeake to some point in Nova Scotia, if we accept his latitudes as laid down.

The nomenclature along the coast requires to be repeated here, to show its resemblance with that of the Weimar charts, although more complete in certain respects than in the Ribero map.

Beginning at the south, in the latitude of the Bermuda islands, by about 38° 30', which Santa Cruz asserts expressly to be erroneous: "no es este el uerdadero sitio desta isla," but without giving a better position, the names are as follows:

| | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| C. de san Ju [an] | Rio seco |
| C. de las arenas | C. de arracifes |
| C. de santiago | Arcipelago |
| Baia de S. xpõual | C. de Santa Maria |
| Rio de sant antonio | C. de muchas islas |
| Montañas | Rio de las gamas |
| Rio de buena madre | Costa de medanas |
| C. de sant Ju [an] baptista | Golfo |
| | Rio de montañas |

It should also be noted that not only the map exhibits no profiles recalling Cape Breton island, and (as such should be the case according to the account of Santa Cruz), the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, but it fails to extend the Gomez region as far as we see it depicted in the chart of Ribero. The last name given by Santa Cruz is to the "Rio de Montañas," while the Weimar charts inscribe beyond, before reaching the "Tierra de Bretones," two more names which no Spanish exploration prior to 1525 permits to attribute to any other navigator, viz.: "Sarçales" (*Zarzales*, or moors?), and "Rio de la Vuelta."

Must we now consider that map as based upon Gomez' own, or as one constructed entirely by Santa Cruz, upon data borrowed from written accounts only? It is on a larger scale than Ribero's, but, so far as the configurations extend, we notice precisely the same profiles. Santa Cruz, however, inscribes two names, which do not figure in that region on any map of the second quarter of the sixteenth century, viz.: "Rio Seco," and "Cabo de Santa Maria," and a third name, which appeared for the first time in the Cabot mappamundi of 1544, viz.: "Rio de las Gamas." But, as those three names are duly set forth in the description which Oviedo has given of the lost map, or *padron real*, of Chaves,⁴³ we feel confident that the latter is the source from which Santa Cruz has borrowed the cartographical elements for his "Tierra qve descvbrio el piloto Estevan Gomez."

If we possessed only the series of maps extending from the Weimar chart of 1527 to the present, we should not hesitate to assert that the highest northern limit reached by Gomez in his voyage of 1525, was one degree or two beyond the Penobscot; and it is that bay which we should recognise in the vast estuary full of islands. The latter attribution is probably correct. But how can we disregard statements based upon the declarations of Gomez himself, and their unavoidable consequences relative to what the critic must interpret as an exploration of the northern shores of Cape Breton Island? On the other hand, Oviedo was in Toledo when Gomez brought to the Court the account of his voyage.⁴⁴ And if the Portuguese pilot had attained the relatively high latitude of 47°, and solved the geographical problem of the island of St. John, would Oviedo, who was then engaged in writing his *Sumario*, have limited the expedition of Gomez to 40°—41°?

In the present state of the question, and with no other documents than those which we have quoted, the critic is unable to *affirm* that Gomez went as far north as Newfoundland. Nor, on the contrary, can he assert that the exploration did not extend beyond the coast of Maine.

Withal, the fact that the expedition did not sail, as usual, from a southern port, but was equipped in and sailed from Coruña, in the most north-western part of Spain, together with other reasons,⁴⁵ leads us to think that Gomez located his prospective landfall in a relatively high latitude. Our surmise and impression, therefore, are that he first steered

⁴³ Such is also the case with the "Isla de St. Elmo."

⁴⁴ See *supra*, p. 230, and p. 231, note 16.

⁴⁵ J. G. KOHL, *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, pp. 277-278.

in the direction of Newfoundland. Once there, we infer that he turned the prow of his ship southward, and, when noticing the abrupt trend of the coast westerly, he must have followed it, with the hope of finding within the Gulf of St. Lawrence an entrance to the hypothetical strait.

The representations then current of the aperture, as exhibited in such maps as Reinel's portolano, the Havre Catalan atlas, and even the map-pamundi of Ruysch (which had been produced before the members of the Badajoz Conference), must have confirmed Gomez in such an erroneous notion. It was apparently in that internal exploration, and when issuing out of the Gulf into the Atlantic, that he ascertained the real geographical character of Cape Breton, as reported by Santa Cruz. And if Cape Breton Island with the Gulf of St. Lawrence do not figure in the map of Santa Cruz, nor as countries ascribed to Gomez, while his actual discovery is limited by his earliest historian to $42^{\circ} 30'$, it is doubtless because the region north of that point was well known of the numerous English, French, Portuguese, and even Basque fishing ships, which frequented those regions. We infer consequently that the latitude given by Oviedo and others must be taken as the limit of the regions believed by Spanish historians and cartographers to have been *discovered* by Gomez, but not as the extreme northern point *reached* in the course of his transatlantic exploration.

CHAPTER V.

CONCLUSION.

WE have now concluded the first part of our task, and reviewed a number of doubtful points in the history of the discovery of North America.

Several important problems yet remain unsolved; and we confess that the structure of our work presents, in various places, wide chasms and broken lines. The fault, however, does not rest with the author, and should be ascribed to a lack of documents. The historian of transatlantic discoveries stands in the position of medallists who strive to re-construct the annals of ancient kingdoms. Although coins were struck, and inscriptions engraved, in vast numbers originally, yet many reigns, families, and provinces are now represented in collections only by a few effaced medals, disconnected from the series, and, on that account, impossible to classify, or even describe with accuracy.

It must also be stated on our behalf that we did not propose to write a didactic history of maritime enterprises beyond the ocean, narrating every event and discussing all facts, with their causes, effects, and documentary proofs. Our sole object has been to investigate anew the exactness of the current allegations which, by being constantly repeated, are now received as historical truths; and to establish on a solid basis the principal elements of discussion.

Some of the results obtained, so far from seeming new, may be considered simply as confirming opinions shared at present by the generality of critics. Others will doubtless create doubt and surprise, although they are here presented with an array of tests and deductions deserving, we think, of the attention of analytical historians.

The main points attained in this elaborate survey of all the facts and documents known can be re-capitulated as follows,—perhaps with less assurance than a desire to be succinct may undesignedly impart to our expressions:

- 1.—The discovery of the continent of North America, and the first

landing on its east coast were accomplished not by Sebastian Cabot, but by his father John, in 1497, under the auspices of King Henry VII.

Book I., chapter vi., pages 27-28.

2.—The first landfall was not Cape Breton Island, as is stated in the planisphere made by Sebastian Cabot in 1544, but eight or ten degrees further north, on the coast of Labrador; which was then ranged by John Cabot, probably as far as Cape Chudley.

Book I., chapter ii., pages 6-9, 36-37.

3.—This fact was tacitly acknowledged by all pilots and cosmographers throughout the first half of the sixteenth century; and the knowledge of it originated with Sebastian Cabot himself, whatever may have been afterwards his contrary statements in that respect.

Book I., chapter iv., pages 19-22.

4.—The voyage of 1498, also accomplished under the British flag, was likewise carried out by John Cabot personally. The landfall on that occasion must be placed south of the first; and the exploration embraced the north-east coast of the present United States, as far as Florida.

Book II., chapter i., pages 34-45.

5.—In the vicinity of the Floridian east coast, John Cabot, or one of his lieutenants, was detected by some Spanish vessel, in 1498 or 1499.

Book V., chapter vi., pages 116-123.

6.—The English continued in 1501, 1502, 1504, and afterwards, to send ships to Newfoundland, chiefly for the purpose of fisheries. But the expedition prepared by Cardinal Wolsey in the spring of 1521, and which was to be under the command of Sebastian Cabot, notwithstanding strong opposition from the Livery Companies of London (which considered him a mendacious adventurer of foreign birth, who had never discovered anything), did not set out, and was soon abandoned.

Book II., chapter i., pages 46-50; Book I., chapter vi., pages 29-30.

7.—The Portuguese mariners who lived in the Azores were the first who probed the Atlantic in search of oceanic islands and continents. Their objective, after the discovery achieved by Christopher Columbus, was the north-east coast of the New World.

Book III., chapter i., pages 51-58.

8.—The earliest authentic records of Lusitanian transatlantic expeditions begin only with Gaspar Corte-Real, who made three, and not two voyages only ; all to the same regions, as follows :

The first voyage of that navigator was undertaken previous to May, 1500, in the direction of Greenland and Newfoundland, and proved an absolute failure.

The second voyage lasted from the early part of the summer of 1500 until the autumn of that year, and embraced the east coast of Newfoundland, from its northernmost point down to Cape Race.

The third expedition set out from Lisbon early in the spring of 1501. It was composed of three vessels. One of these returned to port on the 8th or 9th of October, the second on the 11th following. As to the third, which was under the immediate command of Gaspar Corte-Real, it was ice-bound or shipwrecked, we do not know when nor where, but probably in Hudson Bay, during the winter of 1501-1502. The country visited during the first part of the expedition seems to have been the northern extremity of Newfoundland and the coast of Labrador.

Book IV., chapters i. and ii., pages 59-74.

9.—The expedition of Miguel Corte-Real, in search of his brother, sailed May 10, 1502, and was also lost. Geographical data, however, must have been brought by another rescuing expedition, which set out from Lisbon in 1503, and returned apparently in the same year.

Book IV., chapter iii., pages 75-76.

10.—Portugal continued to send ships to the fishing banks ; and the region south of Newfoundland was explored, particularly by João Alvares Fagundes before 1521. This adventurer sailed round the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and ranged the east coast of Nova Scotia, where he even planted a colony, which did not thrive, and of which no vestiges remain.

Book VII., chapters i. and ii., pages 174-188.

11.—The assertion that already in the time of Christopher Columbus navigators and geographers believed in the existence of a continent interposed between the West Indies and Asia, and which was not Cathay, stands uncontroverted either by contemporary authorities, or by the early Spanish charts. Nay, it is corroborated by that class of proofs.

Book V., chapter iii., pages 97-110.

12.—The absolute insularity of Cuba was an acknowledged fact years before the periplus made by Sebastian de Ocampo, in 1508.

Book V., chapter iii., pages 97-101.

13.—The mainland of the New World was believed to be a continent distinct from Cathay and from India the moment navigators commenced to search after a strait leading from the Atlantic Ocean to the Asiatic seas.

Book V., chapter iv., pages 102-103.

14.—The idea that America was a mere prolongation of Asia, ceased therefore to be entertained almost immediately after the discovery of its east coast.

By John Cabot, in 1497.

By Americus Vespuccius, before 1501.

By Gaspar Corte-Real, before 1502.

Book V., chapter iv., pages 106, 107, 109.

15.—Christopher Columbus himself soon ceased to think that he had discovered Cathay, or the Asiatic coast.

Book V., chapter iv., pages 104-106.

16.—So early as October, 1501, the notion prevailed in Europe that from *Circulus arcticus* to *Pollus Antarticus*, the newly discovered land formed a single coast line belonging to a separate continent.

Book V., chapter iv., page 109.

17.—The Spanish monarchs, at a very early date, also shared the opinion that west of the Antillies there lay an independent continental region, extending from north to south; and acted in consequence.

Book V., chapter vi., pages 116-123.

18.—Two of the earliest charts, Spanish and Portuguese (1500-1502), depicting the discoveries of Columbus, Vespuccius, and Corte-Real, set forth graphically the same geographical conclusions.

Book V., chapter vii., page 123.

19.—Those maps, together with a number of derivatives called by us Lusitano-Germanic (which exhibit likewise a north-western continent), proceed from several different prototypes.

Book V., chapter vii., page 123.

20.—Those continental configurations are geographically logical, corresponding in form and position with a continent actually existing; and predicated upon a true and complete representation of the Antillies.

Book V., chapter i., pages 89-92; chapter iii., pages 97-101.

21.—The reality of the north-western region, and its existence apart from Cathay, or from any of the isles of the West India group, was a tenet of all the cosmographers and cartographers of Europe, with a single exception, for thirty years after the discovery of America.

Book V., chapter ii., page 93; chapter iii., page 97.

22.—Those geographical and cartographical averments correspond entirely with and confirm the belief entertained by contemporaneous writers concerning the existence of a continent lying west and north-west of Cuba, ever since the year 1497; but they do not spring from such a source.

Book V., chapter iv., page 124.

23.—This cosmographical conception may have been, with mariners, at first a mere theory, or deduction from certain physical characteristics, but it soon became an empirical credence.

Book V., chapter v., pages 110-111.

24.—The twenty-two names, or legends, inscribed on the said continental coast in a map made before 1502, show that the region was visited several times prior to that date.

Book V., chapter i., pages 86, 90-92.

25.—Those north-western configurations proceed from various original maps now lost, and represent, in the aggregate, fractional surveys, as well as different landings effected independently of each other.

They evince a regular and empiric progression.

Book V., chapter ii., pages 94-95.

26.—That northern continental land and its nomenclature existed in maps until they were made to merge in delineations brought by Spanish navigators, so late as 1525; but remained recognisable for ten years afterwards.

Only in 1526 did the New World suffer a cartographical eclipse by being deprived of its geographical entity, and brought to combine altogether with Asia, near the equator.

Book V., chapter ii., page 95.¹

¹ See in Part Second, the chapter: *Final evolution of the Lusitano-Germanic Cartography.*

27.—Ever since the first news of the discovery accomplished by Columbus, a number of private and unlicensed expeditions to the New World were fitted out in Spain and Portugal, and sailed westward in search of new countries.

The series of those clandestine voyages extends, without interruption, from 1493 until after the year 1502.

Book V., chapter viii., pages 125-130.

28.—The regions thus visited by unknown adventurers embrace our east coast; now found to have been explored by Europeans (other than the Northmen), fourteen years, at least, before the Spanish official expeditions which are represented to have resulted in the discovery of the continent south of Newfoundland.

Book V., chapter viii., page 131.

29.—Such unknown mariners continued to range the coast, and descended probably as far as Honduras at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Book V., chapter ix., pages 132-133.

30.—*Bimini*, *Boinca*, or *Agnaneo*, and *Cautio*, are different points of the Floridian peninsula. These were visited by Spaniards in the first decade of the sixteenth century.

Book VI., chapter i., pages 134-136, 139-141.

31.—The first authorised expedition to Florida is that which Ponce de Leon led in person, in 1512, rather than in 1513.

Book VI., chapter ii., pages 149-151.

32.—The landings of Ponce de Leon cannot be ascertained. His discovery, however, embraced the extreme south-east of Florida, and, westwardly, perhaps to 30° north latitude and 70° west longitude.

Book VI., chapter ii., pages 145-149, 151, and 153.

33.—The point of Florida visited by Francisco Hernandez de Cordova, in 1517, was on the west coast, by about 26° north latitude.

Book VI., chapter iii., page 156.

34.—The second expedition of Ponce de Leon to Florida lasted longer than historians report. Its duration was from February 20, 1521,

until July-August following, with four months spent on several points of the west coast of the Floridian peninsula.

Book VI., chapter iii., pages 160-162.

35.—Pinedo's discovery of the north-west shores of the Gulf of Mexico, and of the Mississippi river, was accomplished *when going to Panuco*, between April and August, 1519.

The landfall was the western apex of Florida; but the coasting commenced only with Appalachee Bay, including discovery and stay in a branch of the Mississippi river, between April and May; thence westward and southward.

Book VI., chapter iv., pages 170-173.

36.—The accounts of the discovery of the Gulf Stream by Anton de Alaminos are not based upon specific data.

The first part of his voyage (from Vera Cruz to Cuba, in 1519) required so much as five weeks; but he did not then float down the great current.

The exploration of the Gulf Stream was not premeditated; nor is it certain that Alaminos, on the occasion, sailed along the Gulf of Florida. He may have taken one of the Providence channels.

Book VIII., chapter i., pages 193-195.

37.—There are no proofs that the first predatory expedition to the country of Chicora, related by Lopez de Gomara and Herrera, was sent by Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon.

Book VIII., chapter ii., page 199.

38.—It is not unquestionable that the discovery of Chicora was made by Ayllon, or by his lieutenant.

Book VIII., chapter ii., page 203.

39.—“Chicora” and the seventeen other names ascribed to parts of the country discovered by the order of Ayllon, are all imaginary.

Book VIII., chapter ii., page 204.

40.—Ayllon did not send two expeditions only, but three, to the east coast of the New World.

The first expedition (June 24, 1521) was limited to its landfall, by 33° 30' north latitude.

The second expedition (spring of 1525) alone ranged the coast. It has furnished all the geographical data inscribed in maps as representing Ayllon's discovery.

The third expedition (July, 1525) is the only one which he led in person. It was confined to a very limited portion of the coast. This we presume to have extended from some point north of Georgetown Entrance to Cape Fear River.

It is within the said river, probably between Smithville and Wilmington, that Ayllon made his last attempt at colonising the country, and died.

Book VIII., chapter ii., pages 207-208, 212-213.

41.—The Atlantic seaboard, from Florida to Nova Scotia, have been explored by an expedition under the Royal flag of France, before 1527.

That expedition the critic discovers to be that of Giovanni da Verrazano, without even resorting to the account published by Ramusio. Authentic maps of the period afford the necessary evidence.

Book VIII., chapter iii., page 215.

42.—The expedition of Estevam Gomez to the east coast was not a private, but an official enterprise.

Book VIII., chapter iv., pages 229.

43.—It was composed of one ship only, which sailed from Coruña at the close of 1524, made its landfall early in 1525, and returned to Spain in the beginning of November following.

Gomez commenced his exploration at the north; and ranged the coast from Newfoundland to within the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and continued coasting southward, along the Atlantic shores of the Cape Breton peninsula.

The region claimed to have been discovered on that occasion seems to be the east coast, from Nova Scotia to Cape May.

Book VIII., chapter iv., page 243.

Part Second.

The Early Cartography of the
New World.

BOOK FIRST.

The Early Cartography of the New World.

CHAPTER I.

THE discovery of the New World was a private undertaking of Queen Isabella,¹ over which she always claimed an absolute and personal right. In her testament she speaks of the Indies only once, and it is to declare that her own subjects alone were permitted to trade in the newly discovered regions, as it was by them, and at her own cost, that those countries had been found and conquered.² And as Andalusia belonged to the crown of Castile, that province became from the start, and remained, the centre of all maritime affairs concerning "Las Indias," that being the name by which America was designated in Spain officially, and is to this day.

It was, consequently, at Seville, at Cadiz, and at Palos, that the transatlantic expeditions which were ordered by the Spanish government were generally equipped. It was, likewise, from those cities that the ships belonging to Castilians who had obtained the necessary authorisations were compelled to sail. But a number of vessels, fitted out by private citizens who possessed no licence whatever, also started from Spanish ports clandestinely for the New World.³

Hydrography and navigation were taught at Cadiz from remote times, chiefly by pilots of Biscay origin. As we have already remarked, there is a *cedula* of Ferdinand and Isabella, dated March 18, 1500, confirming the ordinances which theretofore had regulated the administration of a

¹ *Cedula* of November 17, 1504; NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 525; OVIEDO, *Historia General*, book iii., cap. vii., Vol. I., p. 74; GOMARA, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 167; *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. I., p. 397.

² "Por quanto las Islas, e Tierra ferme del Mar Oceano, e Islas de Canaria, fueron descubiertas, e conquistadas a costa de estos mis Reynos, e con los naturales dellos, y por esto es razon que el trato, e provecho dellas

se aya, e trate, e negocie destes mis Reynos de Castilla, y de Leon, y en ellos, y a ellos venga todo lo que dellas se traxere: por ende ordeno, e mando que assi se cumple assi en las que fasta aqui sea descubiertas, como en las que se descubriran de aqui adelante en otra parte alguna."—DORMER, *Discursos varios*, p. 344.

³ See *supra*, pp. 129-131, and *Lex Corte-Real*, § viii., pp. 102-104.

school of Basque pilots, established at Cadiz "from a time when the memory of man runneth not to the contrary:—que de tanto tiempo acá que memoria de hombres non es en contrario." A fact worthy of notice, in that decree, is the prominence given already to the laws concerning voyages westward: "leyes para navegar al poniente."⁴

We believe that, notwithstanding the creation in 1503,⁵ of the *Casa de Contratacion*, which was a State institution intended to concentrate all transactions relative to the New World, with its own pilots and school of cosmography, the Basque nautical college continued to exist for several years, and that a number of sailing charts were constructed by its professors, particularly after the discoveries accomplished by Columbus, the Pinzons, Hojeda, De Lepe, and Bastidas. Only one of those early Spanish cartographical documents is now known to exist. It is the map of the world made by De la Cosa.

Juan de la Cosa, the most famous pilot and cartographer Spain could boast of in those days, was, as his surname "*El Vizcaino*" indicates, a native of Biscay. He lived at Seville and at the Puerto de Santa Maria at least since 1492; and he must have been influenced by the professional action and methods of his countrymen, if he was not himself,—which it is difficult to believe,—one of the promoters of cartography and nautical science at Cadiz. His famous planisphere, constructed in one of the Andalusian sea ports during the year 1500, certainly conveys to us an adequate notion of the process and projection adopted then, and of the first steps of the Sevillian Hydrography, which was destined to play such an important part in the scientific development of the discoveries achieved by Columbus.

Before the establishment of the *Casa de Contratacion*, Bishop Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca who, aided by Francisco Pinelo and Juan de Soria, had the upper hand in all matters pertaining to maritime and colonial affairs under Charles V., as well as under Ferdinand and Isabella from the time when the second expedition of Columbus was being equipped, and who held his sway for more than half-a-century,⁶ must have exercised an imperious control over all pilots and cosmographers everywhere in Spain. It is even certain that when, by the ordinance of January 20,

⁴ *Real cédula de 18 de marzo de 1500 dada en Sevilla por los Reyes Don Fernando y Doña Isabel, confirmando las ordenanzas del colegio de pilotos vizcainos establecido en Cadiz.* Simancas archives, in NAVARRETE,

Disertacion sobre la Historia de la Náutica, p. 357.

⁵ NAVARRETE, *Coleccion de viages de los Españoles*, Vol. II., doc. cxlviii., p. 285.

⁶ Bishop FONSECA died only November 4, 1554.

1503, this control was transferred to the administrators of the *Casa de Contratacion*, the dictatorial and overbearing bishop continued to exert a paramount influence over mariners of all classes.

Withal, it must not be believed that the tendency then, or at any time in Spain, was to concentrate in the hands of the government every cartographical work, and enjoy in that respect an absolute monopoly. On the contrary, we are satisfied that map-making and the science of transatlantic navigation were freely taught at Seville, and that cartography was always an art openly inculcated in that city as well as in Cadiz or Palos, without any interference on the part of the authorities.

Making and selling charts was deemed so simple an occupation that we see, in 1501, Christopher Columbus himself, who was interested more than anyone in preventing transgressions of his privileges, order, without any hesitation, for the use even of foreigners, a map of the newly discovered lands, detailed and complete: "copiosa et particular di quanto paese é stato scoperto." When, for instance, Angelo Trivigiano, the Secretary of the Venetian Legation in Spain, wished to convey to the celebrated admiral Domenico Malipiero a correct idea of the discoveries accomplished by Christopher Columbus, he asked the latter to furnish him with a map. The great Genoese at once sent his own copy to Palos to be copied entirely by a pilot of that place.⁷

In fact, we are loth to believe that the Spanish government ever made a mystery of the maritime discoveries carried out under the Castilian flag, and that no one in Spain could disclose any part of them without being liable to severe penalties. It would have been impossible to keep such information secret. Did not the numerous ships equipped in Seville, in Cadiz, and in Palos, for the West Indies, carry charts, and was it not indispensable that such maps should be as exact and as complete as possible? When once in the hands of the one hundred and eighty pilots, and more than two hundred masters,⁸ who at one time were

⁷ "Per suo mezo ho mandato a far fare a Palos che è un loco dove non habita, salvo che marinari, et homini pratici di quel viazo del Columbo, una carta ad istanza de la Magnificienta Vostra; la qual sarà benissimo fata et copiosa, et particular di quanto paese é stato scoperto."—Letter from Angelo TRIVIGIANO, dated Granada, August 21, 1501; *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. II., pp. 116-124.

⁸ NAVARRETE says that in the middle of the sixteenth century, for the navigation of the Indies alone, they counted one hundred and eighty pilots, and more than two hundred masters. *Disertacion sobre la Historia de la Nautica*, p. 368. We know of a single abstract of

sailing directions from Spain to Santo Domingo, which is signed by more than one hundred pilots. *Coleccion de documentos ineditos de Indias*, Vol. XLII., p. 544. In the eighteen years which followed Vasco DA GAMA's memorable voyage of 1497, the Portuguese alone sent round the Cape of Good Hope and across the Atlantic, officially, not less than two hundred and ninety four vessels: "Desde año 1597 [*sic pro* 1497] en que el Rey D. Manuel embiò a Vasco de Gama al descubrimiento de la India, asta el año de 1521 . . . se despacharon 294 baxeles de que se perdieron 26, o poco mas." FARIA Y SOUSA, *Asia Portuguesa*: Lisboa, 1675, Vol. III., p. 559.

together in the employ of the Spanish government exclusively for the American trade, how could they escape the curiosity of the numerous merchants and adventurers who flocked into the southern ports, waiting for a favourable opportunity to cross the Ocean and explore new countries? Yet, a moment may have come when the Spanish government endeavoured to restrict the publicity of certain charts; but it was when men like Sebastian Cabot, for instance, tried to sell, or sold, to Venice and to England, the pretended "Secret of the Strait," and that certain cosmographers of Charles V. flattered themselves that they knew of a shorter route to the Molucca islands.

Veitia Linage relates⁹ that the official charts issued by the *Casa de Contratacion* were kept in a coffer, with two locks and keys, one of which was entrusted to the Pilot-Major, and the other to the cosmographer last appointed to the office. This precaution is of the sixteenth century, but we are of opinion that it was only a continuation of an old custom. So as regards the ordinances of Charles V. and Philip II. cited in the margin of the *Recopilacion de las leyes de Indias*.¹⁰ Nevertheless, we must not understand those precautions to mean that the Spanish government was averse to communicating the geographical information contained in the State maps. They imply no other meaning than a positive intention not to give, to the trade, charts which had not been approved by the competent authorities: "para que no se pudiessen vender ni usar si ser aprovadas." It is in the same manner that we must also interpret the defence directed to the Pilot-Major, to construct maps "hacer cartas;" for the text adds immediately afterwards: "para vender."

Even that restriction soon disappeared. There is an ordinance, dated July 12, 1512,¹¹ whereby Juan Diaz de Solis and Juan Vespuccius, lately appointed, the former Pilot-Major and the second simply Pilot to the King, were authorised by virtue of a special privilege to take copies of the official model, or *Padron Real*, and to sell them to all and any pilot, but at a price previously fixed by the *Casa de Contratacion*. What the government then, in the interest of mariners, did not tolerate was only a competition which might have been created by incompetent cartographers.

The first maps, owing to their various origins, were often contradictory in important particulars. To prevent the dangers to navigation which

⁹ J. DE VEITIA LINAGE, *Norte de la Contratacion de la Indias occidentales*, Sevilla, Blas, 1671, small folio; lib. ii., cap. xi., p. 146.

¹⁰ *Del Piloto Mayor y Cosmografos*; lib. ix., titulo xxiii., leyes viii., xii. and c.

¹¹ MUÑOZ MSS., Vol. XC., f^o. 105.

might arise from such a diversity, the Spanish government, as far back as August 6, 1508, ordered the creation of an official pattern, called the *Padron Real*.¹² To carry out the project, a commission of pilots, chosen from among the most competent men in the kingdom, was appointed. Americus Vespuccius, by virtue of his office of Pilot-Major, which had been expressly and lately created for him,¹³ was called to preside over that junta. According to Herrera,¹⁴ Juan Diaz de Solis and Vicente Yañez Pinzon also received then the appointment of Pilots to His Majesty, for the express purpose of assisting in that most useful work.

The model map which those scientific and practical mariners were to establish was "to embrace all the lands and isles of the Indies until then discovered and belonging to the Crown." It was clothed with an official character, as thenceforth no one could use any other under a penalty of 50 *doblas*.¹⁵ Finally, all pilots were enjoined to mark on that map "every land, island, bay, harbour, and other things, new, and worthy of being noted;" and, as soon as they landed in Spain, to communicate their said chart, so annotated, to the Pilot-Major.¹⁶

We can now imagine the method employed to maintain the *Padron Real* in keeping with geographical discoveries, officially communicated to the *Casa*. The Pilot-Major kept, in the hydrographic department of that institution, a mappamundi of large dimensions, on which could easily be inscribed names, legends, and configurations. It was evidently a plane chart, traversed by the line of demarcation, such as it had been settled between Spain and Portugal in 1494, drawn at a distance equal to five degrees of longitude west of the westernmost of the Cape de Verde islands; but at first with no indication of the degrees of latitude, except such as could be derived from its equator and tropic of Cancer, as in La Cosa's great map. Afterwards it was crossed with latitudinal and, later still, also with longitudinal lines.

¹² "Se ordene é haga un padron de todas las tierras é islas de las Indias que hasta hoy se han descubierto . . . el cual se llame el Padron Real, por el cual todos los pilotos se hayan de regir é gobernar . . . que hallando nuevas tierras ó islas ó bahías ó nuevos puertos ó cualquier cosa que sea digna de ponella en nota en el dicho padron real, que en viniendo á Castilla vayan á dar su relacion al piloto mayor."—NAVARRETE, *Real Título*, in *op. cit.*, doc. ix., Vol. III., p. 300.

¹³ The ordinance is dated March 22, 1508; NAVARRETE, Vol. III., doc. vii., p. 297.

¹⁴ HERRERA, Decad. I., lib. vii., cap. i., Vol. I., page 177, where he erroneously ascribes to the cedula the date of 1507.

¹⁵ About \$231 of the time. The *dobla* or doblloon of Charles V., as described in the ordinance of Philip II., November 13, 1566, weighed 6 grains and 776 milligr. The grain in gold = 22 quilats = nearly 60 American cents; making the *dobla* worth nearly \$4.63. See HEISS, *Monedas*, pp. 325, 413.

¹⁶ *Real título de Piloto mayor, con extensas facultades*; NAVARRETE, *op. cit.*

After the death of Americus Vespuccius (February 12, 1512, at the age of 61), his nephew, Juan Vespuccius, and Juan Diaz de Solis were entrusted with the *Padron Real*. The ordinance is of July 24, 1512.¹⁷

There were two classes of special cosmographers, viz.: the cosmographers of the *Casa de Contratacion*,¹⁸ and the cosmographers of the Council of the Indies.¹⁹ We are inclined to believe that both took the title of "Cosmographer to His Majesty :—Cosmografo de Su Majestad;" unless this denomination indicates a third class, or an honorary title given by the King. Just as there was a Pilot-Major, they had also a Cosmographer-Major.

The creation of those technical offices, of which we regret to be unable to fix the date²⁰ when they were first instituted, betrays a great cartographical activity, which must have received a new impetus with the discoveries which were constantly made during the thirty years which followed the discovery of America. On the other hand, it is evident that a science which produced, so early as 1500, a work like the remarkable map of the world of Juan de la Cosa, had already brought forth, in the fifteenth century, cartographical monuments of importance, and that maps showing improvements both in the projection and configurations continued to be constructed. Unfortunately, they have nearly all disappeared; and there is a chasm of at least twenty years between the chart of the great Basque pilot and the earliest productions which we possess of the Sevillan Hydrography. The critic is unable, therefore, to trace the progress accomplished in that space of time, and particularly the modifications which Spanish cartographers gradually introduced into their geographical representations of the New World.

The cosmographers employed in Spain were almost of every nation. In 1515, Ferdinand of Aragon gave orders to secure the services of the best pilots and cosmographers to be found anywhere. This, however, was not an innovation, as, in 1512, he had already given one office of that kind to Sebastian Cabot, whom he considered as an Englishman.²¹ That king caused to come from Rome one Antonio Maurio,²² who

¹⁷ NAVARRETE, *Disertacion sobre la Historia de la Nautica*; p. 138.

¹⁸ *Recopilacion*, lib. ix., titulo xxiii.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, lib. ii., titulo 13, *leyes* 1 and 4, Vol. II., f^{os}. 185-6, of the edition of 1681. It may be that the cosmographers of the Council date only from Philip II.

²⁰ Notwithstanding our efforts, we have been unable to consult the *Ordenanças Reales para la Casa de la Con-*

tratacion de Sevilla y para otras cosas de las Indias, y de la nauegacion y contratacion dellas, quoted by VEITIA LINAGE in his advertisement to the reader, and which probably contains information on the subject.

²¹ "A Sebastian Caboto Ingles he hecho merced de nuestro capitan de mar . . ."—*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, pp. 331, 332.

²² HERRERA, *Decad.* II., p. 18.

enjoyed a great reputation as a cosmographer, but who has left no traces in Spain that we can find, beyond being probably the Antonio Romano, "who was represented to be a very learned cosmographer and mariner:—que decian que era mui Docto, Cosmografo, i Marinero," and endeavoured to be appointed cosmographer of the expedition of Pedrarias Davila, in 1514.²³ In 1519, and probably before, there were at Seville Portuguese cosmographers engaged in constructing maps and globes, especially the Reinels. We still find, in 1522, pilots of that name, who, with another Portuguese, Simon de Alcazaba, entered the service of Charles V. The two Faleiros, Ruy and Francisco (1519), as well as Diego Ribero, also came from Portugal.

Yet, we are not authorised to presume that those foreigners were enlisted altogether on account of superior skill in making charts. Our impression is that the special knowledge of certain countries which they claimed, or were supposed to possess, was the chief cause why their services were engaged by the Crown. Sebastian Cabot was retained on account of his presumed particular information concerning the Bacalaos regions, and the Faleiros because of their knowledge of a new route to the Molucca islands. But the labours of the Portuguese cosmographers were not confined to the Asiatic countries, as we can see from the Newfoundland nomenclature in all Spanish maps of the sixteenth century, which is entirely Lusitanian.

For reasons as yet unexplained, but which may be that Spain no longer stood in need of foreign mariners, Charles V. on the 2nd of August, 1527, issued an order excluding all strangers from the offices of pilot and mate. As Cabot and Ribero continued to be employed, we must infer that this order only precluded the employment of foreign born in the future.²⁴

The scientific mariners who in Spain under the reigns of Ferdinand of Aragon (acting as regent for his daughter Joanna), Charles V., and Philip II., either as Cosmographer-Majors or as Pilot-Majors, were employed in correcting maps or in elaborating the *Padron Real*, were numerous; but we have been able to ascertain only the names of the following :²⁵

PILOT-MAJORS :—Americus Vespuccius, Juan Diaz de Solis, Francisco de Soto (brother of the latter), Sebastian Cabot, and Alonso de Chaves.

²³ HERRERA, Decad. I., p. 284.

²⁴ *Recopilacion de leyes de los reynos de las Indias*, Vol. III., p. 288 of the Madrid third edition of 1774.

²⁵ All those names are the subject of separate articles in the *Biographical Notes concerning the Commanders, Captains, &c., &c.*, Part Fourth of the present work.

PILOTS TO HIS MAJESTY :—Andrés de San Martín, Juan Rodríguez de Mafra, Juan Vespuccius, Andrés García Niño, Francisco de Torres, Vasco Gallego, Andrés de Morales, Simón de Alcazaba de Soto-Mayor, Estevam Gómez, and Francisco Albo.

COSMOGRAPHER-MAJORS :—Alonso Estanque, Pedro Ruiz de Villegas, and Alonso de Santa Cruz.

COSMOGRAPHERS TO HIS MAJESTY :—Diego Ribero, Diego Gutiérrez (senior), Pedro Mexía, and, especially, Nuño García de Toreno : “muy grande oficial de hazer cartas, y trabajó de auer los mayores padrones que pudo :—A very great adept in making maps, and who made great efforts to secure the best models possible,” says Andrés García de Cespedes, on the authority of Ruiz de Villegas. Nor should we forget Juan de la Cosa, who, in the second voyage of Columbus had the title of Professor of Cartography : “Maestro de hacer cartas.”

What we designate under the generic name of the “Sevillan Hydrography” are the cartographical works, known and unknown, existing and lost, of those noted geographers.

CHAPTER II.

IT follows from the preceding pages that there was in Spain, at least since the year 1508, an official map of the New World, copies of which could be easily obtained at Seville, at a price fixed by the *Casa de Contratacion*, and which were made by certain cosmographers in the employ of the Castilian Crown.

That official map went by the name of *Padron Real*. It was, apparently, the object of great solicitude on the part of the government, particularly when it was found to have bearing on political questions of great importance. In 1515, Portuguese vessels visited places which Spain claimed to be within the Line of Demarcation, and seized them. Portugal pretended that her ships had gone to regions which they had a right to visit, and retaliated by taking seven Spanish ships, on the plea that these had crossed the line, in the vicinity of Cape St. Augustine.¹ The question, therefore, between the two kingdoms was one of fact, which could be settled only by ascertaining from maps, where the Line of Demarcation actually passed. It was then that the charts were found to be at variance; and the *Casa de Contratacion* petitioned the King of Spain to be authorised to call a junta of pilots to correct, in such an important respect, all cartographical documents. Ferdinand of Aragon assented, suggesting, however, that it would be desirable first to send competent persons to examine *de visu* the points alleged to have been encroached upon by the Portuguese, and, as a matter of course, to ascertain their true longitude.

It seems that, in those days, Spain was not guided, as we might have believed from the ordinance of August 6, 1508, by a *Padron Real*, but by a map of Andrés de Morales, which, having been approved by Solís and other able mariners, was considered the best: "Pues Juan Díaz de Solís, i otros Hombres muy peritos en el Arte, havian aprobado la Carta, que hizo el Piloto Andrés de Morales, aquella se debia de creer, que era la mejor."²

¹ HERRERA, Decad. I., lib. i., cap. xii., Vol. II., p. 18.

² HERRERA, *ibidem*.

The Junta was authorised, and the King ordered the *Casa* to compose that commission with the most competent pilots and cosmographers to be found. It was then that the Roman Antonio Maurio, whom we have already mentioned, was appointed a member, together with Sebastian Cabot, Juan Vespuccius, and the eldest Pinzons. According to Fernando Columbus, in addition to these celebrated mariners, there were more than one hundred pilots, many of whom were acquainted for many years with the navigation to the Indies: "y mas de cien pilotos, muchos de ellos antiguos en la navegacion de las Indias."³ What the results of that great commission were, and what is the map which was then constructed,⁴ are questions which we cannot answer; the documents known being silent on the subject.

We find in several ordinances allusions which show that the act creating the *Padron Real* was frequently infringed, and that no respect was paid to the monopoly granted to Solis and Juan Vespuccius relative to copying and selling copies of the official map. Pilots in all the ports of Andalusia constructed charts which were more or less exact, and even counterfeited the *Padron Real*, without regard to the rights possessed by Solis and Juan Vespuccius; to such an extent that in 1513, they felt compelled to apply to the Court for redress.⁵

This state of things continued nevertheless, and, as it seems, for a number of years, notwithstanding the construction of a new *Padron Real*. Maps, in fact, became altered to such a degree that the graduation was of two kinds.

In a very curious dialogue written by Fernando Columbus, under the title of *Coloquio sobre las dos graduaciones diferentes que las cartas de Indias tienen*, we find that this untoward circumstance was due chiefly to vexations at the hands of the Pilot-Major, who, by refusing arbitrarily to approve maps made (as the law permitted) out of the *Casa*, left no other alternative to pilots than to dispense with securing the required certificates. This, necessarily, led to the making of cartographical works different in kind, and varying according to the notions of those independent pilots

³ Fernando COLUMBUS, *Coloquio*, MS. This small work was written about the year 1527; as speaking of the then last *Padron Real*, Don Fernando says: "poco más de diez años aquí es fecho:—constructed little more than ten years ago," showing that he refers to the Junta of 1515.

⁴ The map was doubtless made within two or three years afterwards, judging from the expression used in the

Coloquio: "Pero decidme, Señor, ¿el padron que la Casa tiene es muy antiguo?—No es muy antiguo, que despues que se hizo no se ha añanido cosa nueva." Yet, since that time, the entire Gulf of Mexico had been explored by the order of GARAY; and AYLON, as well as GOMEZ, had visited the coasts of the present Southern States of North America.

⁵ MUÑOZ MSS., Vol. XC., f^o 123.

and map makers. The passage in the *Coloquio* of Fernando Columbus, where mention is made of those annoyances, is worth reproducing, as it initiates us into the workings of that nefarious practice :

“Haveis de saver que todas las cartas e instrumētōs de la Navegacion los examina el Piloto maior, en esta manera :

Cada vez que el Piloto o maestre a de hir a qualquier viaje de Indias es obligado a hacer muestra de sus aparejos al dicho Piloto maior, para que vea si estan buenos, que se entiende carta y Agujas, Astrolabio, y Regimiento : y como el dicho Piloto maior demas de ser compadre dal que hace las Cartas es su mui grande Amigo ; Si alguna persona hace Carta o otro instrumento alguno, al tiempo que el Piloto o Maestre, hace muestra dello el Piloto maior, lo conoce que no es de su compadre y luego dice que esta falsa y que no lo a de firmar hasta que lo vea vien y tienselo en su casa mucho tiempo, que por ninguna via no lo quiere dar, y enfin no lo firma ni quisiere que pase, por mui bueno que sea ; y al que lo compro porque no quiere que lo hizo y al que lo compro porque no quiere que haya otro que haga cosa de Navegacion sino su Compadre, y como esto se save, no hay quien se ponga a hacer cosa alguna porque aunque sea mui perfecto no habrea quien lo compre y si algun piloto o maestre lo compra por el mismo caso que da enemigo del piloto maior y de su compadre, y esto digo como hombre que asi lo a visto.”

“You should know (says Teodosio to Fulgencio) that all maps and nautical instruments have to be examined by the Pilot-Major in the following manner :

Whenever the pilot or master is about to undertake a voyage to the Indies, he must show his implements to the Pilot-Major, that the latter may see whether they are in working order ; by which [implements] are meant the map, compass, astrolabe, and sailing directions. And as the Pilot-Major, besides being the colleague of the cartographer, is his great friend, if any other person has constructed the map or instrument, the Pilot-Major, seeing that it is not the work of his companion, declares the same at once unfit for use, and refuses his certificate, on the plea that those implements must be examined again thoroughly. He then keeps the map and instruments at his house for a long time, and finally gives neither his approbation nor leave to use them, however good they may be. The reason is that he does not want any other than his companion to construct naval objects. And as that is known, no one cares to make such things, however perfect they might be, as no one would buy them, for fear of the enmity of the Pilot-Major and of his companion. I speak as an eye-witness.”⁶

At last Charles V. determined again to remedy the evils arising from that multiplicity of maps, and, on the 6th of October, 1526, directed Fernando Columbus⁷ to order from Diego Ribero, and other cosmographers, a sailing chart embracing all the islands and continent which had been discovered up to that time, and which would be found thenceforth. Here are the words of Queen Isabella of Portugal, Charles V.'s wife, who governed Spain during his absence :

⁶ *Coloquio*, MUÑOZ MSS., Vol. XLIV., f^o 2, *seq.*

⁷ Those juntas seem to have been generally presided over by some distinguished and influential person, and not by a professional man. Thus it was the Marquis DE MONDEJAR who presided over the junta which had been appointed by Philip II. to examine the works and instruments of APIANUS. See NAVARRETE, *Opusculos*, Vol. II., p. 65. Fernando COLUMBUS doubtless owed his

appointments as much to the high position which he held personally at Seville and to the political memoirs which he wrote about the rights of the Spanish Crown to the Molucca islands, as to his scientific attainments. These were respectable, but there is not a particle of evidence showing that he was a professional cosmographer or cartographer, and that the Weimar map of 1527, or any other map, was made by him.

“Don Hernando Colon: bien sabeis como el Emperador Mi Señor, por una su çedula, fecha en Granada a seis dias del mes de Otubre de mill e quynientos e veinte e seis años, os encargó thomásedes a Diego Rivero, Nuestro Piloto e otras personas, e fyciéredes una Carta de navegar, en la qual se situen todas las Islas e Tierra-Firme questhobiesen descubiertas e se descubriesen de ay adelante . . .”

“Don Fernando Columbus: You are well aware that my lord the Emperor, by one of his çedula dated from Granada, on the sixth day of the month of October, in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-six, charged you with ordering from Diego Ribero, our pilot, and other individuals, a sailing chart which should embrace all the islands and continent now discovered, or to be found hereafter . . .”⁸

According to Herrera, Fernando Columbus used great diligence, and corrected geographical errors, which proved of importance: “I haviendo vsado Don Hernando Colon (por la comision que tuvo de Su Majestad) de mucha diligencia, se enmendaron i corrigieron algunos yerros que fueron de mucho provecho.”⁹ Veitia Linage goes further, for he says that it was Don Fernando who made the map: “Hernando Colon . . . juntó los Cosmographos y Pilotos de su Mag. y hizo vn mapa, y padron, por el qual se haviessen de regir de allí adelante las navegaciones.”¹⁰

Those statements are erroneous. If the map was ever made, it must have been at least ten years afterwards, and under different circumstances. In the çedula of Queen Isabella of Portugal, already quoted, which bears date May 20, 1535, after the passage above cited, we read the following lines, which are quite conclusive:

“E porque fallamos que abreis entendido en ello con el cuidado e delyxencia que conviene, Yo vos Encargo e Mando, que si quando esta rrescebiéredes, obieredes comenzado a facer lo que por la dicha Cédula se vos ymbió a mandar, lo acabeis con toda la brevedad, e sinon, entendais luego en que se efetue . . .

”

“And whereas you have [heretofore] attended to this matter with proper care and diligence, We order and direct you that if, when you receive the present letter, what was ordered by the said çedula [of 1526] has been commenced, then that you see that it be terminated with all possible dispatch. If, on the contrary, such is not the case, I order you to cause it to be done at once.”

It was evidently in anticipation of the completion of this map, that Charles V. ordered, August 2, 1527, that the *Padron Real*, thenceforth called *Padron General*, should be committed to the care of the president and judges of the *Casa de Contratacion*, and verified by the Pilot-Major

⁸ *Real Cedula à Don Hernando Colon, mandandole que tan luego como concluya de facer la Carta de Navegar que por çedula de 6 de Otubre 1526 se la encargo. Mayo 20 de 1535, in the Coleccion de documentos ined. de Indias, Vol. XXXII. (1879), p. 512.*

⁹ HERRERA, Decad. III., p. 294; IV., p. 30.

¹⁰ VEITIA LINAGE, *Norte de la Contratacion de las Indias occidentales*, Seville, 1672, fol., lib. ii., cap. xii., p. 146. That is probably the origin of the legend which ascribes the making of the anonymous Weimar chart of 1527 to Fernando Columbus, who, as we have just stated, never made any such map.

and cosmographers of that institution twice a year. In that cedula there is an article which well shows the liberal spirit that animated the government in regard to map-making. It states that every professional cosmographer residing in Seville could thereafter construct and sell maps of the New World, provided these were first submitted to and approved by the Pilot-Major and cosmographers of the *Casa de Contratacion*.¹¹ We have already shown how far those functionaries succeeded in nullifying the privilege, and the strong language used by Fernando Columbus to condemn the nefarious practice, in this respect, of the Pilot-Major.

But what shows the limited importance given to the official map is, besides the liberty enjoyed by any cosmographer living in Seville to make charts of his own invention, though subject to being approved by the competent authorities, the fact that another ordinance of Charles V. permitted even the Pilot-Major himself to construct and sell maps and globes of his own manufacture, provided it was outside the city. Those ordinances were confirmed by Philip II.¹²

We still possess several original manuscript maps made at Seville in that space of time, particularly the one bearing date 1527, preserved at Weimar, stated to be the work of one of His Majesty's cosmographers; and another of the year 1529, which was made and signed by Diego Ribero, also preserved in that city. The fact that neither bears the approbation of the Pilot-Major (who then was, apparently, Alonso de Chaves, named to the office in the absence of Sebastian Cabot), implies that the cosmographers to His Majesty dispensed with such a certificate, although we see no such privilege mentioned in the ordinances, or the perfect freedom with which maps were at that time being constructed and copied in Seville. It may also be that those maps are not regular sailing charts, within the meaning of the regulations of the *Casa*, but simply maps for ordinary use. At all events, they represent the state of official geographical knowledge at the time in Spain, particularly as regards the New World, and, on that account, are to us extremely interesting.

¹¹ "Y quando algun cosmografo de Sevilla hiciere algunas cartas, no los pueda vender si no fueren primero aprobados por el Piloto mayor, y Cosmografos." In the *Recopilacion de los reynos de las Indias*, Vol. III., f^o 286, of the edition of 1774.

¹² "Pueda hazer Mapas y Globos, para si o para vender fuera de la ciudad de Sevilla," in the *Recopilacion*, lib.

ix., tit. xxiii., *ley* iii. The object of this restriction seems to have been to prevent the Pilot-Major from being influenced on account of his having sold such implements to the candidates for the functions of pilot. The ordinance of Charles V., requiring an investigation into the manner in which Sebastian CABOT granted licences to pilots (*supra* p. 33) may refer to some abuse of the kind.

When Fernando Columbus was enjoined by Queen Isabella to proceed with the map, Diego Ribero had been dead two years; Fernando's time was also absorbed by the great litigation which involved the rights of Don Luis, the lineal descendant and heir of Christopher Columbus, to the principal privileges granted to his grandfather.¹³ Appearances are, therefore, that he then ceased to occupy himself with the *Padron Real* ordered in 1526.

At all events, Juan Suarez de Carvajal, afterwards bishop of Lugo, who, by a *çedula* dated August 17, 1535, had been entrusted with the mission of inspecting the functionaries of the *Casa de Contratacion*, called together in 1536, a junta of pilots and cosmographers. This is evidently the one mentioned by Navarrete,¹⁴ and in which Alonso de Santa Cruz, who was a member of the commission,¹⁵ presented his newly-invented instrument for ascertaining longitudes at sea. Oviedo, writing in 1536, speaks already of "the map lately corrected by order of Charles V.:—*la carta corregida nuevamente por mandado de Césaar.*"¹⁶ This can only be the *Padron Real* issued by the new junta. It is said to have been the work of Alonso de Chaves:

"La carta moderna, fecha por el cosmografo Alonso de Chaves, el año de mill é quinientos y treinta y seys años despues que por el Emperador fueron mandados ver y examinar:— The recent map, made by the cosmographer Alonso de Chaves, in the year 1536, after the Emperor had ordered them [*i. e.* the members of the junta], to see and examine it."¹⁷

We do not know whether those words of Oviedo must be interpreted as meaning that the map had been entirely constructed by Chaves,—which he would not have had sufficient time to do,—or that Chaves, after the death of Ribero in 1533, took his place, and continued the work initiated by the latter.

That chart is lost. Fortunately, we possess a detailed description of it, made by Oviedo himself,¹⁸ from a copy in the own hand of Chaves:—"Del qual padron tengo una de la mano de Alonso de Chaves." The reader will find it described and analysed *infra*, in the *Cartographia Americana Vetustissima*, of which it constitutes the last item.

¹³ *Excerpta Colombiana*, p. 18.

¹⁴ NAVARRETE, *Opusculos*, Vol. II., p. 63.

¹⁵ "Fué uno de los diputados para la correçion de las cartas de navegar."—OVIDEO, *Historia General*, lib. xxi., cap. ii., Vol. II., p. 116.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*. That *Padron* does not seem to have been yet completed at the close of the year; for in the *Probanzas* of December 31, 1536, SANTA CRUZ and

GUTIERREZ speak of "el padron que ahora se hace."

¹⁷ OVIDEO, *op. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 150.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, pages 112-152. It is in reality a critical examination both of the Chaves and Ribero maps, with corrections obtained verbally from Alonso DE SANTA CRUZ: "Algunos nombres destes quel [A. de S. C.] me dió è informó, no los hallo en la carta moderna que digo." *Loc. cit.*, pp. 114-116.

CHAPTER III.

IT would prove highly interesting to follow on Spanish maps the progress accomplished, not only as regards maritime discoveries, but in cartography proper. Unfortunately, between the chart made by Juan de la Cosa in the year 1500, and the map of the King's Library, at Turin, which was constructed towards 1523,¹ we possess only the rough and small woodcut delineation of the West Indies inserted in a later issue of the first edition of Peter Martyr's First Decade. The latter scarcely exhibits more of the mainland than the seaboard of the Caribbean Sea, and the southern coast of Florida; but the Turin map is much more complete, particularly for the southern configurations, as it delineates a large portion of the coasts of the New World, east and west, south of the tropic of Cancer.

With so few elements, that is, a map of the year 1500, which naturally ignores most of the south-eastern seaboard, and westwards, the entire coast; a map limited to the Antillies; the Turin planisphere, just mentioned; and the Weimar charts, all made from fragmentary prototypes concerning which we know so little, it is impossible to establish a precise filiation, and ascertain the original form of the cartographical data which have reached us after undergoing very great modifications.

There is a conclusion, however, which appears certain, when we compare the leading traits of those maps. It is that the Turin *mappamundi* is based upon elements which were unknown to the Spanish official cosmographers, and to the board of the Casa de Contratacion. Else, as no *Padron General* was constructed in the four years which elapsed between the making of the Turin map and of the Weimar charts, the latter would exhibit the same nomenclature as the former. We have thus traces of explorations, apparently of a clandestine character, which were doubtless a continuation of similar voyages undertaken ever since the New World was first discovered by Christopher Columbus.

¹ Facsimile *infra*. All the maps mentioned in the present disquisition are separately described at length and discussed in the part entitled *Cartographia Americana Vetustissima*.

This inference leads us also to believe that the Weimar maps only exhibit such technical information as, by virtue of the ordinances which we have quoted, pilots and masters were bound to communicate to the Pilot-Major on their return to Seville. But it is evident that these constituted merely a small portion of the geographical knowledge which had then been already obtained. Besides the unlawful expeditions, which, of course, made a secret of their discoveries, there were numerous ships, equipped on a venture by private citizens, whose captains, although provided with a regular license, did not communicate to the *Casa* the points of the coast first visited by them, and where they had found abundance of dye-wood, or roaming Indians who could be easily kidnapped and enslaved for the European markets. Their maps could not fail to exhibit peculiar nomenclatures and configurations, different altogether from those which were inscribed on the *Padron Real*. It is in that class of private charts that we should look for the origin of several important delineations, insular as well as continental, which of late years have attracted the attention of the historians of maritime adventure.

We find no traces of the influence of the Spanish maps north of Spain and Portugal during the first quarter of the sixteenth century. And although Italy was the country where the news of the discoveries accomplished by Columbus, Vespuccius, Magellan, and other navigators sailing under the flag of Castile, circulated most extensively, their accounts being translated and printed at Rome, Venice, and Florence,² it was only at a comparatively late period that Italian maps commenced to take notice of the New World. The atlases, portolani, or charts of Giorgio Giovanni of Venice (1494),³ of Conte Freducci of Ancona (1497),⁴ even those of Andrea Benincasa (1508),⁵ of Battista Genovese (1514),⁶ of Jacopo Russo (1520),⁷ and of many other cartographers of the time, ignore the New World altogether; and, in their delineation of the Atlantic, do not go beyond the fantastic islands which mar all maps of the fifteenth century.

It is true that the *Ptolemy* published at Rome, in 1508, contains a mappamundi representing the newly-found regions, but it is the work of a German, Johannes Ruysch, who has chiefly copied Lusitanian maps, and even seems to have never seen a chart made in Spain. In fact, the

² *Biblioteca Americana Vetustissima, and Additions.*

³ "Georgius Joanis de Veniciis fecit Veneciarum, M.CCCC.LXXXIIIJ." In the Royal Library at Parma.

⁴ "Contes Hectomanni de Fredutiis de Ancona, 1497."

In the Wolfenbüttel Ducal Library.

⁵ In the Library of the Propaganda, at Rome.

⁶ In the Wolfenbüttel Ducal Library.

⁷ In the State Archives at Florence.

first truly Italian map which depicts America is the atlas made at Naples, in 1511, by Vesconte de Maggiolo. This was soon followed by the cordiform mappamundi of Bernardo Sylvano of Eboli, printed at Venice in 1511, but whose transatlantic delineations, so far from being taken from a Spanish map, were made after a purely Portuguese chart, of the same type as those of Kunstmann. In reality, it is only through the map which Vesconte de Maggiolo constructed in 1527 that the Sevillian Hydrography, by a circuitous route, however, made its appearance in Italy, and began to influence a certain family of maps. Yet, for a number of years previous, several fine planispheres constructed in the Iberian peninsula had found their way into Italian collections. Nay, Malipiero, the Venetian admiral, even possessed an authentic copy of the map which Christopher Columbus had made himself to illustrate his memorable discoveries. That important cartographical document may yet be exhumed from among the rubbish of some palace in Venice; but we may rest assured that, if ever found, it will be seen to set forth configurations differing materially from those which have been used by Italian cartographers, without being for that reason any more complete or correct.

CHAPTER IV.

IT was reserved for the Lusitanian cartographers to convey to German savants their first notions concerning the geography of the New World, and to inspire for nearly half-a-century all the maps and globes executed in Northern Europe.

Hakluyt and modern writers state that no maps could be obtained from Portugal, and that the Portuguese pilots or cosmographers who gave or sold charts to strangers forfeited their life. There is some truth in the statement, but it applies only to an exceptional case. Angelo Trivigiano, who had so easily obtained from Christopher Columbus a detailed chart of the New World, writes, August 21, 1501, that he had been unable to get in Lisbon a map "of a certain recent voyage to Calicut, as the King of Portugal had edicted the penalty of death against anyone who should venture to communicate a map of that expedition:—de la carta del qual viazo non é possibile haverne, chel Ré ha messo pena la vita a chi la da fora."¹

That voyage was evidently Cabral's, who had returned from the East Indies in the month of July preceding, and confirmed the promises held by Vasco da Gama relative to an abundance of spice and precious stones, which thenceforth were brought to Portugal by a partially new route from those distant regions. This restriction is only one which many governments would have imposed when in possession of particular geographical data concerning certain newly-found countries, where there was hope to exercise a trading monopoly. The prohibition, therefore, applied only to the Moluccas; and it must be said that the anxiety of the Portuguese Crown on the subject was felt during many years. On the 31st of September, 1531,² we see the agent of João III. enter into a contract at Savona with Leone Pancaldo, whereby the latter, for a compensation of 2,000 ducats, binds himself not to teach anyone the route to the Moluccas, and not to make any chart tracing the way to those productive islands.

¹ ZURLA, *Marco Polo*, Venezia, 1818, Vol. II., p. 362.

² Cornelio DESIMONI, *Una moneta col nome di Giulio*

II. e quattro documenti riguardante il pilota savonese Leone Pancaldo. Savona, 1891, 8vo.

But the colonial policy of Portugal was generally a liberal one. On the 9th of December, 1508, Americus Vespuccius, in answer to a question addressed to him by Cardinal Ximenez de Cisneros, who wished to allow anyone to visit and import all objects of commerce into the New World: "que cada vno tenga lybertad de yr i llevar lo que quisyere," acknowledge that this was the policy of Portugal as regarded her most important African colony: "Segun que lo haze el rey de Portugal en lo de la Mina del Oro."³ This implies the right to trade and navigate in those countries, and, consequently, to own and use sailing charts.

We have proofs, however, that the Portuguese government, as a rule, did not make a secret of its maps. Andrea Corsali, after describing to Giuliano de Medici the usual navigation to the East Indies, advises him to consult the chart which Michael da Silva, the ambassador of Portugal, had brought to Rome: "Come per la carta del navigare, che Don Michiele Selua, Orator del Re, recó a Roma, potrà V.S. comprendere."⁴ Besides, our readers have seen that when Alberto Cantino, in 1502, wished to have a map made for the Duke of Ferrara, depicting the maritime discoveries recently accomplished by the Portuguese, he found no difficulty whatever in having it executed in Lisbon. We still possess that map, and can easily see depicted thereon, with appropriate legends, Newfoundland and Brazil duly represented as the regions which Gaspar Corte-Real and Pedro Alvarez Cabral had just discovered for the King of Portugal. Nay, it sets forth in detail Calicut and the entire Indian Ocean and its coasts with a perfection theretofore unknown: marking even on important localities their degree of latitude, and calling the attention of the reader to the valuable products to be obtained in those Lusitanian colonial marts. Such was likewise the case with the elaborate mappamundi copied about the same time, in Portugal, we believe, by the Genoese cartographer, Nicolay de Canerio.

If maps so elaborate as those of Cantino and Canerio were sent to Italy, we have positive proofs that, in the first few years of the sixteenth century, cartographical monuments of the same character also found their way into Germany; and have inspired German geographers during many years. Their works constitute what we call the Lusitano-Germanic cartography, and form the subject of the following chapters.

³ *Cartas de Indias*, page 11.

⁴ RAMUSIO, Vol. I., f^o. 180 (*sic pro* 280).

CHAPTER V.

RENÉ II., Duke of Lorraine,¹ took the greatest interest in geography. The Vosgian Gymnasium at St. Diey, with its nucleus of scholars, was under his protection, and he particularly seconded the efforts of those who devoted themselves to scientific pursuits. Three of these, Matthews Ringmann (*Philesius*), Gaultier Lud, and Martin Waldseemüller (*Hylacomilus*), resolved, before the year 1508, to publish a new edition of Ptolemy.

That determination has been the starting point of a most important evolution in the cartographical history of the New World.

Waldseemüller, who held the Chair of Cosmography in the Gymnasium, was an able cartographer; and his associates entrusted him with the task of preparing the maps which were to accompany that important publication.

The Ptolemy was published at Strasburg, after March 15, 1513,² and it contained a number of newly-constructed maps, several of which have exerted considerable influence on the conceptions of the New World, particularly among German cosmographers. But, previous to the issue of that valuable work, Waldseemüller had made a mappamundi more important still; as it greatly promoted, if it did not initiate, the geographical development which we have now to describe.

If that first planisphere of Waldseemüller's, which was executed to accompany the first edition of the *Cosmographiæ Introductio*, printed at St. Diey,³ could be discovered, the genesis, so to speak, of the purely Lusitanian maps which reached Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century, might be established with a certain degree of precision.

Meanwhile, our belief is that the primary configurations and nomenclature adopted then by Waldseemüller, can be ascertained by means of the *Tabula Terre Nove* which he designed for the Ptolemy of 1513; as

¹ "Le duc de Lorraine, mécène naturel de l'association, contribuait pour sa part à la réunion des données les plus curieuses et les plus difficiles à obtenir."—D'AVEZAC, *Martin Hylacomylus Waltzemüller, ses ouvrages et ses*

collaborateurs. Voyage d'exploration et de découvertes; Paris, 1867, 8vo, pp. 13-25.

² *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 29.

³ *Ibidem*, Nos. 44-47, and *Additions*, No. 24.

it is not likely that he used, within a very few years, to construct the latter map, data different from those which were employed in making the planisphere annexed to the St. Diey treatise.⁴ But, first of all, we must demonstrate the Lusitanian origin of Waldseemüller's elements, so far, at least, as his American configurations are concerned; it being necessary to establish the connection between the Portuguese charts described in the preceding pages, and the important category of maps which we have called "Lusitano-Germanic."

The reader is aware that when Americus Vespuccius visited the Brazilian country, in the track of another Portuguese expedition, he entered, September 24, 1503, a port, which in the course of a previous voyage, probably on the 1st of November, 1501, had been discovered and named "The Bay of All-Saints." That name is always correctly rendered in the purely Lusitanian maps, as "A baia de todos los santos." When the Spanish geographers mentioned the transatlantic dominions of the Crown of Portugal, they also named that point of the Brazilian coast under its proper name. The earliest of these, Martin Fernandez de Enciso, in his *Suma de Geografia*, printed at Seville in 1519,⁵ writes "La baya de todos sanctos;" Ribero and his colleagues mark in their planispheres: "b. de todos sanctos." But in all the cartographical monuments executed in the north of Europe, whether they be maps, charts, or globes, we invariably find the inexact rendering of "*Abatia* omnium sanctorum," or "All-Saints *Abbey*," instead of "Bay."

This mistake, which is the touchstone for a large family of German maps, originated with a mere slip of the pen, which, although absent from all Lusitanian maps and documents, is nevertheless of Portuguese origin, and may be traced to Americus Vespuccius, or the Italian scribe who wrote in his name.

On the 4th of September, 1504, Vespuccius addressed to some one, not named,⁶ but living at Florence, an account in the Italian language, of his transatlantic voyages.⁷ In the description of the fourth expedition,

⁴ We should not feel so confident if the *Tabula* betrayed elements borrowed from a Spanish chart; but as it sets forth only Lusitanian names, configurations and latitudes, which we recognise again in other maps based also upon Portuguese models, though of different origins, — such as RUYSC and SCHÖNER, — the presumption needs to be accepted.

⁵ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 97.

⁶ The probability is that it was "Piero di Messer Tommaso Soderini," the gonfalonier of Florence; BANDINI, *Vita e Lettere di Amerigo Vespucci*, Firenze, 1745, 4to, p. xxv., and BARTOLOZZI, *Ricerche storico-critiche* . . . Firenze, 1789, 8vo, p. 67.

⁷ *Lettera di Amerigo Vespucci delle Isole nuovamente trouate in quattro suoi viaggi*. No. 87 of the *Bibliotheca Americ. Vetustis.*, and *Additions*, pp. xxiii.-xxvii.

we read, relatively to that locality of the Brazilian coast: "Fussi a tenere nella terra che el viaggio passato discoprimo in un porto che li pone' mo *la badia* di tucte e sancti:—We made for the land which we had discovered the year before [and] a harbor which we [had then] named the Abbey [*sic*] of All-Saints."

That is the immediate origin of the mistake, which affords the clue enabling us to connect all the maps containing *Abatia* instead of *a baia* with the geographical productions emanating from the Vosgian Gymnasium.

In the above mentioned *Cosmographiæ Introductio* of Waldseemüller, issued for the first time from the St. Diey press, on the 25th of April, 1507, there is an account of Vespuccius' four voyages, in Latin, said to be a translation from the French, and which was itself translated from the Italian language. In fact, it is only a clumsy version of the *Lettera di Amerigo Vespucci*, sent to Florence from Lisbon on the 4th of September, 1504, cited in one of our preceding notes. The name of the party to whom Vespuccius addressed this Italian text is not given, but, as we have said, everything tends to show that it was Pier Soderini. The Latin version in the St. Diey book is more explicit, but names some one else, as it bears the following heading:

"Illustrissimo Renato, Iherusalem et Siciliæ regi, duci Lotharingiæ ac Bar[ensi], Americus Vespuccius humilem reverentiam, et debitam recommendationem:—To the Most Illustrious René, King of Jerusalem and Sicily, Duke of Lorraine and Bar, Americus Vespuccius, &c."

In the main, both the Latin and Italian texts are alike; but although the latter was printed before the *Cosmographiæ Introductio*, it is not likely that the St. Diey scholarly association would have presumed to palm off on the Duke of Lorraine a mere translation from a book which was on sale, and invent such a dedication. Nor can we admit that Gaultier Lud would have dared to say to René himself, though it be in another work,⁸ when alluding to the said account of Vespuccius:

"Quorum etiam regionum descriptionem *ex Portugallia ad te* Illustrissime rex Renate, gallico sermone missam:—which was sent from Portugal to thee Most Illustrious King René, in the French language."

When Waldseemüller's treatise appeared in print, René was living; and to accept an epistle dedicatory of that explicit character, would also imply on his part either an ignorance which is not in keeping with what

⁸ *Speculi orbis declaratio*, Strasburg, 1507, folio, f. 2; *B. A. V.*, No. 49.

we know of his accomplishments, or a weakness unworthy of his high character. Our impression is that Vespuccius caused his Italian account to be translated into French in Lisbon (that being René's own language), by some one who overlooked the sentences intended for Soderini. It was sent to Nancy before February 5, 1505, which is the date of the letter of introduction Christopher Columbus gave him in Seville.⁹ In that letter, the great Genoese alludes to Vespuccius' ill luck and disappointments. May we not infer that when the Florentine navigator thought of quitting the service of Portugal, he sent the narrative of his four voyages to the Duke of Lorraine, probably as he did to the gonfalonier of Florence, and perhaps to other princes, according to the custom of the time, as a bid for some favour?

Be that as it may, the Latin version in Waldseemüller's *Cosmographiæ Introductio*, which version is the fountain-head of the account of Vespuccius' four voyages printed and reprinted, copied and commented all over the north of Europe in the sixteenth century, calls the "Bay," the "Abbey of All Saints:—Omnium sanctorum abbatiam." It is fair to conclude, therefore, that when the geographical productions, planispheres, maps, and globes, emanating from the St. Diey savants, particularly Waldseemüller, gave that erroneous name to the same point of the Brazilian coast, they borrowed it from the *Quatuor Americi Vesputii navigationes*,¹⁰ which they had translated and published.

To complete the connection, it is important to ascertain the existence of some map of the world, or of the newly-discovered countries, coeval with that publication, and which should be the undoubted work of the cartographer of the Vosgian Gymnasium. Traces of such a map exist.

The *Cosmographiæ Introductio* accompanied a planisphere constructed by Martin Waldseemüller. This is stated on the verso of the double leaf containing the *Figuram universalem*, in these words:

"Propositum est hoc libello quendam Cosmographiæ introductionem scribere: quam nos tam in solido quam plano depinximus. In solido quidem spacio exclusi strictissime. Sed latius in plano:—We have proposed in this little book to write a sort of introduction for the Cosmography which we have depicted both on a globe and on a plane chart, very succinctly, of course, on the globe, where space was wanting, but more extensively on the mappamundi."

As to that map, from the very few details scattered in Waldseemüller's book we learn that it was a planisphere, dedicated to the Emperor

⁹ NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 351.

¹⁰ Inserted in the *Cosmographiæ Introductio*.

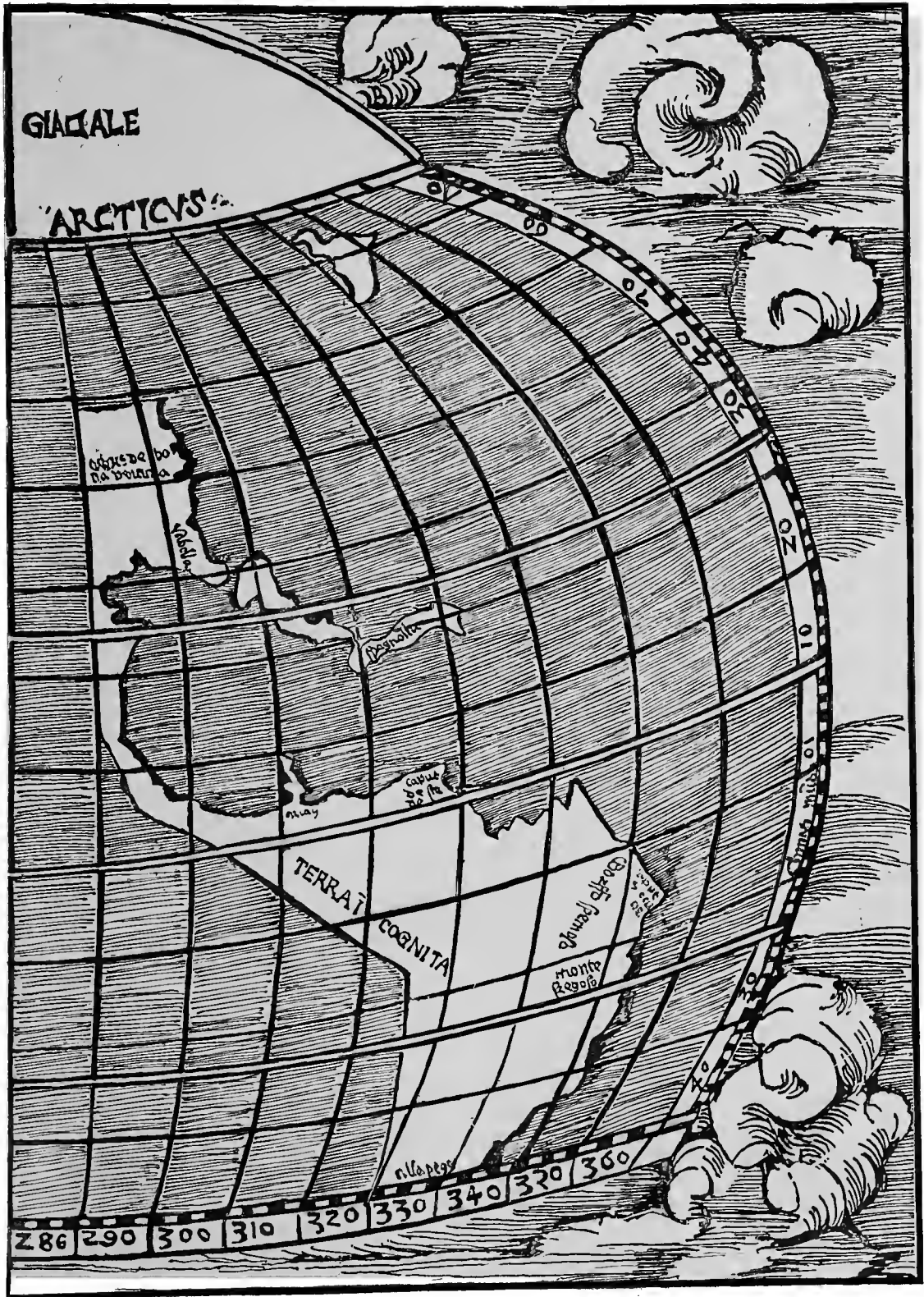
Maximilian, each country bearing the arms of the reigning prince, whilst the newly-discovered regions displayed the escutcheons both of Spain and Portugal: "Denique in quartam terræ partem per inclytos Castiliæ et Lusitaniæ reges repertam eorundem ipsorum insignis posuimus." Small crosses marked the shoals or dangerous rocks. It was printed, before the year 1507, through the instrumentality or at the cost of the Duke of Lorraine: "ministerio Renati dum vixit . . . liberius prælographationi tradita est." Being evidently on a large scale, that map of the world cannot well have been printed at St. Diey, where printing had just been introduced, as the *Cosmographiæ Introductio* of May, 1507, is the first book which came out of the press in that small town. The probability is that the map was printed at Strasburg by Schott, who, a few years afterwards, in that city, executed the St. Diey Ptolemy. This opinion is borne out, we think, by the assertion of Ortelius that the Marine Chart of Waldseemüller was edited in Germany: "Martinus Waldseemuller Universalem navigatoriam in Germania editam."¹¹ St. Diey in 1507 was not German, whilst then and for nearly two centuries afterwards Strasburg remained a Germanic city. It follows that the planisphere which Joannes Trithemius bought at Worms, in August, 1507, that is, a couple of months after the publication of the *Cosmographiæ introductio*, which map, he says, had been lately published at Strasburg: "nuper Argentinæ impressam,"¹² is most probably Waldseemüller's. If so, we may add to the above description that it was really a mappamundi on a large scale: "in magna dispositione globum terræ in plano expansum," and extending towards the south as far as the tenth parallel, that is, to the 50° of Austral latitude: "ac versus meridiem ad parallelum ferme decimum," which, let it be said, is the point where ends the South American configuration in Waldseemüller's *Orbis Typus*.

No copy of that engraved planisphere of Waldseemüller has yet been found, but we can doubtless realise what its general appearance was, by means of the reconstruction which Lelewel has attempted, in uniting four maps of the Ptolemy of 1513.¹³ Yet, as it is necessary to ascertain

¹¹ "Martinus Waldseemuller, Universalem navigatoriam (quam marinam vulgò appellant) in Germania editam." ORTELIUS, *Theatrum orbis Terrarum*, Antwerp, 1570, folio, in the *Catalogus auctor. tabul. geographicarum*.

¹² *Ioannis Trithemii abbatis Spanhemensis Epistolarum libri duo*, Haganoæ, 1536, 4to; *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, p. 347, No. 213.

¹³ "Nous avons profité de cette réunion de cartes de même origine et nous avons élaboré la carte générale hydrographique, extrayant des quatre cartes spéciales tout ce qui a pu se placer sur notre échelle . . ."—LELEWEL, *Géographie du Moyen Age*, Bruxelles, 1852, 8vo, Vol. II., p. 143, note 299, and 118th map in the Atlas. Certain critics imagine this map to be an out and out original chart of the time.



THE NEW WORLD IN THE MAP OF STOBNICZA
(1512)

what were the American configurations of the great planisphere, we will go beyond Lelewel's hypothetic delineation (which, however, he only applied to his understanding of Waldseemüller's idea of the two hemispheres in 1513), and endeavour to proceed from the *Tabula* of the latter date upwards to its original inception in 1507, and perhaps further still.

As we will show in the next chapter, the map which Waldseemüller made for the Ptolemy of 1513, reproduces in the main the features of the Cantino planisphere. But it also exhibits a cartographical difference,—already noted,—curious and important, viz.: In that planisphere the north-eastern coast line is disconnected from the Gulf of Venezuela. Waldseemüller, on the contrary, connects it in his map, absolutely with the South American regions.

At first sight this seems to be an innovation of Waldseemüller, and to date from the time when he prepared the maps for the Ptolemy of 1513. It is, however, more ancient than the latter publication, as identical configurations occur in the map added to the *Introductio in Ptholomei Cosmographia* of Johannes de Stobnicza, which was printed the year previous, at Cracow in 1512.¹⁴ The relationship between that Polish mappamundi and Waldseemüller's map, or its prototype, is further shown by the inscriptions: "Cabo de bona ventura," on the north coast, and on the southern, "Arcay, Caput deseado, Gorffo hermoso, Monte fragoso," and "Caput St. Crucis."

The distance between Strasburg and Cracow is considerable, and it must have required a certain time before Stobnicza heard of the existence of Waldseemüller's original map, or procured it with the purpose of borrowing the geographical information required for the work which the Polish geographer intended to write. On the other hand, the passages where Stobnicza gives instructions to make the new editions of Ptolemy serve for the late transatlantic discoveries, prove that the map originally belonged to the first edition of his *Introductio*, printed as we have said in 1512, that is, one year before Waldseemüller's Ptolemy.

¹⁴ *B. A. V.*, No. 69, *Additions*, No. 42, and the facsimile of the map reproduced by zincography, after the copy in the Imperial Library at Vienna, for MULLER of Amsterdam; and *supra*, our own facsimile. It is the existence of the continuous coast line in the map of STOBNICZA which led us to imagine that this configuration may date further back than the construction of Waldseemüller's lost planisphere of 1507. For it is not shown

that Stobnicza borrowed his geographical data directly from those of the St. Diey cosmographer; although their prototypes certainly belonged to the same cartographical family. It is also worthy of notice that the Asiatic coast in the mappamundi of Stobnicza is only that of the well-known globe of Martin BEHAIM; whilst Alberto CANTINO and Martin WALDSEEMULLER set forth a much improved coast for every part of Asia.

Those inferences enable the critic to trace the peculiar configurations set forth in the *Tabula* of 1513 beyond the latter date, and force upon us the conclusion that the great planisphere which Waldseemüller constructed and the Duke of Lorraine caused to be engraved at his own expense to accompany the *Cosmographiæ Introductio*, exhibited the geographical features afterwards reproduced by Stobnicza and by Waldseemüller himself. In other words, the great planisphere, like the later geographic productions of these two cosmographers, already connected North America with South America, eastward, by a continuous coast line. Whether further discoveries of cartographical documents will carry the origin of that configuration to a still earlier date, we are unable to say. Meanwhile the critic must see in that first planisphere of Waldseemüller, now lost, and dating so far back as 1507, an important stage of the geographical evolution which gave rise to what we have termed the "Lusitano-Germanic cartography."

That mappamundi having been engraved, it soon became an article of sale, and promptly circulated in Northern Europe. This is shown by the well-known letter of the Benedictine Trithemius, of August 12, 1507, above cited, relating that he had purchased, at Worms, a mappamundi lately printed at Strasburg, and representing the newly-discovered regions.

A material question remains to be solved. That is, whether the connection between the two American continents, which we have just described, originated with a Portuguese prototype, or whether it is an innovation introduced by German copyists of Lusitanian charts, and more particularly by Waldseemüller, at an early date. This is a question we are not in a position to discuss, as no Portuguese map of the first quarter of the sixteenth century has yet been found with that coast line unbroken. Meanwhile, the problem has advanced a certain step; and we have attained the chief object of this long and tedious disquisition in establishing a direct connection between the purely Portuguese charts, like those of Cantino, Canerio, and the Kunstmänn copies, and the earliest engraved specimen known of the cartography initiated at St. Diey, under the auspices of the Duke of Lorraine.

CHAPTER VI.

IN the year 1521, Adam Petri¹ published, at Basle, a small work by Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, which created a deeper impression in Central Europe than even his celebrated Decades. It was a description of the recent discoveries of Juan de Grijalva and of the first conquests of Hernando Cortés, which he had written for Pope Leo X. This book, usually quoted as Peter Martyr's *Enchiridion*, was immediately followed by a number of similar historic accounts, printed at Augsburg, Antwerp and Nuremberg,² while the translation into Latin, and publication in that city in 1524, of the Letters of Cortés, increased still more the curiosity of the public, and attracted the attention of geographers.

All the maps and globes constructed beyond the Rhine continued to be Lusitano-Germanic; that is, they exhibited for the New World the north-western continental regions yet separated (with two or three exceptions) from South America by a wide gap. The glowing accounts which Peter Martyr gave of "Cozumella, Iucatana, Colluacana or Olloa, being al landes lately founde, and so rich, fruteful, and pleasant, that they may in maner be compared to the earthly Paradyse," together with his remark that the discoverers "adiudged the land of Colluacana to be parte of the supposed continent," and that "the lande whiche they sawe a farre of before their fase, they supposed eyther to be annexed to owre continent, or to bee ioyned to the large North regions cauled Baccalaos:—Terram uero procul uisam à fronte, uel continenti nostro annexam, uel septentrionalibus coniungi plagis ad Baccalaos,"³ induced one, or several cartographers to blend the newly-discovered countries with Asia.

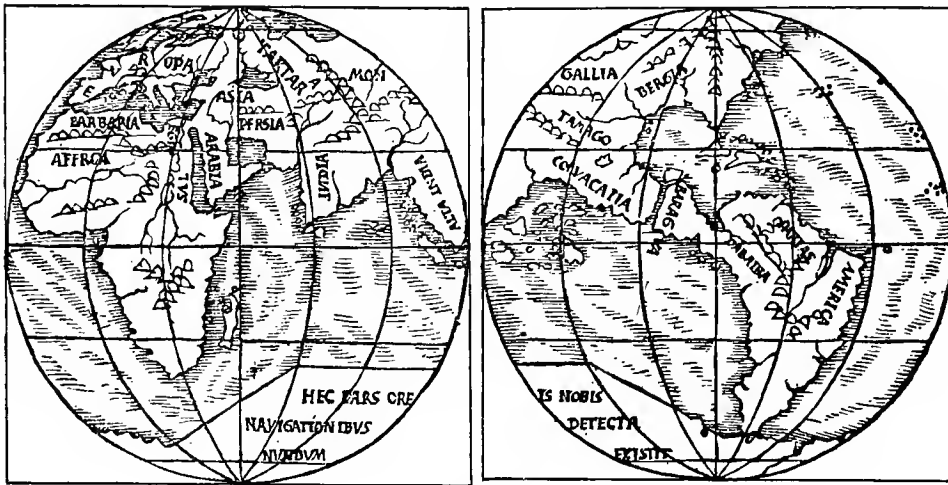
¹ *De nuper sub D. Carolo repertis Insulis, simulque incolarum moribus, R. Petri Martyris, Enchiridion, Domine Margaritæ, Dini Max. Cæs. filiiæ dicatum.* Basileæ, 1521, 4to. *Bibliot. Americana Vetustissima*, No. 110. The dedication shows that the book was printed by Adam PETRI, and not by Heinrich PETRI his son, who commenced printing only in 1528 or 1529. Mr. Louis SIEBER kindly informs us that the Library of the Basle University possesses the copy of Peter MARTYR'S

Enchiridion, given by Adam Petri himself to the Carthusian Convent of that city. See also STOCKMEYER and REBER, p. 144, No. 66.

² *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, Nos. 113, 115; *Additions*, Nos. 70, 72, 73.

³ EDEN, *The Decades of the New Worlde, or West India . . . translated into Englysshe*, London, 1555, 4to., ll. 156, 161; and *De Insulis nuper inventis* (in *De rebus Oceanicis*, Basil, 1533, ff. 69 D, 70 A, 71 B, 72 D.).

We find an early proof of this conception in what may be considered as the first known specimen of the maps of that school, viz.: the small mappamundi printed in the treatise *De Orbis Situ*, written by the Franciscan friar, Franciscus Monachus, or François le Moyne, at Antwerp⁴ in 1526. That small and crude mappamundi is of such importance in the history of American maps; it is based upon retrograde notions which are so unexpected; and it was prompted by motives much more hypothetical than scientific, that we feel bound to reproduce it in facsimile.



It must be said at the outset that Franciscus Monachus sets up his opinion, as regards the absolute connection alleged by him to exist between the New World and the Old, north of the equator, in opposition to the geographical configurations which are exhibited in the Lusitano-Germanic map of Johannes Ruysch for the countries between Greenland and Central America.⁵ The cartography of the German geographer (as commented upon by Marcus Beneventanus) he pronounces to be, in that respect, or in so far as it disconnects North America from South America about the tropic of Capricorn, entirely erroneous.

⁴ *De orbis situ ac descriptione, ad Reuerendiss. D. archiepiscopum Panormitanum, Francisci, Monachi ordinis Franciscani, epistola sane quam luculenta. In qua Ptolemæi, cæterorumque superiorum geographorum hallucinatio refellitur aliæque præterea de recens inuentis terris, mari, insulis. . . .* ("A very exquisite letter from Francis, a monk of the Franciscan order, to the most reverend Archbishop of Palermo, touching the

site and description of the Globe. Wherein the delusions of Ptolemy and other geographers are dispelled. Also, concerning the newly-discovered lands, seas, and islands.") Antwerp, sine anno (but 1526). See *Bibliot. Americ. Vetustissima*, No. 131; and *infra*, in the *Cartographia*, under the year 1526, where we describe three or four editions of that work, and Appendix.

⁵ *Infra*, page 304.

“Secutus est Marcus Beneventanus, hic vero quamvis recentiorum navigationum inuentis et indicijs, ac nonnullorum itinerarijs geographiæ tum absoluendæ, tum emendandæ sedulam operam nauarit, nihilo tamen secius à mea longe diuersus abit opinione. Nam orientis terras ultra zonam Capricorni porrectas interfluo mari ab occidentalibus nuper repertis regionibus disiunxit. In summa huius multo maxima pars sententiæ sunt, vt ad occasum dudum inuentas plagas ab orientalibus finibus diremptas æquoris interuentu, ac disclusas existiment. Ego contra sentio et præsentis descriptione demonstro navigationes ab occasu cunctas in orientis demum fines spectasse. Tum generatim Asiam, Aphricam, Europam, et particulatim Indiam Culvacanam, ac ad Septentrionem Suediam, Russiam, Tartariam, Baccalaream, terram floridam, omnes hasce regiones spaciosissimas, et longissimo dissitas interuallo continenti tractu, et perpetuo limite cohærere, atque ipsam præterea Americam Orientalibus et Culvacanæ connexam esse, quanquam hoc postremum nondum certo nobis constat, fieri tamen potest vt nunc hispanis non sit ignotum.”

“Then we have Marcus of Benevent. Although he pretends to have taken into account the new discoveries and data, and to have endeavoured to complete and correct diverse accounts of voyages, I do not share his opinion; for he exhibits the sea as separating the lands situated beyond the zone of the Capricorn from the regions lately discovered. The majority of people entertain the same belief [as Marcus Beneventanus], relatively to the western countries recently found, which they think are separated from the eastern regions by a sea. I hold a contrary opinion, and in the present description, I demonstrate that all navigations which start from the west, lead to the eastern countries, and that, in general, Asia, Africa, Europa, and particularly the Culvacanian India,⁶ as well as at the north, Sweden, Russia, Tartaria, the Baccalaos and Terra Florida, all of which [although] vast regions separated by very great distances, are connected with each other by a continuous tract of country, and an uninterrupted route; and that America itself is joined to the eastern regions and to Calvacania; though the latter fact is not yet proved absolutely. Perhaps this is not to-day unknown to the Spaniards.”⁷

In other words, Franciscus Monachus rejects the configurations set forth by Ruysch in his mappamundi; and reproves him for separating North America from South America in the latitude of the tropic of Capricorn; and for placing an ocean between the west coast and the Asiatic regions. He further says that this disconnection between the two American continents, and the existence of a sea between the New World and the Old, are notions shared by the majority of people: “In summa huius multo maxima pars sententiæ sunt.” This acknowledgement is precious, as confirming the only reasonable interpretation which could be given for the presence of a north-western continental country in the early Portuguese and Lusitano-Germanic maps. It also shows once more that the geographers of the time considered that region as representing the American continent, and nothing else.

⁶ That is, the country discovered by Hernando CORTÉS.

⁷ *De Orbis situ*, recto of A 4.

The erroneous idea that America was only a prolongation of Asia, sprung therefore from Peter Martyr's descriptions, which, as we have said, Franciscus Monachus at once interpreted as proving that the countries lately conquered by Cortés were not only connected westward with the Old World, but also at the north with the Baccalaos. As to the identity existing between those new regions and the east coast of Asia, in the opinion of the Belgian monk, it is an absolute fact :

“Apud Ferdinandus Calua, siue Culvacana provincia est in qua iacet regia Imperatoris orientalis, in itinerariis alias Cataya, vel Catay nuncupatur. Themistetam neotericis est, seu Tenostica ante Quinsam, ab Oderico Themisan vocata, isque propius veritatem attingit, concordi et consentiente traditione autorum, de regionis eiusdem opibus et positura Ad septentriones a Culvacana terra Thamachum [the above *Tamagó*] protenditur, olim Tangut dicta, Teuis superiora sæcula nuncuparunt Tebet, vel Cibet, Messigo prouincia temporibus auorum Mansi vocabulo innotuit.”

“The Culva or Culvacana of Hernando [Cortés] is the province in which is situated the residence of the Emperor of the East. In other accounts of voyages, it is also called Cataya or Catay. Its modern name is Themistetam, or Tenostica, formerly Quinsay, which Odoric calls Themisan.⁸ This author is nearer the truth. . . . North of Culvacania spreads Thamacho, formerly called Tangut. In former times, Tevis was known as Tebet or Cibet. The name of the province of Messigo, was celebrated when the ancestors of Mansus were living.”

We now understand why Mexico, in the family of maps initiated by Franciscus Monachus, forms part of the Asiatic World, and is placed between Cathay and Mansi, adjoining Tamacho and Tangut.

⁸ There is no such word as “Themisan” in any of the seventy-three MSS. of the Voyages of ODORIC DA PORDENONE, or in any of the printed editions in any language (Henri CORDIER, *Les Voyages en Asie au XIV^e*

siècle de Odoric de Pordenone, Paris, 1891, 8vo). Nor is the word to be found in MARCO POLO, any more than in the pseudonymous compiler MANDEVILLE, whose real name is now ascertained to have been Jean DE BOURGOGNE.

CHAPTER VII.

WE will close this summary with an account of the cartographical revolution, or re-action, due to the efforts of the great Mercator, and which brought back the North Pacific coast to configurations resembling those of the early maps, but, of course, greatly improved.

We assume that for his mappamundi of 1538 and for his globe of 1541,¹ Mercator borrowed geographical data from one and the same model. Owing to the distortions imposed by the cordiform projection and small size of the mappamundi of 1538, the great geographer has inscribed on the north-east American coast, in the latter, merely a few names. One of these, however, is typical, viz.: *Terra florida*. In the globe, he inserted only "*Florida*," omitting, probably from want of space, the noun *Terra*, which is one of the touchstones of that peculiar nomenclature;² but we find in the same region: "Caninor, Bonaventura, Costa alta, Lacobras, R. de los garlatos," and "Comelo," which belong exclusively to that variety of the Lusitano-Germanic cartography, as is shown by the Gilt, Wooden, and Nancy Globes. Besides, the configurations, when reduced to Mercator's projection of 1569, are precisely those which were adopted by the cartographers of that school, at a time when the works of the Sevillian Hydrography first made known in Central Europe the discoveries of Ponce de Leon, Ayllon, and Gomez.

Now, although Mercator did not yet know of the exploration of the Californian coast, which, by the order of Cortés, had already been carried to such an extent as to prompt the experimental belief that it continued sufficiently far at north to make of America a continent absolutely distinct

¹ A set of original gores for that globe has been published in facsimile in *Les Sphères terrestres et célestes de Mercator, de 1541 et 1551*; Bruxelles, 1875, folio. Either in gores or mounted, there are not less than five duplicates known at this date. DR. VAN RAEMDONCK, *Les Sphères de Mercator de 1541 et 1551*; Bruxelles, 1175, Atlas in folio. We borrow our data from the one in the Paris Observatory. The others are in Vienna, Weimar, St. Nicolas de Vaas (in Belgium), and Brussels.

² *Isla Florida*, and *Florida* are the usual forms. *Terra florida* is found nearly always in the present family of maps. The only exception (to our knowledge) is the Spanish map of THORNE, and this we ascribe to the fact that it was a planisphere akin to the prototype of the latter, which introduced the first modifications in the profiles of the north-western continent in the Lusitano-Germanic maps, after the discoveries of Ponce DE LEON and CORTÉS. See *infra*, p. 287.

from Asia, he boldly separated one from the other by an ocean, and rejected, on the coast beyond, the Asiatic names, which, from Franciscus Monachus down, had figured in the very heart of the New World.

Mercator maintained, in subsequent works, his "Oceanus orientalis," as almost every day brought him a confirmation of that geographical idea and truth, which had suffered a sort of eclipse within the last ten years; but he modified it in all his later globes or maps, narrowing the ocean each time. For instance, in 1538 it extends from 265° to 240° longitude, presenting, north of the equator, a width of 25°. In 1541, it extends from 250° to 241°, with a breadth of 9°. Finally, in 1569, Mercator ascribes a width of 3° only to the North Pacific, and, again changing its position, locates it between 183°—180°.3

After Mercator, but apparently without having seen his mappamundi of 1538, although it circulated so largely, and so late that in 1567, he yet sold not less than fifty-nine copies to Plantin alone,4 other cosmographers came to the same conclusion, and commenced running a series of maps parallel and adverse, so to speak, to the globes and mappamundi above mentioned, which until the end of the sixteenth century5 continued to represent America as a continuation of Asia.

The mappamundi, maps, and globes of Demongenet (1552), Zalteri (1565), Jean Cossin (1570), and Porcacchi (1572), all exhibit an "Oceanus Occidentalis," which, differing in each, either as regards the configurations of its shores, or in its longitudes, indicate personal notions and individual efforts on the part of all those cartographers.

The initiative in that respect continued for a number of years.

The curious brass globe which once belonged to the Abbé l'Ecuy, and was constructed at Rouen,6 is a remarkable instance of the preoccupation of a certain category of cosmographers at that time, concerning the absolute separation of America from Asia, in opposition to the other school of map-makers then very flourishing.

3 In 1538 and 1541 MERCATOR adopted the meridian of the Canary Islands. In 1569, that of the Cape Verde, which, in the relative dimensions of those maps, presents no great difference.

4 "Petite mappemonde (1538). A la foire de septembre 1567; 59 exemplaires non enluminés à 8 patards [eight cents]." J. VAN RAEMDONCK, *Relations commerciales entre Gérard Mercator et Christophe Plantin*; Anvers, 1880, 8vo, p. 29.

5 "On ne sait pas encore—dit ORTELIUS en 1572—si l'Amérique est circonscrite tout autour par la mer, ou

bien si, à son extrémité septentrionale, elle fait continent avec l'Asie. Hondius nous apprend, à son tour, que, jusqu'en 1612, on était encore incertain si l'Amérique du Nord se limitait, oui ou non, par la mer."—VAN RAEMDONCK, *Les Sphères terrestre et céleste de Gérard Mercator*, 1875, 8vo, p. 295.

6 *Nova et integra universi orbis descriptio. Rhomagi*; Geographical Department of the Paris National Library, No. 387. It takes its name from Canon L'ECUY, who was abbot general of the Prémontrés, and at whose sale, at Bourges (?), it was purchased as old copper.

The basis of that fine and original globe was unquestionably one of the maps or spheres which, after the publication of the *Enchiridion* of Peter Martyr, blended the Asiatic with the American worlds, but modified the nomenclature when news of the discoveries accomplished by Verrazano commenced to circulate in Central Europe. This can be seen by the legends: "Terra francesca," and "Terra florida."⁷

A question much controverted is the date when the l'Ecuy globe was constructed. It ranges from before 1524 (d'Avezac *apud* Van Raemdonck) to after 1587 (M. Eugène Chatel). In our opinion, the latter date is nearer the truth, but for other reasons than those alleged by its first advocate.

As the west coast of America is nameless north of the 40° of latitude, whilst it inscribes along the shore: "Hec littora nondum cognita," we infer that the geographical data for that region are not older than the survey of the Californian coast by Domingo del Castillo in 1542-3.

Another inscription on the l'Ecuy globe is worthy of notice. It is that which we read on the north-west passage, stretching by 66° north latitude, viz.: "Fretum arcticum per quod Lusitani in orientem [*sic*] et ad Indos et Moluccas navigare cognati sunt:—Strait through which the Portuguese have endeavoured to reach eastward [*sic pro* westward⁸] the Indies and Moluccas."

What can that Portuguese expedition be? We know only of one attempt, since that of Gaspar Corte-Real, made by Lusitanian mariners to find a north-west passage. It is the effort which Hakluyt relates as follows:

"One Anus [Vasqueanes] Cortereal sent a shippe to discover the North-West passage of America, and the same shippe arriuing on the coast of the saide America, in fiftie-eyghte degrees of Latitude, founde a great entrance exceeding deepe and broade without all impediment of ice, into which they passed above twentie leagues, and founde it alwaies to trende towarde the south . . . And they perswaded themselves verely that there was a way open into the South Sea [*i. e.*, the Pacific]."

If the l'Ecuy globe refers to that expedition, then it was not constructed until 1574, which is the date assigned by Richard Hakluyt to this alleged voyage, nor, perhaps, until after 1582, when the statement first appeared in print.⁹

⁷ See *supra*, page 285, note 2.

⁸ The passage to the Moluccas eastwards, as it is well known, had been discovered since the famous voyage of

Vasco DA GAMA for Portugal, in 1497.

⁹ HAKLUYT, *Divers voyages*, 1582, 4to, p. 7 of the London reprint.

There is another legend which seems to bear out such a conclusion. Immediately under the "Arcticus circulus," between 280° and 320° longitude, we read "Terra per Britannos inventa." In such a latitude, and taking the handicraft of the globe generally, this can only refer to the expeditions of Frobisher (1576-1578), as the delineations of the supposed strait in the l'Ecuy Globe are precisely those of the mappamundi in Beste's description of the voyages of that navigator,¹⁰ with this difference, that where one inscribes: *Frobisshers Straightes*, the other gives the above inscription, which refers to the British in general terms.

There are other reasons. It is true that the English sent expeditions to the north-west before 1578. These were John Rut's (1527), Hore's (1536), John Hawkins' (1565), and, at the same time, that of Gilbert and Raleigh (1578); but none of them went beyond the north coast of Labrador, or higher than 53° or 55° north latitude.

Now, notwithstanding the comparatively recent time when the l'Ecuy Globe was constructed, which seems to be within the last twenty years of the sixteenth century, and the number of mappamundi and globes already in existence which depicted the "Oceanus occidentalis," we see its maker come to the conclusion that the New World was separated from the Old, not from seeing those cartographical documents, but from geographical treatises or accounts of voyages. Further, it is from such data that he fixes the position and breadth of the Pacific Ocean. This is shown by the following legend, which is inscribed on that oceanic sea, in the latitude of Upper California :

"Hoc loco sevti svms recentiores hanc partem verivsa continenti separantes :—At this place, we have followed the modern authors, who, with greater truth, separate this part from the continent."

The borders and longitudes marked for the Pacific show that the data employed by the Rouen cartographer were different from those used by Mercator and others. The l'Ecuy Globe assigns to the New World a width of one hundred degrees, places its west coast by 240°, and the east coast of Asia by 231°, thus giving 11° for the breadth of the Pacific.

¹⁰ George BESTE, *A True Discourse of the late voyages the North-Weast, under the conduct of M. Frobisher, of discoverie for the finding of a passage to Cathay by Generall. With a particular card*; London, 1578, 4to.

BOOK SECOND.

The Lusitano-Germanic Cartography.

CHAPTER I.

THE FIVE TYPES.

IN the preceding pages we have frequently alluded to a class of cartographical documents called "Lusitano-Germanic," and expressed the intention of showing their influence both on the geography of the New World and map-makers in Central Europe for more than twenty-five years.

As the name indicates, that series of charts and globes was based upon data sent from Portugal. That is, the configurations and nomenclatures were derived from maps constructed by Lusitanian cosmographers, with information furnished at the close of the fifteenth century by Spanish or Portuguese navigators, and which soon afterwards found their way into Lorraine and Germany.

The prototypes have long since disappeared. We possess only what may be called "derivatives,"¹ more or less direct, some in manuscript, others engraved, the complete filiation of which cannot be established, as we do not know how many productions of that character have intervened, or when they were devised, nor precisely in what form originally. Yet the data which those derivatives set forth are so characteristic that we can almost re-construct the mother-charts and divide them into cartographical families, as follows :

1.—The first type omitted altogether the north-western continental regions, which were probably yet unknown when that type was created; but it exhibited the entire group of the West Indies, with Cuba, therein

¹ We use the noun "derivative" in the sense of a map having proceeded from another map, or formed with elements derived from a pre-existing chart; and not, of course, in the sense of turning aside from such a chart.

called "Terra de Cuba," although the island was depicted in an insular form and in its proper place. A striking peculiarity consisted of a wide break on the north coast of the southern continent, between Brazil and Venezuela.

Cast far away into the sea, to the north-east of the north-west coast, there was Newfoundland, designated as "Terra de Corte-Real;" whilst Greenland, under the name of "Terra laboratoris," assumed the shape of a long and narrow island, stretching from east to west.

Kunstmann No. 2 is the oldest specimen of that type which we possess.

2.—The second type set forth the same South American configurations as the first, but with the Venezuelan coast unbroken. The West Indian archipelago was also complete, including Cuba, which is there named "Ilha yssabella." A new and important feature was, west and north of that island, an extensive continental region running from south to north, bearing no general title, but dotted with many names of capes, rivers, and landing places; the east coast bathed by the "Oceanus occidentalis." To the north-east of that land, and at a great distance, lay an insular country ascribed to the Corte-Reals; and, still more easterly, Greenland, but this time in the form of an extensive peninsula, trending west from Northern Europe.

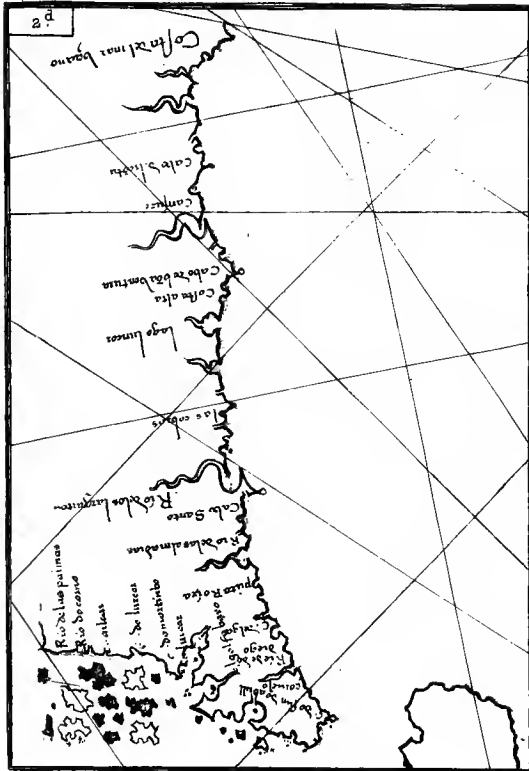
The Cantino map is the most ancient specimen known of this second type which has, thus far, reached us.

3.—The third type differed from the Cantino chart in respect to the north-western continental region by its extension southward about five degrees, and additional names inscribed on the northern coast.

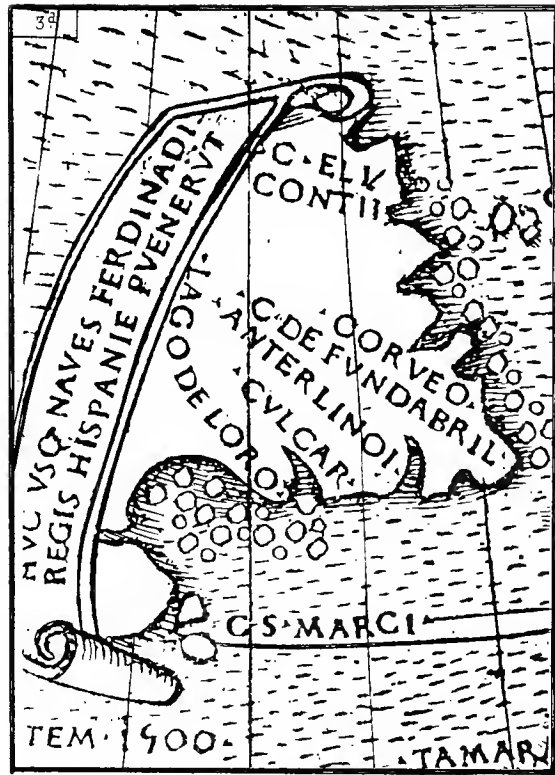
We possess no original specimen of this third type. But, notwithstanding cartographical distortions, due chiefly to the kind of projection adopted by the maker of the map, the original profiles of that continental land can be easily recognised in the corresponding region depicted by Johann Ruysch in his mappamundi.

4.—The fourth type differed from the preceding by a more complete or elaborate delineation of the north-eastern continental region, which here extended, southwardly, about eleven degrees, with insular additions.

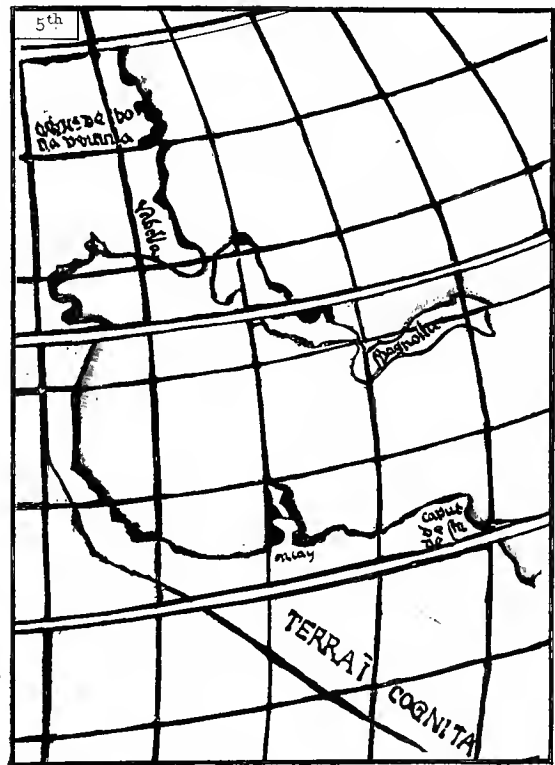
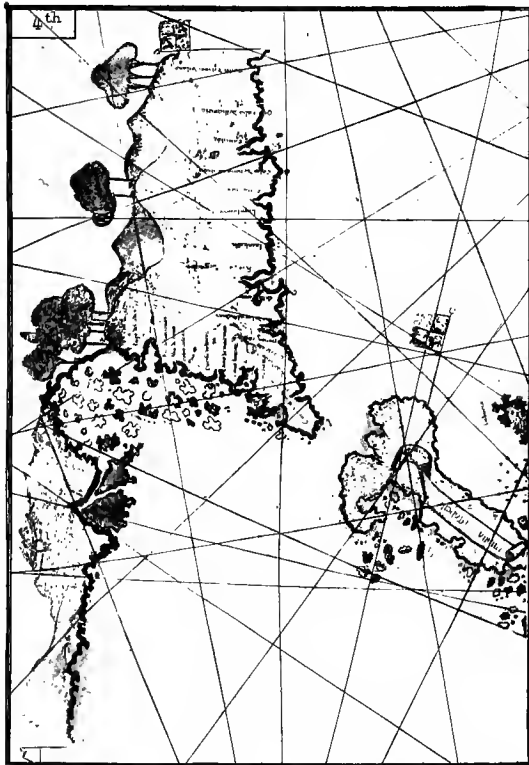
This fourth type is represented by the curious planisphere of Nicolay de Canerio, and, with modifications, in the Schönerean globes.



CANERIO



STOBNICZA



5.—The fifth type presented the same nomenclature and configurations as the preceding, but probably with different legends or general titles for the north and south continental regions. Its material difference from the three last types above described, consisted in a continuous coast line connecting the north-western mainland with the southern continent. Neither do we possess a direct specimen of this fourth type; but it certainly revives in the mappamundi of Stobnicza, and in the *Tabula Terre Nove* of Waldseemüller.

Those five types may be said to indicate a geographical evolution, the phases of which were apparently as follows:

1.—A map with Cuba exhibited in an insular form, according to the first statements of Columbus himself, and without any continental region situate west of that island.

2.—A map with Cuba (called "Isabella") represented together with a western continent close to it, but the latter extending southward only to about our 20° 30' north latitude.

3.—A map resembling the preceding, but with its north-eastern coast prolonged through a gulf, about five degrees southwardly.

4.—A map prolonging that coast still further towards the south by about eleven degrees.

5.—A map with a continuous coast line, connecting definitely both sections of the American continent.

This evolution found its last term when the Lusitanian nomenclature, which is inscribed on that continental region, was blended with configurations borrowed from the Sevillan Hydrography, upon the latter appearing directly for the first time in Central Europe.

CHAPTER II.
THE FIRST TYPE.



KUNSTMANN NO. 2.

IT is evident that the first maps which were constructed after the return of Columbus represented the New World only in the form of an archipelago, with Cuba at its westernmost point, and in the shape of an island. This insular configuration was based upon the account of the discovery written by the great Genoese, which begins with the sentence: "Yo falle muy muchas islas:—I have found a great many islands."¹ Those maps, although maintaining the insular shape, called Cuba "Tierra," or a "land," owing to the expression then also used by Columbus: "continuamente esta tierra era isla,"² when referring to the island of that name, but which was first called "Juana."

¹ *Notes on Columbus*, p. 89.

² *Ibidem*. The term "Tierra" is not always used by the early Spanish and Portuguese navigators in the sense of "continental land." Thus, Newfoundland, which is

depicted as a perfect island in all the Lusitano-Germanic maps, is invariably called "Terra Corterealis;" on the other hand, continental regions are frequently called "islas."

The maps of that kind which were made in the fifteenth century have all disappeared. Those which we possess are posterior³ to September 8, 1502, as they invariably exhibit and name the "Baya de todos Sanctos," which was made known only when Vespuccius returned to Lisbon from his third voyage. But here we must call the attention of our readers to a certain fact.

Several of the ancient maps present, for certain parts, geographical delineations which are behind the knowledge generally supposed to have been possessed at the time when those maps were made. For instance, Lisbon cartographers sometimes inserted in their charts of the New World, which were constructed, let us suppose, in 1502, the discoveries accomplished under the Portuguese flag in 1500 (Cabral), in 1501 (Corte-Real), and in 1502 (Vespuccius), without caring to set forth the configurations of countries belonging to rival nations. This is not a mere theory on our part. Kunstmann No. 3, which is a Lusitanian map of the first three or four years of the sixteenth century, depicts, in detail, Brazil and Newfoundland, which were then Portuguese possessions; and yet it omits not only the long north-western continental region,—which must not be confounded with the "Terra Corterealis,"—but also excludes the Venezuelan coast, Cuba, and the entire group of the Antillies; although these were discovered, drawn, and described a number of years before Cabral and Corte-Real ever crossed the Atlantic.

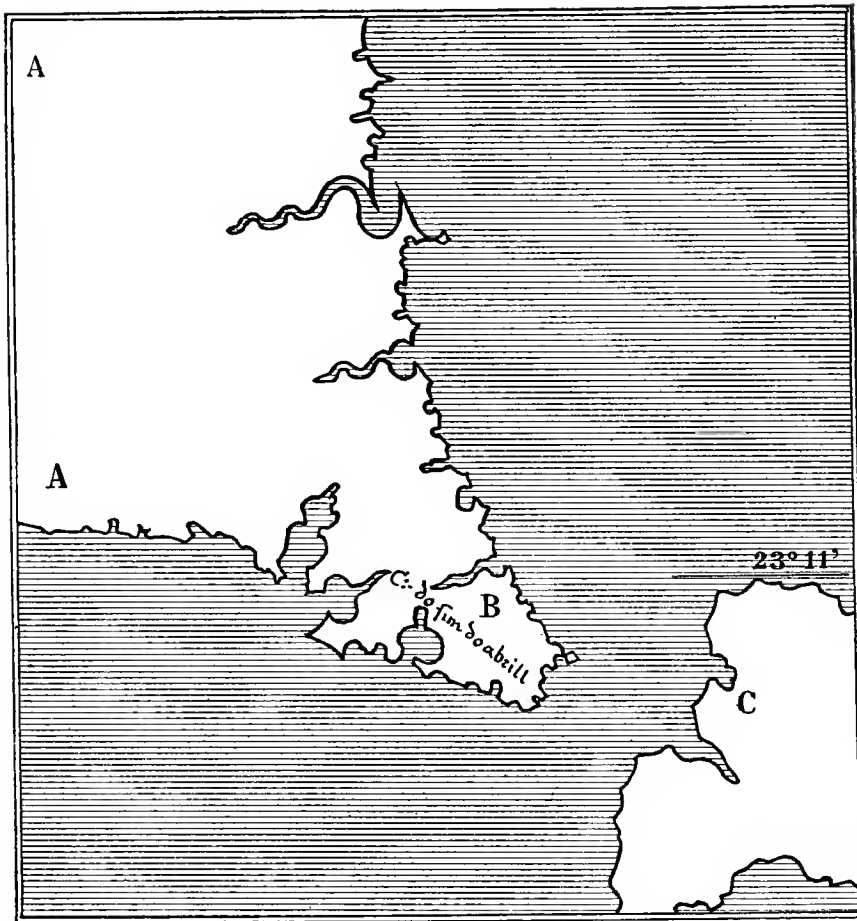
The other early Lusitanian charts, which limit the transatlantic world in the north-west to the westernmost capes of Cuba (which is therein depicted absolutely as an island, though called "Terra de Cuba") may be considered as of that character. But they may also be viewed as showing, *a priori*, the geographical notions entertained by the Portuguese map-makers regarding the New World before they introduced, to the north-west of the island of Cuba, the peculiar western continental region which we are now discussing.

Those maps constitute the first type, and are represented by two specimens, viz.: Kunstmann No. 2, and the King chart.⁴ It is from a map of the same family that Sylvanus of Eboli borrowed the transatlantic elements for his cordiform mappamundi of 1511.

³ The map of Juan DE LA COSA, which was made two years before, does not belong to that category, as it exhibits a continental land to the west of Cuba.

⁴ So named from having been discovered among the papers of Dr. Richard KING, the English traveller; but made known and described by Dr. E. T. HAMY.

CHAPTER III.
THE SECOND TYPE.



THE CANTINO CHART.

THE maps of the first type have exercised no influence on the cartographers of Central Europe. What we call the Lusitano-Germanic cartography begins only with the introduction of mappamundi which belonged to the second type.

We possess but one specimen of this type. It is the planisphere made at Lisbon, in 1502,¹ for the Duke of Ferrara, by order of his envoy, Alberto Cantino. Hence the name given to it of the "Cantino Chart," and "Cantino Planisphere." For a description of that most important document, we must refer the reader to what has been already written on the subject in the preceding pages.

We will only again remark that it is the earliest map known where the north-western continental land is made to appear; and, as it constitutes the starting-point of our comments on the Lusitano-Germanic cartography, it is necessary at the outset to recall its geographical bearing and nomenclature.

Taking, as a model, the outline placed at the head of the present chapter, that characteristic configuration, in its earliest known form, is as follows:

A A is the continental land which emerges from the north-western extremity of the map, and trends eastwards.

B represents its peninsula, with one of the names which serve to identify the relative positions in Lusitano-Germanic maps and globes.

C is the west end of the island of Cuba, here called, as in all that class of maps, "Isabella."

The Cantino planisphere exhibits no scale of latitudes. All the other maps have such a scale; unfortunately, it can be of no service in this analysis. For instance, in reality the north-western coast of Cuba is by $23^{\circ} 11'$ north latitude. In *Cantino* it is by $38^{\circ} 30'$; in *King*, by 37° ; in *Schöner*, by 31° ; and in *Waldseemüller*, by $37^{\circ} 30'$. But, as there can be no doubt as to the intention of the makers of all those maps to represent Cuba (under the name of Isabella), and as we know the exact latitude of that island, we will adopt its most northern cape, as fixed in modern charts ($23^{\circ} 11'$), for a sort of meridian and touchstone to establish the relative position of all lands and islands in that part of the Lusitano-Germanic maps and globes.

¹ November 19, 1502, CANTINO writes to the Duke of Ferrara that in passing through Genoa, he left the map in that city to be forwarded to him. (*Les Corte-Real*, p. 70.) On the other hand, one of the legends in the handwriting of the body of the map states that Gaspar CORTE-REAL "is supposed to have lost his life." Such an opinion can have been formed only several months after the return of his first caravels, October 19, 1501,

when they had waited in vain for his return to Lisbon. The name "a baia de todos, sanctos" would carry the date as far down as September, 1502, if it were not inscribed in a different caligraphy, showing that it is an interpolation, though made, in our opinion, at Lisbon, before Cantino left Portugal on his way to Italy, in the autumn of 1502. We give, in the following chapters, arguments for such a deduction.

By comparing together the configurations of that north-western continental land in the maps which represent what we call Types II., III., IV., and V.,² the reader will notice and bear in mind that in *Cantino* (Type II.), the said region ends at the south with a sort of peninsula trending eastward. In *Ruysch* (Type III.), the peninsula constitutes the northern shore of a semi-circular gulf, followed by about three degrees of southern coast. In *Canerio* (Type IV.), that southern coast, after exhibiting likewise the semi-circular gulf, continues still further, and shows lower down, close to the shore, two large islands, one lozenge-like, the other somewhat triangular, both of which are also to be seen at that place in Waldseemüller and Schöner. In *Stobnicza* (Type V.), the southern coast continues unbroken until it meets the northern borders of South America.

As to the nomenclature, in its relatively first stage, it contains the following names, beginning with the most southerly designation inscribed on that continental land :

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1.—Rio de las palmas. | 12.—Punta Roixa. |
| 2.—Rio do corno. | 13.—Rio de las almadias. |
| 3.—C.: arlear. | 14.—Cabo Santo. |
| 4.—G.: do lurcor. | 15.—Rio de los largartos. |
| 5.—C.: do mortinbo. | 16.—Las cabras. |
| 6.—C.: lurcar. | 17.—Lago luncor. |
| 7.—El golfo bavo. | 18.—Costa alta. |
| 8.—C.: do fim do ab Brill. | 19.—Cabo de bona bentura. |
| 9.—Cornejo. | 20.—Canju . . . |
| 10.—Rio de dō diego. | 21.—Cabo d. licōtu. |
| 11.—C.: delgato. | 22.—Costa del mar vçiano. |

We must, however, call the attention of our readers to a peculiarity of the Cantino chart, as it exists at present.

The map presents no border or margin of any kind. It is not likely that such an elaborate planisphere, executed for a prince, should have been left without some ornamented frame. There is, besides, a long easel stroke near the northern extremity of the line of demarcation, which has the appearance of the lower end of an ornate capital letter, which may have belonged to a running title. This, together with the fact that the map, when rescued from the butcher's shop, was pasted on

² See *supra*, the plate representing these four types together.

a screen after it had been stolen from the palace of the Dukes of Ferrara, indicate that the map may have suffered, on the part of its last owner, an excision all around the border. If so, there was probably a scale of latitude. Nor is it impossible that it should have also exhibited in the supposed cut-off part, a prolongation of the coast southward, such as we see in the map of Nicolay de Canerio.

The consequence of these deductions would be to make, of our second and third types, one type only, and cause the cartographical progression above described to start from Ruysch, and not from Cantino.

This, however, is only an hypothesis which other facts tend to repel. For instance, there are, both in Ruysch and Canerio, geographical representations and names showing that their prototypes differed in important respects from Cantino.³ The north-western continental land in Ruysch is also far less complete than we find it depicted in Canerio; and it is certain, from its shape and position, that if Ruysch's prototype had presented a coast line extending, for instance, so far south as our 10° north latitude, he would not have cut it off ten degrees.

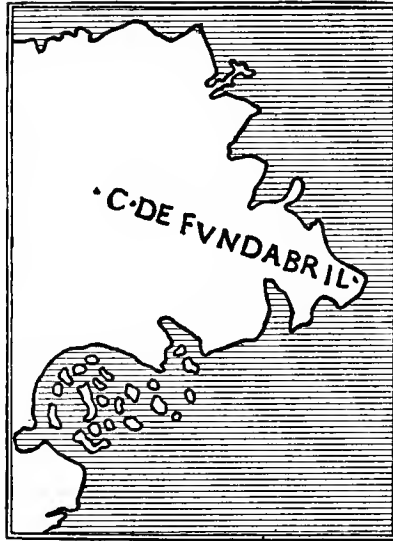
From the moment that we admit the existence of a map which exhibited the north-western continental region as reaching only to the tropic of Cancer, we are authorised to presume that there may also have been a map which represented that land ten degrees shorter still; inasmuch as such is, *prima facie* at least, its latitudinal area in the map of Cantino. In the present state of the enquiry, the critic is bound, therefore, to accept, as being within the meaning of the original cartographer, the configuration and extent of that continental land as we find them measured and depicted in the said map.

³ The Asiatic coasts are different; the nomenclature presents also a number of names which are in one and not in the other two, and *vice versa*. Madagascar, in Ruysch is evidently borrowed from a recently made Portuguese map, as is evidenced by the name "Sada" therein inscribed, and which is an abbreviation of "Comoro

Sada," which must have been derived from the account of Tristão D'ACUÑA, made known after his return in 1506. That Portuguese map, however, may have been limited to the Asiatic and African regions; or if it was a planisphere, may have exhibited more ancient configurations for the New World.

CHAPTER IV.

THE THIRD TYPE.



THE MAPPAMUNDI OF RUYSCH.

THE only specimen of the third type which we possess is the *Universalior cogniti orbis tabula* of Johannes Ruysch, published with the second issue of the Ptolemy of 1507.¹

The configuration of the continental land which corresponds with the north-western region of Cantino is distorted in that map, but perfectly recognisable. Withal, Ruysch exhibits a geographical peculiarity which must be noted and explained. He depicts no island, whether named "Isabella" or otherwise, between that northern continent and Hispaniola. Such an omission, if interpreted strictly, would make of that land nothing but Cuba, and reject the document among the maps of the first type. In reality, the absence of an island between the north-western coast and Hispaniola must be ascribed either to an oversight, or to a late innovation introduced by that geographer upon his own responsibility.

¹ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 56.

Ruysch's knowledge of the New World, south of Newfoundland, was derived exclusively from a Lusitano-Germanic map, as we shall shortly demonstrate, to the satisfaction of our readers.

Meanwhile, it behoves us to show the Portuguese origin of his geographical data, south of what he names "Terra Nova," which, with him, does not mean the New World, or the country newly discovered, but our Newfoundland exclusively; in imitation of the English mariners with whom he visited that island. "Qui peninsulae Terra Nova vocatae," says his commentator, Marcus Beneventanus.

To that effect, we have simply to compare first the nomenclature of the region placed in Ruysch's mappamundi, south of his Terra Nova, with the names inscribed on the north-western continental land in Cantino and Canerio,² both of which are Lusitanian maps, with no admixture of foreign geographical elements whatever. We shall then establish a similar comparison between Ruysch's South America and the latter continent in all the charts, now known, which circulated in Europe when he constructed his mappamundi.

We know of seven such maps. One is Spanish, and the work of Juan de la Cosa, who designed it in Andalusia before October, 1500. The other six originated in Portugal, and were delineated during the first few years of the sixteenth century. They are :

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1.—Cantino. | 4.—Kunstmänn No. 3. |
| 2.—Kunstmänn No. 2. | 5.—Kunstmänn No. 1. |
| 3.—King. | 6.—Cancerio. |

In those maps, the American coast lines of the mainland bear names. For the north and south together, De la Cosa gives twenty-nine; Kunstmänn No. 2, forty-four; Kunstmänn No. 3, twenty-three; and Cancerio, eighty-one. As to the few names inscribed on King and on Kunstmänn No. 1, they are of no importance just at present.

Ruysch inscribes thirty-six names,³ but not one of them is to be found either in the De la Cosa or in any other Spanish map whatever;

² "Nous nous empressons de reconnaître avec lui [VARNHAGEN] que la terre qui y est figurée [in WALDSEEMÜLLER'S *Tabula*] dans l'ouest du méridien de Cuba est bien la même qu'avait dessinée Ruysch immédiatement à l'ouest de l'île Espagnole."—D'AVEZAC, *Les voyages d'Amérique Vespuce au compte de l'Espagne, et les mesures itinéraires employées par les marins espagnols*, p. 53.

³ We omit from these designations the names which, in

Kunstmänn Nos. 2 and 3, and in Ruysch, are marked on Newfoundland and Greenland, those regions being represented by them as disconnected from the continent. The probability is that the Portuguese map contained even more names than Waldseemüller's model, and that if only thirty-five or thirty-six figure in Ruysch's map, it is because the latter is drawn on a much smaller scale, and consequently, abridged.

while thirty-one out of its whole number are duly set forth either in Cantino, or in Kunstmann No. 2, or in Canerio (not to speak of Waldseemüller and Schöner, which are derivatives of Portuguese maps), as is shown by the following table :⁴

NORTH-WESTERN CONTINENTAL REGION :

| CANTINO. | RUYSCH. | CANERIO. |
|--------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| C. d. licotu | C. Elicontii | C. dellicontir |
| Cornejo | Corveo | Comello |
| C. do fim do abril | C. de fvdnabril | Cauo do fim de abril |
| C. lurcar | Cvlcar | Cauo lurcar |
| G. do lurcor (?) | Anterlinoi | Gorffo do lineor |
| ..... | Lago de loro | Lago del lodro |
| ..... | C. S. Marci ⁵ | ..... |

SOUTH-EASTERN COAST :⁶

| KUNSTMANN NO. 2. | RUYSCH. | CANERIO. |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| delisleo | lix leo | ..... |
| terra seccha | terra seca | ..... |
| G. de Uenetia | golfo de vericida | ..... |
| monte retondo | mons rotvndvs | ..... |
| G. de inferno | golfo delinferno | Gorffo do linferno |
| aide venada ⁷ | ..... | ..... |
| cavo frenoso | capo formoso | ..... |
| rio de arena | rio de lareno | ..... |
| c. de pario ⁸ | golfo de pareas | ..... |
| ..... | canibalos in [sula] | y. de los canbales |
| ..... | terr de pareas | ..... |
| ..... | r. formoso | Gorffo fremoso |
| de alegroza (?) | r. de flagrāza | ..... |
| ..... | r. de foco cecho | ..... |
| rio de le aues ⁹ | r. de les aves | ..... |
| ..... | rio grando | Rio grande |

⁴ In this as in the following tables, we insert those names precisely as they appear on the maps, and regardless of their distortions and incomprehensibility.

⁵ If, as we have seen it lately alleged, without a particle of evidence, these names in Cantino and in the Lusitano-Germanic maps, "are mere flights of geographical fancy," how does it happen that such pretended Portuguese fabrications figure at all in an absolutely authentic "map of the Spanish school,"—as the mappamundi of RUYSCH is affirmed to be,—and in the proportion of five at least out of seven names?

⁶ For an interpretation of a certain number of the names inserted here, see *infra*, chapter vii.

⁷ *Aldea vencida*:—the conquered village; name given by Hojeda, according to NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 6, on the authority of instructions and depositions existing among the files of the great suit, which it would be well to publish in full.

⁸ G. de Paria.

⁹ Here, in Kunstmann No. 2, there is a voluntary break, implying probably that the cartographer possessed no information concerning that part of the coast.

KUNSTMANN NO. 2.

San rocche
 Sancta maria de agoodia¹⁰
 monte de S. uincenzo¹¹
 C. maria de rapida
 Capo de Sancta †
 San michael
 rio de S. francisco
 bafra barill
 rio di perera
 Serra de S. madlena di
 gratia
 rio de cava (or caxa?)
 punta real
 rio de saõ hieronymo
 rio do odio
 rio de melo
 monte fregoso
 a baia de tutti santi
 rio de S. jacomio
 rio do s. augustino
 rio de S. Helena
 rio de Cosmes
 rio de uirgene
 rio de San Iohan
 punte seguro
 barefres uermege
 rio de brazil
 barossa
 monte de pasqual
 rio de Sta lucia
 serra de santhome
 rio de arefeces
 bova de reis
 pinotulo derentio (?)
 rio jordan
 rio de saõ antonio
 punta de san uincencio
 rio de cananor

RUYSCH.

.....

 mos. s. vincenti

 caput s. crvcis

 r. de s. ieronimo

 abatia õniv. sãctorv.

 r. de brasil

 mõte pasqvale
 r. de s. lvcia
 serra de s. antonio
 rio de oreferis
 baia de reis

 r. iordan
 r. de s. antonio
 r. de s. vicent
 r. de cananor

CANERIO.

San Rocho
 Sta. Maria de gracia
 Monte de Sam Visenso
 Sta. Maria de Rabida
 Cabo do Sta. croxe
 Sam Michel
 rio de Sam Francisco
 razia baril
 rio de pereza
 Serra de Sta. Maria de
 Gracia
 rio de caixa
 porto real
 rio de Sam Jeronimo
 rio de oido
 rio de mexo
 monte Fregoso
 baie de tutti li santi
 rio de Sam Jacomo
 rio de Santo Agustino
 rio de Sta. Lena
 rio de Scoemoo
 rio de vergine
 rio de Sam Joam
 porto seguro
 bareras vermeias
 rio de brazil
 barossa
 mont passqual
 Rio de Sta. Lucia
 Sierra de Sam Tome
 rio da resens
 baie de reis
 pinachulto de tencio
 rio Jordam
 rio de Sto. Antonio
 porto de Sam Visenso
 rio de cananor

¹⁰ Perhaps we must read "Sancta Maria de la Antigua," which was the name of Hojeda's flag ship during his second expedition.

¹¹ "Doblassimo un cauo, alquale ponémo nome el cauo di sco' Augustino."—VESPUCCIUS' *Lettera*, third voyage, in August, 1501, p. 27. Here the *Cosmographia Intro-*

ductio of St. Diey inserts "Sancti Vicentii." The names of "Sam Roque, Sam Myguel, Sam Francisco," as well as "Rio de S. Ieronimo, Rio de S. Helena, Rio de Uirgene, Baia de Reis, Rio de San Antonio" and "Punta de San Uincencio" of KUNSTMANN No. 2., were also given by VESPUCCIUS.

Is it not a striking proof of the Portuguese origin, direct or indirect, of Ruysch's nomenclature that not one of those names is to be read on the planisphere of Juan de la Cosa, whilst out of thirty-five inscribed by Ruysch, thirty-one, at least, figure on Lusitanian charts? Moreover, if his mappamundi was based upon Spanish maps, the names which he inscribes on the sea-board of Brazil, for instance, would recall the nomenclature of Vicente Yañez Pinzon, or of Diego de Lepe, and not that of the Portuguese Pedro Alvarez Cabral. The famous Cape of the Holy Cross, on which De la Cosa puts the legend: "Este cauo descubrio en año de mil y m [*sic pro cccc.*] xcjx por Castilla syende descubridor vicentiañs:—This cape was discovered in the year 1499 [old style] for Castile, Vicente Yañez being the discoverer thereof," would not be called, on Ruysch's map: "Caput S. Crvcis," but "Cabo de Santa Maria de la Consolacion," which is the name given to that cape by Pinzon, January 26, 1500, or "Rostro Hermoso," as he also, if not De Lepe, named it.

Ruysch's delineations of the South American continent embrace, likewise, the coasts of Venezuela and Honduras, which were discovered by Spanish navigators, who, of course, made maps of their discoveries. Yet it was not from these that he took his names and legends for that region. This is shown by the fact that none of his designations for the Honduras, Venezuela, and Guyana coasts are to be found among the fifty names inserted along those sea-boards by Juan de la Cosa, who was one of the discoverers; nor even in the nomenclature of Ribero and other official cosmographers, who must have followed, in that respect, though it was twenty-five years later, the traditions of the Spanish school.

Then, where did Ruysch pick up the egregious mistake which transformed "A baia de todos Sanctos," or "All-Saints' Bay," into "Abatia omnium Sanctorum," or "All-Saints' Abbey?" Not in Spanish charts, certainly, but in a Lusitano-Germanic map, manipulated by a northern cartographer who had read the Latin version of the four voyages of Vespuccius, printed at St. Diey in Lorraine, in May, 1507, and where we see "Omnium sanctorum *abbatiam*," whilst all the Spanish maps properly inscribe, "*Baya de todos sanctos*" (Turin and Weimar charts).

Another decisive proof of the Portuguese origin of Ruysch's cartographical data is the legend which he has inscribed across the country bearing his twenty-eight South American names, viz.: "Terra Sancte Crucis." No such designation as the "Land of the Holy Cross" was ever adopted in Spain for Brazil, or written on any map by the Spanish

pilots or geographers of that time. It was originally given to those regions by Pedro Alvarez Cabral,¹² when, on the 23rd of April, 1500, a landing was effected under the Portuguese flag on the coast of Brazil: "En las octavas de la pascua siguiente llegó á una tierra que nuevamente descubrió, á la cual puso nombre de Santa Cruz,"¹³ or, rather, if we follow a Portuguese original text just discovered in the State Archives at Venice: "e nas outavas de Pascoa seguyente cheguou á una terra que novamente descobrió, a que pos nome Santa ✠,"¹⁴ as King Manoel wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella, July 29, 1501. But the Spaniards always, and justly, claimed to have discovered that country, as Pinzon had sighted and actually taken possession of the land situate by 8° 19' south latitude, three months before. They consequently never accepted its Lusitanian name, and invariably called that region "Tierra del Brasil." The Portuguese, on the other hand, at once named it "TERRA SANCTA CRVCIS,"¹⁵ as is evidenced by the original documents above quoted, as well as by the King chart, and particularly Kunstmann No. 2, where we read on a scroll: "Terra sancta crucis," whilst, on the mainland, there is a legend which begins thus: "Ista terra q. inuenta sunt positum est nomen terra sãc ✠ eo quod in die sancte crucis inuenta est." Popularly it was also called "La terra dagli Papaga,"¹⁶ or "Parrots' Land," on account of those large and beautiful birds,¹⁷ which Gaspar de Lemos first brought to Portugal. It was only at a later date¹⁸ that it was named "Brazil," by reason of the large quantity of dye-wood found in that country.

¹² CABRAL, Tuesday, April 21, 1500, notices certain sea weeds indicating the proximity of land; Wednesday, April 22, he sees from the sea the summit of a mountain which, on account of Easter week, he names "Monte Pascoal," and drops anchor six leagues from the coast. Thursday, April 23, he enters the mouth of a river, from which Nicolas COELHO is sent ashore. Friday, April 24, on account of the storm, he weighs anchor and goes north, where he finds a safe harbour and makes a stay. See Pedro VAZ DE CAMINHA's account of Cabral's voyage, dated Porto Seguro, May 1, 1500, in DO CAZAL, *Corografia brazelica*, Vol. I., pp. 12-34, note.

¹³ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima, Addit.*, No. 18, p. 24, and NAVARRETE, *Coleccion de viages y descubrimientos*, Vol. III., p. 95.

¹⁴ *Traslado de Carta que el Rey nosso Señor escreveo a el Rey de Castilla seu padre da nova da Imoya. Para dar au ambaixador de Venezia. Escripta em Lixboa a xxviiij. d'augusto de 1501.* Published by Prof. BELGRANO, in the *Bollettino della Soc. Geogr. italiana*, March, 1890, p. 274.

¹⁵ Pedro VAZ DE CAMINHA says "ha Terra de Vera

Cruz;" but *Sancta* instead of *Vera* was the adjective adopted immediately afterwards.

¹⁶ "Scoperto una terra nova chiamaõ deli Papaga per esser gene [*sic*] di longeza de brazo. I. et mezo di varii colori: li quali ne havemo visto." Giovanni (SANUTO and HEYD), not Matteo (FULIN), nor Lorenzo (FOSCARINI), CRETICO; writing from Lishon in July, 1501, as an eyewitness of CABRAL's return. *Paesi Nouamente retrouati*, lib. vi., cap. cxxv. Damiaõ DE GOES is therefore mistaken when he ascribes the importation of those birds to Gonzalo COELHO. They figure for the first time in the Cantino map. Perhaps DE GOES means Nicolas COELHO, one of Cabral's captains, who is the first Portuguese who landed on those shores.

¹⁷ *Tellus Psitacorum, or Ara Macao.*

¹⁸ BARROS, Decad. I., lib. iv., cap. ii., f° 88, vo. The name Brasil was, however, already in use before April 6, 1503; for Giovanni DA EMPOLI, in the relation of a voyage which commenced at that date, but was accomplished and apparently written out, September 16, 1504, says: "la terra Della vera croce, ouer del Bresil così nominata."—RAMUSIO, Vol. I., f° 145, recto.

Now, as all the maps which Ruysch can have consulted and taken as a basis for his cartographical rendering, invariably insert, between the tall continental region and Hispaniola, the island of Cuba (therein called "Isabella"), the omission of that island must be viewed altogether as a lapsus on his part.¹⁹

Withal, Ruysch did not follow his model in a servile manner. On the contrary, he introduced a most important alteration in removing Newfoundland from the broad Atlantic, where Gaspar Corte-Real had placed it, so that the region should belong to Portugal by giving it a longitude within the Portuguese line of demarcation. This Ruysch did in accordance with the maps of the British mariners in whose ship he visited that country. For he himself told Marcus Beneventanus, one of the contributors to the Ptolemy in which the map is inserted, that he had made a voyage to the new regions :

"Dixit, se navigasse ab Albionis australi parte, et tamdiu quo ad subparallelum ab subæquatore ad boream subgradum, 53 pervenit, et in eo parallelo navigasse ad ortus littora per angulum noctis atque plures insulas lustrasse, quarum inferius descriptionem assignabimus :— He said that he had sailed from the south of England, penetrated to 50° north latitude, navigated on that parallel west in the direction of the east, somewhat northwardly, and observed many islands."²⁰

But it must not be forgotten that Ruysch never sailed south of Newfoundland, which he considered as the easternmost border of Asia ; whilst, in his opinion, all the countries south of Newfoundland, which southern countries he knew from Lusitanian charts, were parts of a different world altogether, concerning which Ruysch's notions afterwards became the theme of very elaborate criticisms on the part of Franciscus Monachus. Taking Ruysch's own map, the Belgian monk, as we have shown,²¹ soldered its Cantinean continental region first to its "Terra Nova" (or Newfoundland), and then, at the south, with Central America. Thus did Franciscus prove once more, that, in the opinion of geographers, the said continental land was not the island of Cuba, but formed part of the north-western continent.

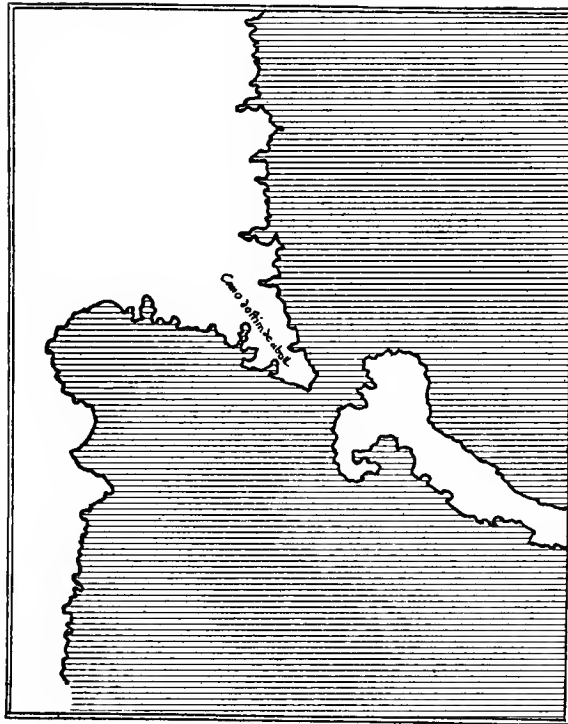
¹⁹ "M. de Varnhagen fait observer avec raison que l'île de Cuba a été oubliée sur la carte de Ruysch."—D'AVEZAC, *Les Voyages d'Amérique Vespuce*, p. 48.

²⁰ *Orbis nova descriptio*, in the Ptolemy of 1508. What RUYSCHE calls "many islands," can only be the deeply indented and narrow peninsulas which emerge

from Trinity, Conception, Placentia and Fortune bays. See the outline of Newfoundland, *supra*, p. 37.

²¹ See *supra*, Bk. I., chap. vi., pp. 281-284, and *infra*, in the *Cartographia Americana Vetustissima* our description of the mappamundi of RUYSCHE and of the globe of Franciscus MONACHUS.

CHAPTER V.
THE FOURTH TYPE.



MAP OF CANERIO.

THE oldest specimen which we know of the fourth type is an extremely important mappamundi recently discovered¹ in the archives of the Hydrographical Department of the Navy at Paris.

It was made by a Genoese cartographer, whose subscription is: "*Opus Nicolay de Canerio Januensis*," but it bears no date whatever. The caligraphy, however, is of the beginning of the sixteenth century; and the prototype of the model copied by Canerio was certainly Lusitanian, as is

¹ By Mr. L. GALLOIS, University Professor of Geography at Lyons. It was not yet known to exist when we investigated those archives for the Cartography inserted in our *Notes sur la Nouvelle France* in 1872.

shown by the identical resemblance of the configurations and nomenclature in his map with those in the chart of Cantino, which was made at Lisbon in 1502; by the leading legends, which are in the Portuguese language; and by the fact that we read on the Brazilian coast: "The *Bay* of All Saints," instead of "The *Abbey* of All Saints."

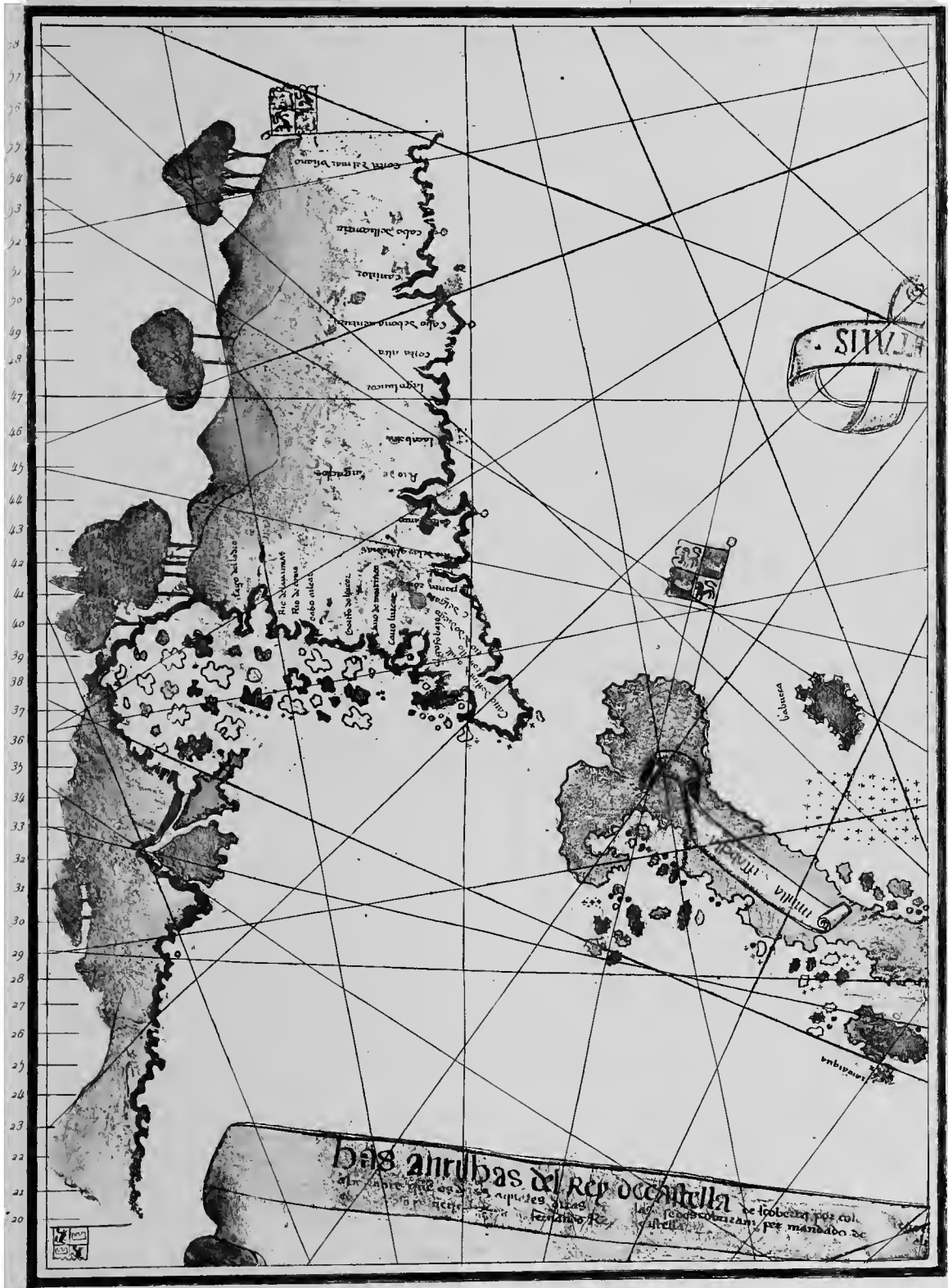
This map also exhibits the north-western continental land, which is the distinctive trait of the cartographical series now under consideration. Its outline and details are precisely such as we see them in Cantino and in Ruysch, and bear the same nomenclature; with this difference, however, that the southern coast of that land, which, in Cantino, ends about three-and-a-half degrees beyond the northernmost point of Cuba, and six degrees still lower in Ruysch, is here made to extend twelve degrees further south. According to the scale inscribed by Canerio, thirty-five degrees² of that continental region were then known; and, what is more remarkable, he places at both extremities the standard of Castile and Leon.

Do those flags indicate Spanish discoveries, or only Spanish possessions? They may mean both, as we know from the despatch sent by Pedro de Ayala to Ferdinand and Isabella, giving an account of Cabot's discoveries in 1497, that the Spanish Ambassador to the Court of Henry VII., actually stated that the lands found by Cabot formed part of the transatlantic dominions of the Crown of Castile. The envoy of the Republic of Venice, when relating the discoveries just accomplished by Gaspar Corte-Real (1501), also expressed the opinion that the country discovered by the latter was connected with the Spanish possessions in the New World.³ If to those surmises, which must have been current then, we add the clauses of the Treaty of Tordesillas, which Portugal was the first to invoke, so as to maintain her rights to Newfoundland and Brazil, the appearance of Spanish flags on a western continent appears quite natural, even in a Portuguese map.

Of all the types of the Lusitano-Germanic cartography, that which has exercised the greatest influence in Central Europe, is the one which was derived from the prototype copied by Canerio. A map resembling the latter in most respects, found its way into Germany at an early date; for we find its chief configurations in globes which were constructed during the first ten years of the sixteenth century. The oldest of these,

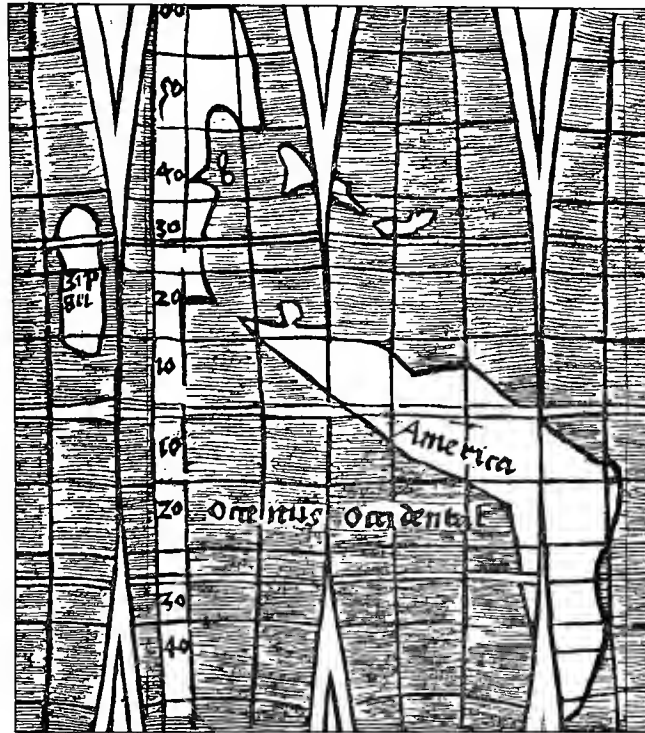
² From 20° to 55° north latitude, according to the scale inscribed on the map of CANERIO.

³ *Les Corte-Real et leurs voyages au Nouveau Monde*, docs. xviii and xviii.



NORTH-EAST COAST IN THE CHART OF CANERIO
(Circa 1503)

so far, if we may judge from its crude workmanship, is represented by a set of twelve gores, engraved on wood, probably at Strasburg, and now known by the name of the "Hauslab Gores."⁴



THE HAUSLAB GORES.

Therein the north-western continental region covers about forty degrees of north latitude, exhibiting the great gulf and prolongation of the coast southward, but no inscription or name whatever. The southern continent is entirely separated from that region, which sets forth clearly the umbel-like peninsula of Paraguana; and inscribing only one name, viz.: AMERICA. It is in these gores that the southern continent is so called, and assumes, for the first time, the pyramidal form. We scarcely need say that this shape is not due to a periplus having been then or before accomplished, but, in a degree, to a cartographical necessity in globe making, coupled with a general belief, based upon the mammiform configuration of Africa, India, and the Malacca peninsula in the oldest maps, that all continental regions were pyramidal south of the equator. Besides, as Humboldt justly says :

⁴ The only copy known is in the collection of Prince LIECHTENSTEIN at Vienna, and comes from the Hauslab

collection now dispersed. The entire set has been reproduced in fac-simile by Dr. NORDENSKIÖLD.

“Depuis l'expédition de Diego de Lepe (1500) et l'observation que fit ce navigateur qu'en doublant le cap St. Augustin, la côte commence à se diriger au sud-ouest, on pouvait conjecturer en Europe la forme pyramidale de l'Amérique du sud:—Since the expedition of Diego de Lepe (1500), and his having then noticed that in rounding Cape St. Augustine, the coast begins there to trend south-west, the pyramidal form of South America could be inferred in Europe.”⁵

An anonymous island, cast far into the Atlantic, by 60° north latitude, is intended evidently for the “Terra Corte-Realis.”

We now come to the series of globes constructed by or ascribed to Schöner, and those called by us “Schönerean,” from their great resemblance to the latter. They are relatively numerous, and seem to commence with the year 1515, when the celebrated but overrated Nuremberg cosmographer first made one, for which he wrote the tract entitled: *Luculentissima quædam terræ totius descriptio*.

The Schönerean globes exhibit, but in a much more elaborate form, the configurations of the Hauslab gores, and proceed evidently from the prototype of the latter, which prototype was similar to that of Canerio. This similarity is shown by the nomenclature, particularly in the most complete specimen of that class of globes, which bears the name of Joannes Schöner, and the date of 1520.⁶ But it was not the planisphere of Canerio itself that Schöner copied, as he gives names which the Genoese cartographer omits, viz.: on the Venezuelan coast, “Lixleo, Terra seca, Terra de parias, Rio de fragranza,” &c. Nor did he borrow the nomenclature of Cantino, as he inserts designations which are not in the Modena chart, viz.: “Terra seca, Monte rotondo, G. de Pari[a], P. de Arena,” &c.

A peculiarity of the Schönerean globes is the insertion of the name PARIAS on the prolongation of the north-western continental land. This must be considered as an attempt to identify that region with the countries discovered by Columbus during his third voyage,⁷ or as a continuation of those discoveries.

The oldest derivatives of the fourth type are the following:

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 1.—CANERIO. | 4.—BOULENGIER GORES. |
| 2.—HAUSLAB GORES. | 5.—NORDENSKIÖLD GORES. |
| 3.—SCHÖNER'S FIRST. | 8.—SCHÖNER OF 1520. |
| 4.—HAUSLAB MOUNTED GLOBE. | 9.—FRANKFORT GLOBE. |

10.—MAP OF APIANUS.

⁵ HUMBOLDT, *Examen critique*, Vol. I., p. 328.

⁶ There is a fine coloured facsimile of a portion of that globe in GHILLANY, *Geschichte des Seefahrers Ritter Martin Behaim*; Nürnberg, 1853, large 4to.

⁷ Columbus discovered Paria in August, 1498, but the news commenced circulating in Central Europe only in January, 1499. (Letter of Simone DEL VERDE; *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. II., p. 95.)

Our impression is that, of all these, the prototype of the Nordenskiöld Gores has exerted the greatest influence on the second series of geographers in Middle Europe, who, beginning with Schöner, have propagated the configuration of the north-western continental land, which extends to about 10° north latitude. In fact, it is this cosmographical interpretation,—owing chiefly to the popularity of the works of Apianus,—and not the more exact one depicted by Waldseemüller and his school, which has continued the Lusitano-Germanic tradition; at least until the broken coast line was made to merge in the complete Atlantic sea-boards, which were delineated after the then recent Spanish discoveries.

The Nordenskiöld gores, in admitting that they are the earliest of that category, do not date so far back as is generally believed. This is shown by the legend inscribed on the island of Hispaniola, viz.: “Insula in qua reperitur lignum Guaiacum:—Island in which is found the Guaiacum wood.”

Such a notion cannot have originated in Central Europe before 1517-1518, when the wood and bark of that tree began to be known in Germany, and were held forth as a panacea for *lues venerea*. Ulrich de Hutten says⁸ that the medicament was introduced in that country in 1517. This assertion is implicitly corroborated by Leonard Schmaus, who, writing in 1518, states⁹ that the substance then was scarcely known in Germany. At all events, Augsburg is the place from which the notion spread in Central Europe, apparently through the instrumentality of Paulus Riccius,¹⁰ the physician of Charles V., then exercising in that city. It was first made known in print by an anonymous pamphlet¹¹ published at Augsburg on the 1st of December, 1518; then by Schmaus' *Lucubratincula*, issued apparently from the same press, a week or two afterwards. Ulrich de Hutten's celebrated dissertation, printed the year following, and so often reprinted, rendered the belief universal, and made of Guaiacum wood almost a household word everywhere.

⁸ HUTTEN, *De Guaici*, edition dated “mense Aprili, DXXIX,” quoted by GOCKING, in his great work on Hutten, Vol. I., p. 40. See *infra*, in our *Cartographia*, the map described *sub anno*, 1518.

⁹ *Lucubratincula de morbo Gallico*, in *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, Additions. No. 55.

¹⁰ See RICCI's letters in HUTTEN's *De Guaici*, edition of Petr. Vidoue, *sub scuto Basil.*, f^o. 37. HUTTEN, however, says that he acted under the advice of a certain Dr. STOMER.

¹¹ *Ain recept von ainem holtz zebrauchen für die Krankheit der frantzosen*. Paris Nat. Lib., T 23, e 3.

Cantino, the north-western continental region is here made to continue until it merges absolutely in the Venezuelan country, and to extend its unbroken coast line to 40° south latitude.

Not the oldest, as we have shown, but the most complete specimen which we possess of a map based upon the data of the Fifth Type, is the well-known *Tabula Terre Nove* designed by Waldseemüller, and added to the edition of the Ptolemy published at Strasburg in 1513. The above is a reduced facsimile of that portion of the map which interests us just now. As to a description of its origin, historical bearing, and scientific importance, we beg to refer the reader to the pages which we have already written on the subject.¹

We must, however, revert to its most important characteristic, viz.: the continuous coast line; and again endeavour to ascertain whether it is a devise of Waldseemüller, or if he borrowed the notion from a pre-existing Lusitanian chart.

That unbroken sea-board is proved to have existed in Stobnicza's mappamundi, which is anterior to Waldseemüller's *Tabula* of 1513; and the fact that the Polish geographer does not seem to have been the originator of such a configuration, implies the existence of a map setting forth that coast line before 1512. This brings us near the date when Waldseemüller made his first great mappamundi, which we have already discussed. But, as the latter was inspired by the Lusitanian map which René II. communicated to him, he may be supposed to have borrowed the idea of the connection between the two continents from that important document. Unfortunately, this can only be an hypothesis, as above stated, so long as we have not discovered a purely Portuguese map of the time exhibiting such a configuration.

On the other hand, it is not impossible that the junction of the two continents should have been simply devised, and added by the St. Diey cosmographer to the copy which he doubtless made of the Lusitanian chart that had been sent to the Duke of Lorraine.

There were then elements for the belief that the South-American continent was only a direct continuation of the Northern. In our *Chronology of Maritime Voyages Westward*, we intend to show that at least sixty-six expeditions were sent to the New World between its discovery in 1492 and 1504. The number for the two or three years

¹ *Supra*, Chapter V. of the *Early Cartography of the New World*.

following may be increased to one hundred. Many of these did not range the coast beyond Maracaybo, whilst others went only to Brazil. But several of the licensed vessels, as we have shown, which sailed for the West Indies, must have endeavoured to probe the regions south and south-west of that archipelago, and obtained information concerning the continental character of the coast. The clandestine expeditions must have also endeavoured to land in parts where they did not run the risk of meeting ships bearing the royal flag; and in their efforts to find dye-wood, and Indians to kidnap, may have gone beyond the West Indies. The attempts made by many navigators to find a strait, mentioned by Herrera,² and which prompted Ferdinand of Aragon in 1508, to send Diaz de Solis and Vicente Yañez Pinzon on a transatlantic voyage of discovery requiring so many points of the coast to be explored, could not but have resulted in acquiring geographical notions, which, however crude, incomplete, and even hypothetical in many respects, were disseminated everywhere by the pilots, officers, and men on their return to Europe. A mere echo of those reports was certainly sufficient to prompt cosmographers to delineate a continuous coast line between the continental regions exhibited in maps akin to those of Cantino or of Canerio, which they always accepted as exact, and the seaboard of Venezuela, which were already depicted in the planisphere of La Cosa, and in all the Lusitanian charts.

If we except the second edition of Waldseemüller's *Tabula Terre Nove* prepared by Laurent Fries for the Ptolemy of 1522, the reprints made in 1520, 1525, 1535, and 1541, together with the reproduction, slightly modified, apparently by the same Fries, and inserted in the various editions of the *Yslegung der mercarthen oder Cartha Marina* (1527-1530), we find traces of the influence directly exercised by the cartographical productions of the St. Diey geographer only in the *Typus Universalis terra juxta modernorum distinctionem et extensionem per regna et provincias*,³ inserted in the *Margarita philosophica* of Gregory Reisch, in the edition published at Strasburg in 1515.⁴

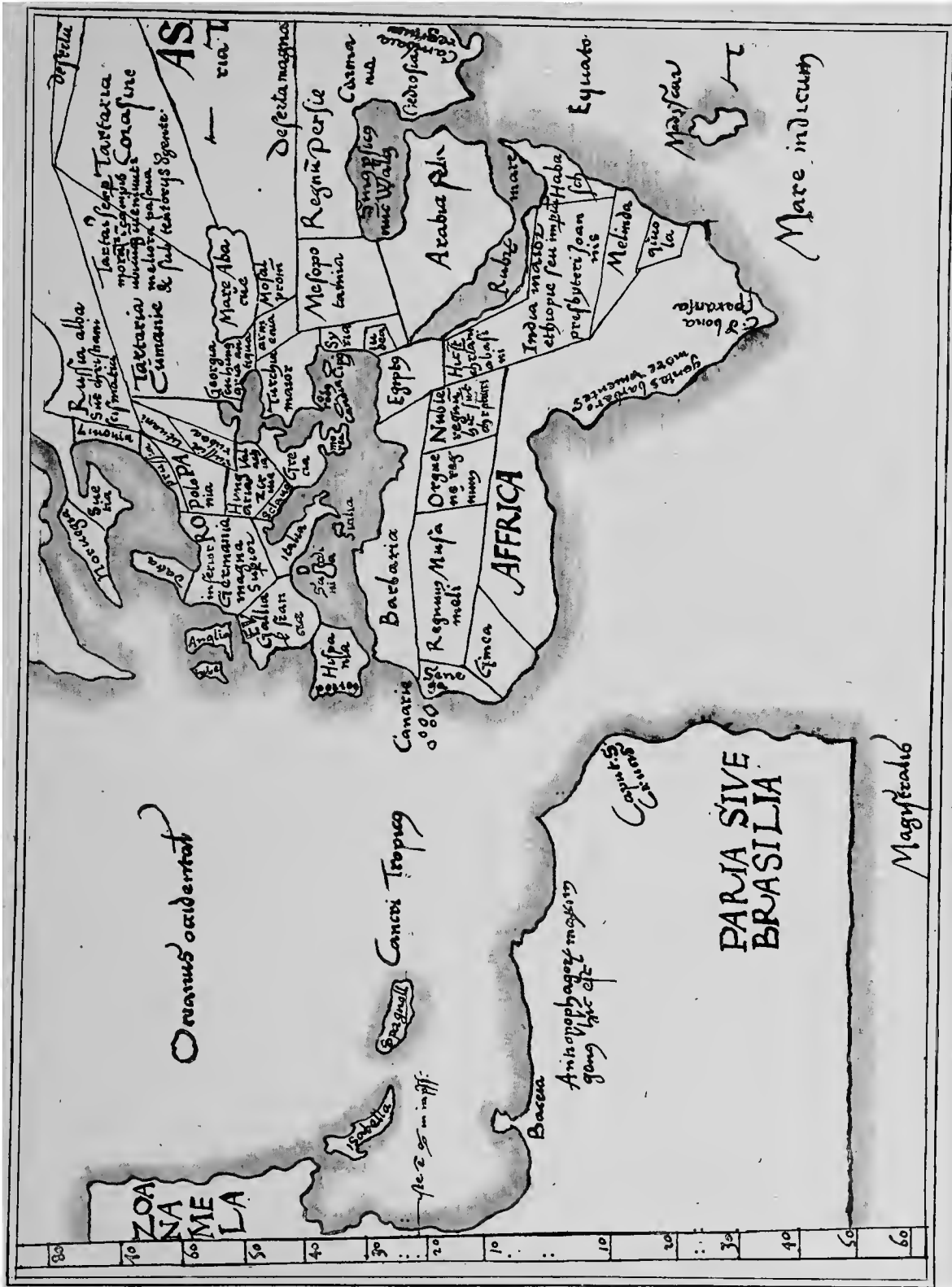
This map also exhibits the north-western continental region precisely as we see it depicted in Waldseemüller's *Tabula*. Its names and legends

² *Supra*, Book Fifth, chapter vi., *Unknown Navigators*, page 121.

³ See the adjoining plate, which is a section of a facsimile of REISCH'S original map, but made by SCHÖNER

himself, who, besides, has marked thereon a number of corrections.

⁴ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 22, and *Additions*, No. 45.



COPY MADE BY SCHÖNER OF THE 'MARGARITA' MAP OF 1515.

are very few, but peculiar. The southern continent bears the inscription: "Paria sev Prisia," which must have been borrowed from a map as yet unknown, considering that it is the first time we see it on that region;⁵ whilst the northern continent is called there, and on no other map or globe known, *Zoana Mela*.

Zoana is the Venetian form for *Fuana*, which was one of the names given originally to Cuba. Taken by itself, and in connection with the locality where it is placed, critics might be tempted to interpret the configuration as designing the island of Cuba, and infer that it was borrowed from some original chart, notwithstanding the presence thereon of two "Isabellas" in the engraved copies. The meaningless appendage "Mela," however, betrays the fabrication.

The reader is aware that Angelo Trivigiano, the secretary of the Venetian legation in Spain, obtained a copy of the original Latin text which afterwards constituted the first of Peter Martyr's Decades. This he translated into "volgare," that is, in Italian strongly impregnated with Venetian dialect, and sent the manuscript to Venice, where it was published in 1504, under the title of *Libretto de tutta la navigation de Re de Spagna*.⁶ In the First Book, when relating Columbus' voyage of discovery, Peter Martyr had written to Ascanio Sforza:

"Patefecit navigatione hac prima, sex tantum insulas, atque ex iis duas inauditæ magnitudinis: quarum alteram Hispaniolam: Ioannam alteram vocitavit: sed Ioannam esse insulam non pro certo habuit:—In this fyrst navigation, he discovered vi. Ilandes, whereof twoo were exceding great: Of whiche, the one he called *Hispaniola*, and the other *Iohanna*. But at that tyme he knewe not perfectly that Iohanna was an Ilande."⁷

Trivigiano also faithfully translated:

"Et in questa prima navigatione scopersono sei insule, sole do delle quali, de grandecia inaudita, una chiamòla Spagnola, l'altra la Zoana, *Ma la Zoana non ebbe ben certo che la fussi isola.*"⁸

Unfortunately, when a certain text of Trivigiano's version was entrusted to Albertino Vercellese da Lisona, that printer committed a strange mistake. He cut up the book into chapters, and so clumsily,

⁵ The name *Paria* already occurs in the earliest of the Schönerean globes, but it is located near the tropic of Cancer, whilst here it is placed by its 30°-40° south latitude.

⁶ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 48, and

in the *Additions*, No. 16., pages 21-22.

⁷ ANGHIERA, Decad. I., lib. I., f.º i., c.

⁸ Prof. Giuseppe FERRARO, *Relazione delle scoperte fatte da C. Colombo*, p. 24; but we take our quotations from the Ferrara MS. direct.

that the above passage, in chapter ii., reads as follows: "discoprino. vi. isole. do de lequale de grãdeza inaudita: una chiama Spagnola: l'altra la zoãna mela." Then, instead of continuing the sentence, he commenced chapter iii. thus: "Zoãna no hebero ben certo ch' la fuste isola."

Fracanzo da Montalboddo, in 1507, inserted bodily the *Libretto* in his *Paesi Novamente retrouati* without noticing or correcting the mistake, which was servilely repeated in all subsequent editions and translations. The probability is that Grüniger's cartographer took it from the German, or from the Low-Saxon⁹ version of the *Paesi* published at Nuremberg in 1508, where we read: "Vnd ist eine genant Spagnola, die andere Zoanna Mela," and transferred the fabricated name to the north-western continental region,¹⁰ which was probably nameless in his model.

⁹ *Bibliotheca Americ. Vetust.*, Additions, No. 29.

Geschichte der Erdkunde in den ersten Decennien des

¹⁰ Dr. Franz WIESER, *Zoana Mela. Ein Beitrag zur* *XVI. Jahrhunderts.*

CHAPTER VII.

THE LUSITANO-GERMANIC NOMENCLATURE.

IF, as we have endeavoured to demonstrate, the five types exhibit a progressive genesis, it may be considered illogical, taking the date when the specimens in existence are supposed to have been designed or engraved, to place them in the order above given. For instance, Ruysch's mappamundi, which is dated 1508, should be placed after that of Canerio, which is of no later year than 1504; the map of Stobnicza, printed in 1512, should take precedence over the earliest of Schöner's globes, constructed only in 1515, &c.

The contradiction is only apparent, and springs from the fact that we possess no complete series of maps. Our collections contain merely a few broken links of the great chain of cartographical documents which originated during the first few years of the sixteenth century, and these are nearly all disconnected. To use a familiar illustration, the five types are not the offspring of the same parent, while the genealogical tree of each ascends to periods which are not the earliest they should show. Whatever conclusions may be taken from this aspect of the case, a fact certainly results from the data above set forth: it is the belief in the existence of a continental land situate to the west and north-west of Cuba, which, as we hope to have demonstrated, was shared by all the leading geographers, long before the time when that continent first appeared on Spanish maps illustrating the explorations accomplished by Ponce de Leon, Vasquez de Ayllon, and Estevam Gomez.

The lack of intervening cartographical links does not prevent us, nevertheless, from finding, in the nomenclature of the maps still existing, a proof of their progressive character. This is shown by the adjoining comparative tables of the names inscribed in the two oldest Portuguese charts known, and three of the leading Lusitano-Germanic maps. Those names, besides, afford data of importance in an investigation of the kind which constitutes the basis of the present work.

| CANTINO. | CANERIO. | RUYSCH. | SCHÖNER. | WALDSEE-MÜLLER. |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Costa del mar uçiano ¹ | Costa del mar vsiano | ..... | Costa d'mar Vnanno | C. del mar usiano |
| cabo d. licōtu ² | Cabo dellicontir | C. Elicontii | Cabo dellicontir | C. delicontir |
| canju . . . [?] | caninor | Corveo [?] | Caninor | Camnor [?] |
| cabo de bōa ventura ³ | cabo de bona uentura | ..... | Cabo d' Bona Ventura | C. de bonauentura |
| costa alta ⁴ | costa alta | ..... | Costa alta | Costa alta |
| lago luncor ⁵ [?] | lago luncor | ..... | Lagoluncor | lago luncor |
| las cabras ⁶ | lacabras | ..... | Lacabras | larubins |
| Rio de los largartos ⁷ | Rio de . . argartos | ..... | Rio de los lagactos | rio de los garlartos |
| cabo Santo ⁸ | cabo santo | ..... | Cabo sancto | C. Santo |
| Rio de las Almadias ⁹ | rio de las almadias | ..... | Rio delas almadias | rio de las Almadias |
| pûta Roixa ¹⁰ | ponta roixa | ..... | Ponta roixa | ponta roya |
| C. delgato ¹¹ | c. delgato | ..... | Cabo del gato | C. delago |
| cornejo [?] ¹² | comello | ..... | Comello | Comello [?] |
| Rio de dō diego ¹³ | rio de do diego | ..... | Rio de dodiego | ..... |
| C. do fim do abril ¹⁴ | cauo doffim de abril | C. de Fvndabril | Cauo doffim de abul | C. doffim de abril |
| el golfo baxo ¹⁵ | el gofo bazo | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| C. lurcar [?] ¹⁶ | cauo luicar | Cvlicar [?] | Cauo linicar | C. lurcar [?] |
| G. do lurcor [?] | Gorffo de lineor | Anterlinoi [?] | ..... | G. doliuor [?] |
| C. do mortinbo ¹⁷ | cauo de mortinco | ..... | Cauo de mortinco | ..... |
| C. arlear [?] | cabo arlear | ..... | ..... | C. arlear [?] |
| rio do corno ¹⁸ | rio de corno | ..... | Rio de como | rio de corno |
| Rio de las palmas ¹⁹ | Rio de la parmas | ..... | Rio de la parmas | rio de la parma |
| ..... | lago del lodro | Lago de Loro ²⁰ | Lago dello dro | lacco dellodro |

¹ Coast of the Oceanic sea.

² *Cabo del encontro* [?]: "The Cape of the rencontre," or "of the meeting." This interpretation implies either a fight with natives, or the falling in with another ship.

³ The Cape of Luck.

⁴ The High Coast.

⁵ The Lake of

⁶ The Goats.

⁷ Alligators River.

⁸ The Holy Cape. Columbus called a headland *Punta Santa*, but it was in the island of Hispaniola. NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 129.

⁹ The River of the Rafts or of the Canoes.

¹⁰ The Red Headland. *Punta roja* is a name given by COLUMBUS, but to a point at the extremity of Hispaniola. NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 129. This designation was frequently used by navigators everywhere.

¹¹ The Cape of the Cat, or perhaps we should read: *Cabo delgado*—The Barren Headland.

¹² There is no such word as *Cornejo*, meaning "the elbow," either in Portuguese or Spanish. In the latter language we find only *Cornijal*, meaning "Cornice," which, however, by extension may have been taken in the sense of "corner," as *Cornijon* is sometimes used to mean a street corner.

¹³ The River of Don Diego. *Dō* might stand for *dom*, but Diego instead of *Diogo*, implies a Spanish name.

¹⁴ Cape of the End of April.

¹⁵ *El golfo baxo*, for *baixo*, The Low or The Rocky Cape.

¹⁶ The Ptolemy of 1520 spells that name *C. lurtar*.

¹⁷ *C. do Martinho* [?], Cape of Martin.

¹⁸ Rio do Corvo, The River of the Raven. The Ptolemy of 1522, prints *Rio de como* [?].

¹⁹ Palms River.

²⁰ The Lake of Gold, but it is apparently the *Lago del ladro* of CANERIO, which was originally written with a contraction over the *o*, and means therefore: "The Lake of the Thief."

| CANTINO. | CANERIO. | RUYSCH. | SCHÖNER. | WALDSEEMÜLLER. |
|--|--------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| ..... | ..... | C. S. Marcii ²¹ | ..... | ..... |
| Tamarique ²² | tamarique | Tamaraqva | Tamarique | ..... |
| ilha Rigua | yarqua | ..... | ..... | riqua |
| ..... | ..... | Lixleo ²³ | Lixleo | ..... |
| ..... | ..... | Terra seca ²⁴ | Terra sura | ..... |
| ..... | ..... | Golfo de Vericida ²⁵ | ..... | ..... |
| ..... | ..... | Mons rotvndus ²⁶ | Monte rotonda | ..... |
| boacoya | arcay bacoia | ..... | Arcai | Arcaybacoia ²⁷ |
| Ylha do gigante ²⁸ | insula de gigantes | ..... | insula d'gigantibus | insula gigantu |
| Ylha do brasill ²⁹ | y do brasil | ..... | De brasill | y. do brassil |
| golfo del un- ficisno ³⁰ | Gorffo de linferno | Golfo delinferno | Gorfo de Linferno | Gorffo del inferno |
| ..... | ..... | Capo Formoso ³¹ | ..... | ..... |
| ..... | ..... | Rio de lareno ³² | ..... | ..... |
| ..... | ..... | Golfo de Pareas ³³ | ..... | ..... |
| Costa de gente braua ³⁴ | Costa de gente brava | ..... | Costa d'gente praua | Costa de gente braua |
| Rio de fonseca ³⁵ | Rio de Fonsoa | ..... | Rio de fonsoa | rio de fonseca |
| montanbis albis- sima ³⁶ | montagna altis- simas | ..... | Altissima mōtana | montana altissima |

²¹ Cape of St. Mark. This name is not to be found on any other map. If it were inserted on the coast of Newfoundland, we might ascribe it to John CABOT, on account of his Venetian nationality.

²² The word seems to have affinity with *Maracaibo*, and with the river *Tamara*, which empties itself in the great New Granada Lake.

²³ *Cabo del Istleo*. See the instructions given by ALONSO DE HOJEDA to Pedro, his brother, March 12, 1502; NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 105. It means an island or headland surrounded with shoals, and was afterwards the eastern terminus of Hojeda's government. Cf. the *Real cedula para que Alhonso Doxeda* [Hojeda] *sea governador de la costa de Cuquebacoa e Huraba, dendet Cabo que se disce de Sisleo* [sic], *fasta do dicen de los loxos, ques de aquel cabo del Golfo de Huraba al Poniente inclusio*. Sept. 21, 1504; *Coleccion de documentos ineditos de Indias*; Vol. XXXI., p. 250.

²⁴ The Dry Land.

²⁵ *Golfo de Venetia*, KUNSTMANN No. 2. Here Juan LA COSA inscribes only *Venecuela*, which does not indicate the Gulf of that name, but an Indian village so called: "Un lugar de casas de indios que se llama Ueneciula esta en. x. grados entre este golfo de Veneciula y el cabo de Coquibacoa." ENCISO, *Suma de Geografia*, f.º hiiij. VESPUCCIUS discovered or first described that village (August 6, 1497?): "Fumo a terra in un porto, doue trouamo una populatione fondata sopra lacqua come Venetia;" (*Lettera*, page 10.) As to the *Golfo de*

Venetia, it was so named by HOJEDA afterwards, in the spring of 1500.

²⁶ The Round Mount.

²⁷ "Las islas de Arquibacoa . . . las cuales descubrió Alonso de Hojeda." Capitulations of July 20, 1500; NAVARRETE, Vol. II., p. 252. "La terra de Caquivacoa que Hojeda descubrió." *Op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 111.

²⁸ The Island of the Giant: "Chiamo questa isola, lisola di giganti." VESPUCCIUS, *Lettera*, p. 22; second voyage, August, 1499. HOJEDA also claimed to have discovered the entire region. NAVARRETE, Vol. V., p. 709, and OVIEDO, *Historia Natural*, p. 480.

²⁹ Dye-wood Island.

³⁰ The names in CANERIO, WALDSEEMÜLLER, SCHÖNER and RUYSCH certainly mean "The Infernal Gulf;" but we are not quite so certain that *Unficisno*, though a corruption in CANTINO, had originally the same meaning.

³¹ The Beautiful Cape. *Cabo frenoso*, KUNSTMANN No. 2, *Cabo feroso*, ENCISO.

³² *Rio de arena*, KUNSTMANN, No. 2.

³³ *C. de Paria*, KUNSTMANN, No. 2.

³⁴ The Coast of Courageous Men.

³⁵ The River of Fonseca.

³⁶ The extremely High or extremely White Mountains. The latter is the correct meaning. ENCISO writes: "Las sierras nevadas comiençan en Sancta Maria . . . que parece encima blanco como nieve." These are apparently the white mountains of Citarma, first noticed by BASTIDAS in his voyage of 1500-1502.

| CANTINO. | CANERIO. | RUYSCH. | SCHÖNER. | WALDSEEMÜLLER. |
|--|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| cabo de las perlas ³⁷ | cabo de las perlas | ..... | Cabo de las perlas | C. de las perlas |
| Ylha della | y. de la rapossa | ..... | De larapossa | y. de la rapossa |
| Rapossa ³⁸ | ..... | ..... | R. d' la reno | ..... |
| I° tres testigos ³⁹ | ..... | ..... | G. de paxi | ..... |
| golfo de las perlas ⁴⁰ | ..... | ..... | C. d' frado | ..... |
| terra de panc ^c [?] ⁴¹ | ..... | Terr de pareas | Terra de parias | ..... |
| ..... | ..... | R. Formoso | ..... | ..... |
| ..... | ..... | ..... | Cvrtana | ..... |
| boca del drago ⁴² | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| ..... | ..... | R. de flagrāza ⁴³ | Rio de flagrāza | ..... |
| ilha de los canj- bales ⁴⁴ | y. de los canbales | Canibales in[sula] | Canibales | y. de los canibales |
| las gayas [?] | las gaias | ..... | Las gaias | las gaias |
| la punta de la galera ⁴⁵ | la ponta de la galera | ..... | La ponta dela galeia | la ponta de las galeras |
| ..... | ..... | ..... | P. de Arena ⁴⁶ | ..... |
| ..... | ..... | R. de foco cecho | Rio d'foroseco ⁴⁷ | ..... |
| ..... | ..... | R. de les aves ⁴⁸ | Rio de les Euas | ..... |
| cabo deseado ⁴⁹ | cabo deseado | ..... | ..... | C. deseado |
| Rio grande ⁵⁰ | Rio grande | Rio grandio | rio grāde | Rio grande |
| todo este mar he de agua doce ⁵¹ | todo esto mar he de agua dulce | ..... | ..... | ..... |

³⁷ The Cape of Pearls. So named by Columbus in August, 1498. NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 258.

³⁸ She-Fox Island.

³⁹ "A otras tres isletas juntas [Colon] llamó los Testigos." LAS CASAS, lib. i., cap. cxxxviii., Vol. II., page 262.

⁴⁰ The Gulf of Pearls. So named by HOJEDA: "Entraron en el golfo, que llamó Hojeda de las Perlas." LAS CASAS, lib. i., cap. clxxi., Vol. II., p. 436.

⁴¹ *Terra de Paria*.—The country of Paria. "E me dejeron como llamaron á esta tierra Paria." COLUMBUS, August 3, 1498; NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 250. "Pariam ipse tractum hunc appellari ab incolis dicit." ANGHIERA, Epist. CLXVIII., October 8, 1496, p. 96.

⁴² The Dragon's Mouth. So named by COLUMBUS, August 13, 1498. NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 258, and LAS CASAS, lib. i., cap. cxxxviii., Vol. II., p. 259.

⁴³ The Fragrant River. Here KUNSTMANN, No. 2, gives *de alegrosa* for *alegreza*, joy?

⁴⁴ Cannibals' Island. "Determine de andar á las islas de los Caribales [*sic*]," COLUMBUS wrote, August, 1498. NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 247.

⁴⁵ The Headland of the Galley. This name was given by COLUMBUS, July 31, 1498. NAVARRETE, Vol. I., page 247.

⁴⁶ Sandy Cape. It is probably the *Punta del Arenal*,

discovered and named by COLUMBUS, August 1, 1498.

⁴⁷ *Rio de fondo seco* (?)—The Dry Bed River.

⁴⁸ *Rio de le aves*, KUNSTMANN, No. 2.—Birds' River.

⁴⁹ The Desired Cape. Perhaps *Cabo desecado*, the Arid Cape.

⁵⁰ The name of *Rio Grande* was given to several of the South American rivers. OVIEDO says that it was given to the St. John's River, but after the explorations of BASTIDAS: "Pero no vido el rio de Sanct Juan, que tambien le llaman Rio Grande." (*Historia General*, lib. iii., cap. viii., Vol. I., p. 76.) Diego DE LEPE discovered a "Rio Grande de Santa Catalina" (Deposition of Juan GONZALES; in NAVARRETE, Vol. III., page 553). The present, however, is doubtless the Amazons River: "Rio grande que se llama Marañon" (Deposition of Luis DEL VALLE; in NAVARRETE, *loc. cit.*, p. 554).

⁵¹ "All that sea is fresh water." That sea of fresh water is to be seen only at the mouth of the Amazon River. (HUMBOLDT, *Examen Critique*, Vol. V., p. 62, note.) COLUMBUS noticed it in his third voyage: "Y hallé quel agua dulce siempre vencia" (NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 253). KUNSTMANN No. 2 gives here: "Questo lago e aqua dolce," which, together with its "a baia de tutti santi," indicates the hand of an Italian cartographer copying a Portuguese map, but for Portuguese readers, as the other legends are all purely Lusitanian.

| CANTINO. | CANERIO. | RUYSCH. | SCHÖNER. | WALDSEE- MÜLLER. |
|--|-------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| golfo fremoso ⁵² | Gorffo fremoso | ..... | Gorfo fremoso | Gorffo fremoso |
| ..... | sta. maria de gracia | ..... | Sera d' S. Maria ⁵⁸ | ..... |
| ..... | Monte de sam vicenso | Mos. S. Vicenti | S. Rochij S. Vicenty | Mons. s. vicentj |
| Cabo de Sam Jorge ⁶¹ | Cabo sta. croxe | Caput S. Crvcis | C. scte crucé | C. Scte crucis ⁵⁵ |
| anaresma ⁵⁶ | ..... | ..... | S. Maria d' rabida | ..... |
| san miguel | Sam michel | ..... | S. Michael ⁵⁷ | s. michael |
| Rio de sã franc ^o ⁵⁸ | rio de sam Francesco | ..... | Rio d' S. francisco | Rio de san francis |
| porto seguro ⁵⁹ | ..... | ..... | S. Maria rabida | porto seguro |
| ..... | rio de perera | ..... | R. de perera ⁶⁰ | ..... |
| ..... | rio de caixa | ..... | Rio d' casa | ..... |
| Rio de brasil ⁶¹ | vazia baril | ..... | Vazian baril | rio de brasil |
| ..... | Sam Rocho | ..... | ..... | S. Roxho ⁶² |
| ..... | ..... | ..... | S. maria | S. maria de gracia ⁶³ |
| ..... | porto real | ..... | Porto Real ⁶⁴ | Porto real |
| ..... | rio de sam ieronimo | R. de S. Ieronimo ⁶⁵ | Rio S. Hieronimi | ..... |

⁵² We are unable to say whether in this place the word should read *fragoso* (rough) or *fermoso* (beautiful). *Fermoso* is often written for *Hermoso* (COLUMBUS' Journal, Oct. 19, 1492).

⁵³ *Sera d' S. Maria* may stand here for *Santa Maria de la Granada*, which was the name of the vessel commanded by Juan DE VERGARA, in HOJEDA'S second expedition.—NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 29.

⁵⁴ Cape of St. George. No cape of that name occurs there on any other map known. In Cantino it is written twice in the same place, although in a cursive hand different from the rest, but of the same time.

⁵⁵ The Cape of the Holy-Cross. So named by CABRAL, April 23, 1500. Pedro RAMIREZ and Manuel DE VALDIVINOS (NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 550, 552) claimed to identify it with the cape called by VESPUCCIUS "Cape St. Augustine" (NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 4, note), by Vicente Yañez PINZON, "Santa Maria de la Consolacion" (LAS CASAS, lib. i., cap. clxxiii., Vol. II., p. 448), and by Diego DE LEPÉ, "Rostro Hermoso" (Deposition of Luis DEL VALLE (NAVARRETE, *loc. cit.*, p. 554). These various identifications are far from being certain.

⁵⁶ We must probably read *Arrecifes*, Reefs. "La costa arracifes e baxos que entra en la mar."—ENCISO.

⁵⁷ Name apparently given by VESPUCCIUS, September

29, 1501, to a range of reefs. Lopes DE SOUZA, *Diario*, p. 15, mentions, in that locality: "Arrecife de Sam Miguel."

⁵⁸ "Desde rio de Sant francisco fasta la baya de todos sanctos, ay setenta leguas; esta la Baya al sudeste."—ENCISO. Name probably given by VESPUCCIUS, October 4, 1501. The Weimar maps mark two rivers of that name, one by 11° lat. N., which is evidently the one to which Lopes DE SOUZA (*Diario*, p. 7) inscribes "onze graos e meo;" and another by 5° lat. S.

⁵⁹ The Safe Harbour. So named by CABRAL, April 24, 1500. Vaz DE CAMINHA'S letter is dated from Porto Seguro. "Pedralvarez poso nome que ora tem, que he Porto Seguro."—BARROS, Decad. I., lib. iv., cap. ii., l., f. 88.

⁶⁰ Pears River. Perhaps *Rio despera*: Hope River.

⁶¹ Dye-wood River.

⁶² *S. Rocho*, Ptolemy of 1522; Saint Rock. Name given probably by VESPUCCIUS, August 16, 1501.

⁶³ Perhaps it is the *Sancta Maria de Agoodia* (Agoada? The Watering Place) of KUNSTMANN No. 2. *Santa Maria de la Antigua*, was the name of Alonso de HOJEDA'S flag-ship in his second expedition, but he never visited the east coast of Brazil.

⁶⁴ Name probably given by VESPUCCIUS, Sept. 30, 1501.

⁶⁵ The River of St. Jerome.

| CANTINO. | CANERIO. | RUYSCH. | SCHÖNER. | WALDSEEMÜLLER. |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| ..... | Santa Maria de Rabida | ..... | ..... | S. maria de rabida ⁶⁶ |
| ..... | rio do oido | ..... | Rio d'odio [?] | ..... |
| ..... | rio de mezo | ..... | Rio domezo ⁶⁷ | ..... |
| ..... | serra de stã. maria de gracia | ..... | S. d' S. Maria d' grã | Serra de S. maria de gracia ⁶⁸ |
| ..... | monte fregosso | ..... | Monte fregoso | monte fregoso ⁶⁹ |
| A baia de todos sanctos | baie de tuti li santi | Abatia õniv sãctorv | Abatia omni sctor | Abbatia omim Scto[rum] |
| ..... | rio de sam iacomo | ..... | Rio de S. Jacobi | ..... |
| ..... | rio de sto. agustino | ..... | Rio S. Augustini | rio de S. Augustin ⁷¹ |
| ..... | rio de sta. lena | ..... | ..... | Rio de S. lena ⁷² |
| ..... | rio de Sexinos ⁷³ | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| ..... | rio de vergine | ..... | Rio d' virgine ⁷⁴ | ..... |
| ..... | rio de sam ioam | ..... | Rio d. S. Joann | ..... |
| ..... | porto seguro | ..... | Porto segur | ..... |
| ..... | bareras vermeias | ..... | Bareras vermega ⁷⁵ | ..... |
| Cabo de scta Marta ⁷⁶ | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| ..... | barossa | ..... | Barossa [?] ⁷⁷ | ..... |
| ..... | rio de brazil | R. de Brasil | R. de brazil ⁷⁸ | ..... |
| ..... | mont passqual | Môte Pasqvale ⁷⁹ | Mons. pasqual | Mont pasqual |
| ..... | rio de Sta. lucia | R. de S. Lvcia ⁸⁰ | R. de S. Lucia | Rio de S. lucia |
| ..... | sierra de sam tome | Serra de S. Antonio ⁸¹ | S. de S. Thome | Serra de S. thom ⁸² |

⁶⁶ "About half-a-league from the little seaport town of Palos de Moguer in Andalusia there stood, and continues to stand at the present day, an ancient convent of Franciscan friars, dedicated to Santa Maria de Rabida."—Washington IRVING. *La Rabida* is the name of the hill where the convent is situated. The name may have been given to the place in honour of some Palos vessel belonging to one of HOJEDA's expeditions.

⁶⁷ *Rio do Medo?* The Middle River.

⁶⁸ The Mountain of St. Mary.

⁶⁹ *Monte frioso*, from *frigus?* The Frigid Mount or Cliff.

⁷⁰ All-Saints Abbey, *pro* All-Saints Bay. Cantino, Canerio, Kunstmann No. 2, and the Weimar maps (the latter with the simple abbreviation of *b*), write properly *A baia*.

⁷¹ Name given probably by VESPUCCIUS, Oct. 21, 1501.

⁷² *Rio de St. Helena*, KUNSTMANN No. 2. Name given probably by VESPUCCIUS, August 11, 1501.

⁷³ *Rio de feixinhos?* Fagots' River.

⁷⁴ The River of the Maiden, or rather, of the 11,000 Virgins. Name given probably by VESPUCCIUS, October 21, 1501.

⁷⁵ *Barreira Vermelha*: The reddish bar? *Coroa Ver-*

melha:—The red sand bar, is the name of the reef where, it is said, the first mass was celebrated, April 26, 1500.

⁷⁶ We must probably read *Cabo de Sancta Maria* (not *Sancta Marta*). It seems to correspond with the *Cabo de Santa Maria* of KUNSTMANN No. 4, and Lopes DE SOUZA's (*Diario*, p. 32), who places it "em altura de trinta e quatro graos e tres quartos (30° 45')."

⁷⁷ *Barroso* (preceded by some noun?), The Muddy . . .

⁷⁸ Dye-wood River (duplicate?).

⁷⁹ Mount Easter. Discovered and named by CABRAL before landing, Wednesday, April 22, 1500: "Aho qaal monte alto ho capitaim pos name ho Monto Pascoal."—VAS DE CAMINHA, in the *Corografia Brazil.*, p. 13, note.

⁸⁰ The River of St. Lucy. Named probably by VESPUCCIUS, December 13, 1501.

⁸¹ *Serra de San thome*:—The Cliff of St. Thomas, KUNSTMANN No. 2. Name given probably by VESPUCCIUS, December 21, 1501.

⁸² We must probably read here *Serra de Sam thome*, as in KUNSTMANN No. 2, CANERIO, WALDSEEMÜLLER, and SCHÖNER; that is, the Cliff of St. Thomas, instead of the Cliff of St. Anthony. Yet, Lopes DE SOUZA (*Diario*, p. 16) cites, by 10° 40' lat.: "*Serrao de Santo Antonio*."

| CANTINO. | CANERIO. | RUYSCH. | SCHÖNER. | WALDSEEMÜLLER. |
|----------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| ..... | Alapego de sam paullo | ..... | Pagus S. pauli | pagus S. pauli ⁸³ |
| ..... | ..... | Rio de oreferis ⁸⁴ | ..... | ..... |
| ..... | rio de refens | ..... | R. da refens [?] | Rio da resens [?] |
| ..... | baie de reis | Baia de Reis ⁸⁵ | Baia de rees | ..... |
| ..... | pinachullo de tencio | ..... | Pinachullo de tencio ⁸⁶ | p. marhullo de telro [?] |
| ..... | rio de Sto. antonio | R. de S. Antonio | Rio de S. Anthoni | Rio de S. Antonio ⁸⁷ |
| ..... | rio iordam | R. Jordan | Rio Jordan | Rio iordan |
| ..... | porto de sam sebastiano | ..... | Porto d' S. sebastiano | porto de S. Sebastiano ⁸⁸ |
| ..... | porto de sam visenso | R. de S. Vicent. | Porto de S. Vincento | por. de S. vincento ⁸⁹ |
| ..... | rio de cananor | R. de Cananor | Rio de cananor ⁹¹ | Rio de cananor ⁹⁰ |

⁸³ The Village of St. Paul. It is one of the only two Brazilian names inserted in Waldseemüller's *Typus Orbis*: "*Alta pago de S. paulo.*"

⁸⁴ *Rio de arefeces*, KUNSTMANN No. 2; *Rio de Arecife*, KUNSTMANN No. 5; The River of Reefs.

⁸⁵ *Amgra de Reis*, KUNSTMANN No. 3; *Baya de reis*, KUNSTMANN No. 2; The Bay of the Kings or of the Magians. Name given probably by VESPUCCIUS, January 6 (Epiphany), 1502.

⁸⁶ *Pinaculo de rentio*, KUNSTMANN No. 2; *Pinacolo de tencio*, KUNSTMANN No. 5; *Pinaculo de tantacã* (Turin map), The Summit of the Temptation.

⁸⁷ Name given probably by VESPUCCIUS, Jan. 7, 1502.

⁸⁸ Name given probably by VESPUCCIUS, Jan. 20, 1502.

⁸⁹ KUNSTMANN No. 2 has here *Punta* (headland), instead of *Porto* (port) of St. Vincent. Name probably given by VESPUCCIUS, January 22, 1502.

⁹⁰ The *Rio de Cananor*, marked in the Weimar maps by 47° lat. S., must not be mistaken, we think, for the *Rio de la Cananea* of ENCISO, placed in the Weimar maps by 24° lat. S. LOPES DE SOUZA (*Diario*, p. 28) inserts, south of Rio de Janeiro, an *Ilha da Cananea*, The Island of the Cananean woman."

⁹¹ The nomenclature of the globe of Schöner has been kindly corrected by the learned and obliging custodians of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum at Nuremberg on the globe itself. The reader will notice that many names were omitted or imperfectly rendered in GHILLANY's otherwise highly useful facsimile.

CHAPTER VIII.

EVOLUTION OF THE NOMENCLATURE.

WE cannot dismiss the question of separate titles and names without reverting once more to the nomenclature which imparts such a peculiar character to the north-western continental region in the Lusitano-Germanic maps, and serves also as a touchstone to identify the charts and globes which belong to that important family of cartographical documents.

Thus far, the continental land possessed, in the five types, an existence *sui generis*, so to speak. It is now material to ascertain what became of that configuration and its special names, when the progress of geography and map-making commenced to alter the appearance of charts as regards the New World; particularly those which were designed and published in Central Europe, during the second quarter of the sixteenth century.

The first question on the subject is, What was thought of those ancient profiles and designations which are so conspicuous in the mappamundi of Cantino, Canerio, Waldseemüller, and Schöner, when Spanish data, derived from accounts of the discoveries accomplished by Ponce de Leon, Grijalva, Cortés, Vasquez de Ayllon, and Estevam Gomez, first found their way into Germany and the Netherlands. Were they rejected as imaginary and spurious, as certain critics would be tempted to believe *a priori*? The question was important, and thus far difficult to solve, considering that we had so few means of ascertaining how the old geographical data and the new ones comported themselves when pitted against each other. Judging from appearances, the old names seemed to have disappeared at once. This first impression was erroneous.

The German geographers, even the Belgian, like Gerard Mercator, never ceased to believe in the reality of the north-western continent as depicted on all the Lusitano-Germanic maps, and which, from Cantino to Schöner, exhibited constant progress by a continuation of the coast southwardly.

We possess no less than four globes, constructed in Central Europe between the years 1528 and 1541, which demonstrate this fact by their insertion of the nomenclature of Cantino and Canerio, together with the new names made known, not only by Peter Martyr, but also by the Spanish maps which were constructed after the discoveries of Ayllon and Gomez.

Two of those globes are preserved in the Paris National Library; the third is the celebrated Nancy globe; the fourth is the *Globus terræ*, constructed in 1541 by Gerard Mercator, dedicated to Cardinal de Granvelle, neither of which had been studied in that respect with proper care and attention.

They all exhibit a continuous coast line, which, beginning with the Labrador country, follows faithfully the sea board to the Floridian peninsula, duly labelled "Terra Florida;" thence it depicts the Gulf of Mexico, with the addition of the well known "Caluacam," followed by other Mexican names, and trends eastward to the elbow formed by the northern Brazilian regions, where it takes a downward course as far as the Strait of Magellan,—just as in the Weimar maps. The identity of the northern part of that continent with the present United States, is proved by the inscriptions *Baccalearum regio*, *Labrador*, and *Corte Real* at the north; and, on the peninsula which terminates it, *Terra Florida* or *Terra Pascua Florida*, on the mainland *Terra francisca*, and, in the more recent ones, *R. noronbega* or *Anorombega*.

Now, between the two extreme points of that northern continent, we read on the oldest of those globes, which is the "Globe doré":

| | |
|-------------------------------|----------------|
| C. Litar (<i>pro</i> Lurcar) | C. Arlear |
| C. Baxo | R. de la Parma |
| C. d. Lago | |

On the next globe in point of date, called the "Wooden Globe":

| | |
|-------------------|--------------|
| Caninor | Ponta ro[xa] |
| Costa alta | C. lutar |
| R. bon[a ventura] | C. baxo |
| C. Santo | C. arlear |
| Lago de lodro | |

On the third, or Nancy Globe:

| | |
|------------|---------------|
| Caninor | R. Santo |
| Costa alta | Ponta [roixa] |

Finally, in the Globe of Mercator, dated 1541, of which there are still extant, either in gores or mounted, not less than five duplicates, we read:

| | |
|-------------|---------------------|
| Caninor | R. de los garlatos |
| Bonauentura | Lacobras |
| Costa alta | Comelo ¹ |

All those names belong exclusively to the Lusitano-Germanic nomenclature, and it is evident that the lack of space alone prevented, in this instance, the globe-makers from inserting every name inscribed on the north-western continental region in Cantino, Canerio, Ruysch, or Schöner. It must also be noted that those four globes are not direct copies from the same original, or derived from each other. The difference of origin is shown by the presence of some of those designations in one globe and not in the other, and *vice versa*, as well as by technical dissimilarities and details which are duly exposed and discussed in our *Cartographia Americana Vetustissima*.

Those globes, however, exhibit an extraordinary change in their American configurations. They blend absolutely the New World with the Old, and suppress, north of the equator, the ocean which, in all Lusitano-Germanic maps, separates America from Asia; yet maintaining, as we have just shown, the north-east coast of the new regions, with its peculiar nomenclature. This unexpected geographical combination, and return to the first erroneous ideas concerning the cosmographic character of the New World, we have already described and explained.

¹ In the beautiful French portolano, signed G. B., dated 1543, and bearing the arms of Arthur DE COSSÉ, a French Marshal (who died in 1582), we still read in the

planisphere, close to the *cab de Fleuride*, two of those names, viz.: *Canano* and *Riviere de pama*. (Private Collection of H. Y. THOMPSON, Esq., London.)

CHAPTER IX.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONS.

STRICTLY speaking, we should limit all these investigations to the east coast of North America, and critics may, at first sight, deem it irrelevant to extend our analysis so far as the Central and South American regions. Unfortunately, we possess but few contemporaneous data, and they are so much scattered that it is necessary to examine with the utmost patience every indication which they present, however disconnected and isolated such vestiges may seem to be.

Names, in particular, when methodically interrogated, yield very useful results, which reach even distant questions. On that account, we beg leave, at this juncture, to expatiate on the designations and legends inserted along the southern coasts of the New Continent in the maps and globes above classified. We propose, likewise, to study, both in themselves and historically, the meridional configurations in those maps and globes, with the view of eliciting facts which may enable the critic to ascertain the origin and date of the entire document, and its direct or indirect bearing on the particular question we are striving to elucidate.

The Cantino chart, adopted here as a starting point owing to its positive and early date, its relative completeness and its abundant nomenclature, exhibits for the south-east seaboard a continuous coast line which corresponds relatively, in modern maps, to an area extending from about 13° north to 20° south latitudes, and from 20° to 36° west longitudes. To facilitate the present investigation, it is necessary to divide that space into two sections.

The first section will include the northern coast of the South American continent, from its north-eastern angle to the westernmost point indicated in the early Lusitanian maps. The second division will cover the southern coast, from its most northern cape to the end of the line at the south.

It is impossible to determine the landfall of the Spanish and Portuguese navigators who were the first to sight the north-east coast of Brazil.¹ Nor can it be said positively that *Cabo de Santa Maria de la Consolacion*, *Cabo Rostro Hermoso*, and *Cabo de Sto. Agostinho* are names which apply exactly to the same locality, notwithstanding affirmative testimonies taken before the rogatory commissions in 1515. The critic, therefore, meets at the outset with difficulties, considering that the northern coast of South America was first ranged from east to west. For the sake of convenience we will adopt as the dividing line the present Cape of St. Augustine (lat. 8° 38' S.).

The westernmost point, on the contrary, is depicted so clearly on the ancient Portuguese maps that it is impossible not to recognise at once the umbel-like peninsula of Peragoana, and, in the great aperture adjoining, the entrance to the Gulf of Maracaybo. As to the large island (*Ilha Riqua* or *Tamarique*) close to the gulf in those maps, it can only be the extremity of the peninsula, the eastern side of which forms the western shore of that vast bay.

As we have already stated, the Cantino chart exhibits a continuous line along the north coast of the southern continent. But, as the cartographer who made that chart had achieved his work before October, 1502, the critic who seeks to ascertain the origin of the names, profiles, and positions inscribed thereon must circumscribe his investigations within the accounts of voyages the results of which were known in Spain or Portugal before that date.

The first of these is the third expedition of Columbus (1498-1500). But he remained on that coast only from July 31 until August 15, 1498; and his exploration was confined to the mouths of the Orinoco, the Gulf of Paria and Cumana coast, with the Margarita island as the extreme western limit then.²

The second and third are the expeditions of Alonso de Hojeda, which, for the sake of argument, we will describe hereafter.

¹ Adolfo DE VARNHAGEN names thirty-five headlands or capes in the supposed vicinity of their primary landing. *Examen de quelques points de l'histoire géographique du Brésil*; Paris, 1858, 8vo, p. 23, and *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* for March and April, 1858.

² Relation in NAVARRETE, Vol. I., pp. 242-264;

LAS CASAS, lib. i., cap. cxxxii., Vol. II., pp. 226, 229, 234, 257, 241, 243, 245, 254, 265; Peter MARTYR, Decad. I., lib. vi.; OVIEDO, *Historia General*, lib. iii., cap. iii.; Rogatory Commissions in NAVARRETE, Vol. III., doc. Ixix.; Letter of Simone DEL VERDE, in our *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. II., pp. 95-101.

The fourth was the very profitable voyage of Per Alonso Niño and Cristobal Guerra (1499-1500),³ embracing almost the same route which Columbus had followed, except that it extended about two degrees further to the west (*Chuspa, Canchieto?*)

The fifth is that of Vicente Yañez Pinzon (1499-1500), after he had doubled northward his "Cabo de Sta. Maria de la Consolacion." This was limited to the Boca del Drago, whence he sailed straight for Hispaniola, which he reached June 23, 1500; returning to Palos on September 30 following.⁴

The sixth is Diego de Lepe's first expedition westward after he had rounded his "Rostro Hermoso." It did not reach further west than the coast of Paria.⁵

The seventh is the first voyage of Rodrigo de Bastidas (October, 1500—September, 1502). We do not know where on that occasion his landfall was. Bernaldez simply says: "Por la via que miraba al Norte por la mano derecha de la Juana:—On the route facing the north, to the right of Juana island⁶ [Cuba]." Oviedo is more explicit: "La primera tierra que tomaron fue una isla . . . la llamaron *Isla Verde*, laqual isla está á la banda que hay desde la isla de Guadalupe hácia la tierra firme:—The first land sighted was an island, which they called *Green Island*, and which lies on the side extending from the island of Guadeloupe to the mainland."⁷ If so, Bastidas may have inscribed on his maps names over the space which, westward in the Lusitanian charts, corresponds with about ten of our degrees of latitude. But, as his discoveries then extended, according to Hojeda's own statement: "Desde Quinquibacoa fasta el golfo de Urabá,"⁸ the Cantino chart would certainly exhibit that portion of the coast, as far as Darien,—which it fails to do,—if its cartographer had borrowed any data from the maps of Bastidas.⁹

³ "Cristobal Guerra y Pero Alonso Niño descubrieron la tierra firme dende la boca del Drago de Paria toda la costa de tierra firme fasta el golfo de las Perlas." Deposition of HOJEDA, in NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 541; Peter MARTYR, Decad. I., cap. viii.; *Paesi novamente ritrovati*, cap. cxi.; and Book VI. of the Antipodes in the Ferrara MS.; also LAS CASAS, lib. i., cap. clxxi., Vol. II., p. 440, who gives the date of their return, or landing in Galicia, at Bayona (Deposition of PORRAS), February 6, 1500.

⁴ *Paesi novamente ritrovati*, cap. cxii.; and Book VII., of the Antipodes in the Ferrara MS.

⁵ *Infra*, chapter x., p. 337.

⁶ BERNALDEZ, *Historia de los Reyes Catolicos*, cap. cxvii., Vol. II., p. 253.

⁷ OVIEDO, *Historia General de las Indias*, lib. iii., cap. viii., Vol. I., p. 76.

⁸ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 545.

⁹ According to a Rogatory Commission executed in Spain and addressed to Judge LEBRON of Hispaniola, July 7, 1515 (NAVARRETE, *Viages apócrifos*, p. 20), the discoveries on the northern coast of South America were considered by the Spanish government to have been as follow: GUERRA and NIÑO (1499-1500) discovered the mainland of Paria and Margarita island; HOJEDA and LA COSA (1499-1500) the mainland beyond, westerly;

There have, doubtless, been other expeditions before 1502 to the north coast of South America. For instance, Alberto Cantino, in one of his letters to the Duke of Ferrara, dated October 27, 1501, mentions the arrival in Cadiz, on the 5th of that month, of a caravella bringing pearls and slaves.¹⁰ This indicates a voyage to the Cumana coast; but we must confess that, in the present state of the question, it is impossible to connect that expedition with any names known; and, until positive information concerning such alleged enterprises are brought to light, we must, of course, limit our enquiry to the explorations above mentioned.

The voyages which we have enumerated were calculated to yield cartographical data embracing parts of the coast which extends from Brazil to Paria, but none could disclose any configurations beyond the latter region except the voyage of Bastidas, and even this related solely to the section extending from 70° to 77° longitude west.

The only voyage embracing the entire seaboard of the north coast of South America, as depicted in the Cantino chart, is the first expedition commanded by Hojeda.

There are no official documents concerning that enterprise, nor is its precise date known. The year, month, and day given by modern historians are exclusively borrowed from Las Casas, who in turn took them from the Four Navigations of Vespuccius, assuming that the latter's first voyage and Hojeda's were one and the same. It follows that when Humboldt¹¹ and others compare these two voyages to prove their identity, they set forth elements of comparison borrowed from one source only, and so merely repeat the printed statements of the *Quatuor Americi Vesputii Navigationes*. Hence, and naturally enough, the great resemblance noted between the dates and details given in the *Historia de las Indias* and those of the *Cosmographiæ introductio*.

The chief authorities of Las Casas, for his description of Hojeda's first voyage, we still possess. They consist particularly of the St. Diey

BASTIDAS and LA COSA (1500-1502) the mainland beyond Uraba; VICENTE YAÑEZ PINZON (1499-1500) the south-east coast, from Cape St. Augustine to the mouth of the Amazona; DIEGO DE LEPE (1499-1500) from Cape St. Augustine southward as far as the point known in 1515(?); COLUMBUS, a portion of the coast of Veragua; and all the rest by PINZON and SOLIS (1506).

¹⁰ "Alli cinque del presente, giunse nel porto de Calice, una caravella de la Maiesta del Re di Spagna, la quale

havea mandate piu mesi fanno alle sue insule Antile, et ha portato sexanta schiavi, trecento cantara de braxillio, et trecento de verzino, et cinquanta marchi de perle, dele quale ne son sta portate alcune in questa terra, et io le ho vedute et toche, non son molto grosse, et non hanno chiazza in se, ma più presto tranno al columbino."—MS. *Dispacci dalla Spagna. Cancelleria Ducale*; State Archives in Modena.

¹¹ *Examen Critique*, Vol. IV., pp. 195-200.

publication just mentioned,¹² which, as he believed, described that expedition, but under the cover of Vespuccius; and the depositions taken by the Fiscal, first printed by Navarrete in 1829.¹³ The only original documents which the bishop of Chiapas has consulted, outside those depositions, are a letter written by Francisco Roldan to Columbus, and one from the latter, prompted by that of Roldan. Considering that for the present discussion we propose to derive our facts, however succinct they may be, from sources other than Vespuccius' own recitals, those two letters must be looked upon as of great importance, particularly as eliciting an approximate date for Hojeda's first voyage. The gist of that short correspondence is as follows:

In September, 1499, Columbus was informed that on the 5th of that month, four vessels had anchored in a harbour of Hispaniola, called Yáquimo [Jacmel], and that they were under the command of Alonso de Hojeda. He at once sent Francisco Roldan to watch their movements. In the account which the latter sent to Columbus, he stated having seen the authorisation granted to Hojeda by Bishop Fonseca; and, in the letter addressed to the Catholic Kings on the subject, mention is made of a statement from some of Hojeda's crew, to the effect that they had not been away from Spain long enough to discover new countries.¹⁴ This shows the expedition to have been a lawful one; whilst the time when it landed at Yáquimo, implies that the vessels set out from a Spanish port early in the summer of 1499. Las Casas says that it was in May: "por Mayo," but we are unable to ascertain whether this date was borrowed from the letter of Columbus or from Vespuccius' printed account.

Hojeda remained on the coast of Hispaniola until February or March, 1500,¹⁵ when he returned to Spain, where we see him in July following.¹⁶ His first expedition, therefore, absorbed from the beginning of the Summer of 1499 until the Spring of 1500, only three or four months of which were employed in exploring the shores of the Caribbean sea.

But a second expedition, unnoticed by historians, was initiated and carried out soon afterwards, as shown by the following documentary proofs.

¹² LAS CASAS, lib. i., cap. cxl., Vol. II., pp. 268, 271-273, 393, 395, 414; and for the Rogatory Commission, *ibidem*, pp. 272, 416.

¹³ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., pp. 538-591.

¹⁴ "Dicen estos marineros que, segun la brevedad del tiempo que partió de Castilla, que no puede haber descubierto tierra."—LAS CASAS, lib. i., cap. cxliv., Vol. II., page 392.

¹⁵ "No partieron sino cuasi en fin de Febrero, entrante el año de 500, y áun creo que en Marzo, como parece por las cartas que yo vide y tuve en mi poder."—LAS CASAS, *Historia de las Indias*, lib. i., cap. clxix., Vol. II., p. 427. The *Historie*, cap. lxxxiii., fo. 186, only says: "nel mese di Febraio dell' anno M.D."

¹⁶ Contract of July 28, 1500, recited in NAVARRETE, doc. x., Vol. III., p. 85.

On the 8th of June, 1501, Alonso de Hojeda was authorised to equip ten vessels for another voyage to the New World. The letters patent recite a similar agreement entered into between Bishop Fonseca, on behalf of the Crown, and Hojeda, the year previous, July 28, 1500. And, as the said document of 1501 states that the new privilege is given to the bold adventurer because his previous expedition had involved heavy expenditure, and yielded but little profit to him: "habia consideracion á lo que gastastes é servirstes en este viage que fuistes á descubrir, el poco provecho que dello ovistes,"¹⁷ referring to a voyage undertaken by virtue of the above-mentioned letters patent of July 28, 1500, it is evident that a second expedition was actually carried out by Hojeda between the latter date and June, 1501.

The information concerning these two voyages of 1499-1500 and 1500-1501 is very meagre, and by inference only can we ascertain what belongs to the one or to the other. It consists of the testimonies elicited in the execution of the rogatory commissions ordered by the Fiscal (which depositions fail to name dates), and a short passage from Roldan's above-mentioned letter to Columbus, written in October, 1499, which, on that account, is valuable as relating unquestionably to Hojeda's first voyage. Roldan's brief statement is in these terms:

"Hago saber á vuestra señoría, como yo llegué adonde estaba Hojeda, el domingo 29 de Setiembre yo hobe de ir á las carabelas y fallé en ellas á Juan Velasquez y á Juan Vizcaino, el cual me mostró una capitulacion que traian para descubrir, firmada del Señor Obispo, en que le daba licencia para descubrir en estas partes, tanto que no tocasse en tierra del Señor rey de Portugal, ni en la tierra que V. S. habia descubierto fasta el año de 95. Descubrieron en la tierra que agora nuevamente V. S. descubrió; dice que pasaron por luengo de costa 600 leguas, en que hallaron gente que peleaba, tantos con tantos, con ellos, y hirieron 20 hombres y mataron uno; en algunas partes saltaron en tierra y les hacian mucha honra, y en otras no les consentian saltar en tierra."¹⁸

"I beg to inform Your Lordship that on Sunday, September 29 [1499], I reached the place where Hojeda was . . . In consequence, I repaired to the vessels, where I met Juan Velazquez and Juan Vizcaino [De la Cosa], who showed me letters patent signed by the Bishop [Fonseca], granting leave to make discoveries in these parts, provided no landing was effected in the country belonging to the King of Portugal [Brazil], nor in the region found by Your Lordship before 1495. They have accomplished discoveries in the land now discovered by you, and say that they coasted 600 leagues, and found fighting natives, who wounded twenty and killed one of their companions. In certain places they landed, and were very well received, in others they were not allowed to go ashore."

¹⁷ NAVARETE, *Coleccion de los viages y descubrimientos de los Españoles*, Vol. III., doc. x., p. 86.

¹⁸ LAS CASAS, *op. cit.*, p. 393. It is very much to be

regretted that the Bishop of Chiapas did not give the entire letter, for it is, thus far, almost our only source of direct information concerning HOJEDA'S first voyage.

The reference to the land lately discovered by Columbus shows that the country then visited by Hojeda bordered on the Caribbean sea, where the great Genoese navigator, on the 31st of July, 1498, had first sighted the American continent. The account in the *Historie*, which seems to have been borrowed from an original document, adds that Hojeda's expedition was composed of four ships: "Alonso di Ogieda, che venia con IIII nauigli da scoprire," and also that he had discovered, in the direction of the west, on the coast of Paria, six hundred leagues of country: "ch' ei venia da scoprire per la costa di Paria all' Occidente DC leghe."¹⁹

The other details are furnished by depositions taken before the Fiscal in 1512 and 1515. Hojeda himself then declared that "he was the first man who, after Columbus, accomplished transatlantic discoveries, and found the southern continent: *al medodia la tierra firme*, which he coasted for two hundred leagues before he reached *Paria*, sailing out by the *Boca del Drago*. Thence he continued to range the coast as far as the *Gulf of Pearls*, landed in the *Margarita* island, sailed along the shore of the continent, discovering the entire coast from *Los Frailes* to the *Island of Giants*, the *Gulf of Venice* [Maracaybo], and the province of *Quinquiribacoa*; thus having ranged two hundred leagues east of Paria, and two hundred leagues west of that country."²⁰ Three of Hojeda's companions, Diego Fernandez Colmenero, Nicolas Perez, and Anton Garcia, confirmed his declarations, but without entering into details.

In that deposition of Hojeda no date is given, and we are unable to say positively, from his statement, whether it was during the first voyage that he reached the province of *Quinquiribacoa*, which is described as the western terminus of his discoveries. Happily, Hojeda added that he had with him, when he discovered those countries, La Cosa and Vespuccius: "Trujo consigo á Juan de la Cosa, piloto, é Morigo Vespuche." Now, La Cosa's famous planisphere is dated: "En el puerto de Santa Maria en año de 1500." We have also proved that Hojeda and his companions, so far as is known, alone had then coasted west of Cumana, while the second voyage of Hojeda cannot have been accomplished before 1501. Consequently, La Cosa's planisphere must exhibit the entire region which was surveyed or discovered during the voyage of 1499-1500. Such is

¹⁹ *Historie*, cap. lxxxiii., f. 185, verso.

²⁰ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 544.

really the case, and we find that the said map confirms the deposition of Hojeda, as its westernmost headland is the "Cabo de la Vela."²¹

What must be noticed in this short digression is that, in the course of Hojeda's first voyage, two hundred leagues were coasted east of Paria; that, westward, the Cape de la Vela was reached; and that both Juan de la Cosa and Americus Vespuccius were on board on that occasion.

To carry our investigation further it is necessary to examine another point. La Cosa and Vespuccius were renowned cartographers. They doubtless made maps of the countries which, under the leadership of Hojeda, had just been discovered by their joint agency. The planisphere of La Cosa, of course, reproduces his own data there and then obtained. Unfortunately, we have no information relative to the map designed on that occasion by Vespuccius. But a comparison between the planisphere of La Cosa and the Cantino chart may, by exhibiting important differences, allow us to presume that the latter was based upon data borrowed from the Florentine navigator.

We will limit this comparative investigation, for the present, to the two hundred leagues which Hojeda claimed to have coasted *west of Paria*, as, in 1500, his expedition was the only one which ranged that coast, as we have shown. Columbus, Pinzon, Lepe, and Niño having, on the other hand, visited the main points *east of Paria*, it would be running the risk of introducing cartographical elements borrowed from their maps were we just now to include the latter coast:

| CANTINO CHART. | LA COSA MAP. |
|---------------------|------------------|
| ..... | m. de S. eufemia |
| ..... | soto de uerbos |
| Tamarique | c. de la Vela |
| ilha Rigua | aguada |
| boacoya | ..... |
| golfo del unficisno | lago venecuela |
| ..... | almadabra |
| montanbis albissima | m. alto |
| ..... | c. de espera |
| Ylha do brasill | y. de brasil |

²¹ There are two names inscribed on LA COSA's chart, west of the Cape de la Vela, viz.: "m. s. eufemia," and "sato de uerbes." The first refers probably to the summit of the Sierra Nevada de Citarma, which can be seen at a great distance from the sea, and was named, as we suppose, after St. Euphemia by HOJEDA, on the

feast-day of that saint. As to the other name it most likely means "sato (the old form of *Sembrado*) de yerbas," that is, "strewed with herbs," from one of the vast fields of sea-weeds (*Sargassum natans*) which are met with in the tropical seas, and that we find so often mentioned in early accounts of transatlantic discoveries.

| CANTINO CHART : | LA COSA MAP : |
|------------------------------|--------------------|
| Ylha do gigante | y. de gigantes |
| costa de gente braua | c. de la mota |
| ..... | p. flechado |
| ..... | aldea de turme [?] |
| Rio de fonseca | costa pareja |
| ..... | m. tajado |
| Cabo de las perlas | 3 echeo [?] |
| ..... | Canpina |
| Ylha de la Rapossa | ylhas de Sana |
| golfo de las perlas | G. de las perlas |
| terra de paria | Margalada |
| I ^o tres testigos | tres hr [hermanos] |
| boca del drago | boca del drago |

The difference is certainly great between those two nomenclatures. Yet, as we have already remarked, when the Cantino chart was made, there had been no expedition to the coast which lies between Cumana and Maracaybo,²² except the one made by Hojeda in connection with La Cosa and Vespuccius, above described. Now as the Cantino map contains a series of names not to be found in the more numerous nomenclature of the La Cosa chart for the same coast, whilst giving, besides, different designation for the same localities, we must presume that the map-maker of Cantino used materials other, in the main, than those employed by La Cosa. Whence then were derived the cartographical elements for the Cantino chart?

The Cantino chart was made in Lisbon, and before October 1502. Americus Vespuccius resided in that city from August 1498 until May 1499, from September 1500 until May 1501, and also in September 1502. He was a renowned cartographer, and, as we have just seen, accompanied Alonso de Hojeda during the expedition in course of which the region west of Paria was first surveyed. Finally, we possess the direct testimony of Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, who states that there existed a marine chart, of Portuguese make, in which Americus Vespuccius was said to have had a hand :

“Quas nautæ chartas uocant nauigatorias, plures: Quarum una á Portugalensibus depicta erat, in qua manum dicitur imposuisse Americus Vespuccius Florentinus, uir in hac arte

²² The nomination of HOJEDA as governor of Coquibacoa, June 10, 1501, precluded exploring expeditions other than his own, to the country which he had discovered. NAVARRETE, Vol. III., doc. xi., p. 89.

peritus :—Mappes which are commonly cauled the shipman cardes, or cardes of the sea. Of the which, one was drawn by the Portugales, whereunto Americus Vesputius is said to have put his hande, beinge a man moste experte in this faculties, and a Florentyne borne.”²³

This was written less than three years after the death of Vespuccius. Nor should we forget that Peter Martyr had known him personally and officially for a number of years.

Do not all these facts authorise the belief that the famous Florentine furnished the materials, directly or indirectly, for that section of the Cantino map, which, therefore, may be said to be based upon and exhibit, thus far at all events, Vespuccian data?

²³ ANGHIERA, Decad. II., lib. x., f^o 41, c.

CHAPTER X.

THE VESPUCCIAN DATA.

WE must now proceed to examine, in the Cantino map, the east coast of South America, from its most north-eastern point to its southern terminus.

A curious and valuable means of information in ascertaining dates of certain maritime discoveries, and to infer thereby the relative positions of points inscribed on maps, is the well-known custom¹ of the old Spanish and Portuguese mariners to give to almost every newly-found locality the name of the saint on whose feast day it was discovered.² Availing ourselves, in our turn, of that peculiarity, we find that a large number of designations in the charts which we have just described yield the following dates, taken from the calendar of the Roman Catholic Church :

| | |
|--|---------------|
| <i>S. Roxho</i> , or St. Roch (Canerio, Waldseemüller) | August 16. |
| <i>Rio de S. Iena</i> , or St. Helena (Canerio, Waldseemüller) | August 18. |
| <i>Rio de S. Augustin</i> (Canerio, Waldseemüller, Schöner)..... | August 28. |
| <i>Rio de S. Jacinto</i> , or Iacinctus the martyr (Schöner) | September 11. |
| <i>San Miguel</i> (Cantino, Canerio, Waldseemüller, Schöner)..... | September 29. |
| <i>R. de S. Ieronymo</i> (Canerio, Schöner) | September 30. |
| <i>R. de S. Francisco</i> (Cantino, Waldseemüller, Schöner) | October 4. |
| <i>R. d' Virgine</i> , or 11,000 Virgins (Canerio, Schöner) | October 21. |
| <i>R. de S. Lucia</i> (Canerio, Ruysch, Waldseemüller, Schöner) | December 13. |
| <i>Serra de S. Thoma</i> (Canerio, Waldseemüller, Schöner) | December 21. |
| <i>Baia de Reis</i> , or Epiphany (Canerio, Ruysch, Schöner)..... | January 6. |
| <i>R. de S. Antonio</i> (Canerio, Ruysch, Waldseemüller, Schöner) | January 7. |
| <i>P. de S. Sebastian</i> (Canerio, Waldseemüller, Schöner)..... | January 20. |
| <i>P. de S. Vicentio</i> (Canerio, Ruysch, Waldseemüller, Schöner) | January 22. |

¹ Here are one or two applications ; March 14, 1502 : “ Al cabo que allí se puso por nombre de Lázaro, porque pasamos por allí día de S. Lázaro” (*Actuaciones por orden de Alonso de Hojeda* ; in NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 104) ; “ Y los Castellanos la pusieron de Santa Lucia,

porque tal día entraron en ella” (HERRERA, Decad. II., lib. iv., cap. 10).

² Adolfo DE VARNHAGEN, *Diario de Navegação de Pero Lopes de Souza* ; Lisboa, 1839, 8vo, p. 88. Also resorted to by PESCHEL, D'AVEZAC, KOHL, &c.

A priori, and taking into consideration the great probability that all those names belong to one expedition only, being so near each other in point of date, and inscribed nearly in the order above set forth, we must find, amongst the earliest explorations of the Brazilian coast, one extending from August to January. That is the problem.

To apply those liturgical data for that purpose, it is necessary to commence by establishing a chronology of the voyages which were undertaken to Brazil, from the time when it was first discovered to a date which covers the epoch when the charts of Cantino, Canerio, King, Kunstmann Nos. 2 and 3, and the prototypes of Waldseemüller, Ruysch, and Schöner had already been constructed. Then we will see whether the period of time in which those voyages were accomplished embraces one or all of the feast-days corresponding with the names of saints given to capes, headlands and promontories, rivers, estuaries, and harbours in those maps. But we must likewise ascertain the extreme limits which were reached by each of those expeditions, both at the north and at the south.

Vicente Yañez PINZON (November 18, 1499³—September 30, 1500), was unquestionably the discoverer of Brazil (January 20, 1500).⁴ But after landing at a point named by him the Cape of Santa Maria de la Consolacion, which is at or near about our present Cape St. Augustine, he continued his exploration, not southwardly, but towards the north and north-west. The names south of that cape, and which are embraced in the nomenclature at present under examination were not therefore given by Pinzon, and, besides, they are of a later date than January 20, 1500.

Diego DE LEPE, who sailed very shortly afterwards, in December, 1499,⁵ took the same course; but not, however, in the track of Pinzon.

³ The only accounts of PINZON's voyage giving an explicit date for his departure from Spain are, first, the *Libretto*, which states that he sailed from Palos, November 18, 1499: "Adi. XVIII. Novembrio" (cap. xxix., recto of dii.). Then the Ferrara MS. (p. 117) also says: "adi 18 di Novembre," which the *Paesi* likewise copied. Peter MARTYR, who furnished to TRIVIGIANO the prototype of those three texts, only writes: "circiter kalendas decembris" (Decad. I. cap. ix., edit. of 1511, f^o 111). The cedula of December 5, 1500 (NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 82.) which states: "there may be a year since, more or less:—puede hacer un año poco mas ó menor," is too vague to contradict the date of November 18. When Peter MARTYR communicated it to TRIVIGIANO, his

memory was quite fresh, as only one year had elapsed since the return of PINZON, whilst it was eleven years afterwards that he wrote indecisively: "circiter kalendas decembris," at a time when the exact date, apparently, was obliterated from his recollections.

⁴ ANGHIERA (Decad. I., lib. ix., f. 111, edition 1511) prints: "Septimo kalendas februarij," which is January 26. In the Ferrara MS. we find "ali 20 di gener," and in the *Libretto*, "adi xx. zenaro." Here, as elsewhere, we give the preference to the Ferrara MS. and to the *Libretto*, both having been written nine and seven years respectively before the first Decade was printed.

⁵ "Por el mismo mes de Diciembre y año de 1499 años."—LAS CASAS, lib. i., cap. clxxiv., Vol. II., p. 453.

His landfall was a headland, apparently the latter's Cape of St. Augustine, or one not far from it, to which he gave the name of "Rostro Hermoso."⁶ Where did he thence direct his course? The Fiscal in 1515, took it for granted that it was southward, and that Lepe went as far as the limits which had been attained at the time of the execution of the Rogatory Commission.

The question asked was the following :

"Si saben que Diego de Lepe, e los que con él fueron otro viage, descubrieron desde la dicha punta [the Cape of St. Augustine], la costa que vuelve facia el mediodía ó el sur fasta el término que agora está descubierto?—Whether Diego de Lepe and those who went with him in the other voyage, did discover beyond that cape the coast towards the south, as far as the terminus now known?"⁷

Nearly all the witnesses replied in the affirmative ; which, if exact, would carry Lepe beyond the Rio de la Plata. Rodriguez de la Calva and Cristobal Garcia, however, named as the southernmost point then reached, a Bay of Santa Julia, or a River of St. Julian.⁸

Where is that bay or river? In the *Mappe sent 1527 from Siuil in Spayne by maister Robert Thorne marchaunt to Doctor Ley Embassadour for King Henry the 8. to Charles the Emperour*,⁹ there is, at the end of the South American peninsula, a "P. S. Iulian;" but, besides the fact that *P.* cannot stand for "Bay" or for "River," it is known that "Port de Saint Iulian" belongs to the Magellanic nomenclature, which, of course, those witnesses cannot have known in 1515. Must we infer that mariners had before the latter date coasted so far south? That is not improbable. In a map of 1619 there is a "Rio de S. Giano," by 14° south latitude, said therein to be "l'ancienne Rivière de St. Julien."¹⁰

Such a coasting would cover the Brazilian explorations as marked in the Cantino chart. There remains, however, to be ascertained the date when Lepe undertook his first voyage ; as, to correspond with the above liturgical data, that navigator must also have been exploring the south-east coast of Brazil *from August until February*. Now, Las Casas says

⁶ "E corrieron en el sudueste fasta que fallaron la tierra, è que dieron en Rostro-hermoso."—Deposition of Luis DEL VALLE ; NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 554.

⁷ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 553.

⁸ "Todo lo que descubrió . . . dende el rio de S. Julian;" Deposition of Cristobal GARCIA ; *loc. cit.* "Santa Julian;" Deposition of Alonso Rodriguez DE LA

CALVA ; *loc. cit.*, p. 553.

⁹ HAKLUYT, *Divers voyages touching the discoverie of America* ; London, 1582, 4to, and *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, No. 12, p. 176.

¹⁰ LINSCHOTEN, *Navigation aux Indes Orientales* ; Amsterdam, 1619, fol., cap. x., p. 33 ; in D'AVEZAC, *Considérations*, p. 166, note.

that Diego de Lepe sailed in December, 1499.¹¹ He cannot, therefore, have sighted Cape St. Augustine or its immediate vicinity in August, as, that being his first landfall, he would have taken eight months to cross the Atlantic. We know, besides, that from the Rio de San Julian he retraced his steps, and coasted northward so high as the Orinoco, Amazona, and Paria,¹² which implies a long voyage; yet we find him already engaged in lawsuits at Palos on the 9th of November, 1500. These facts militate against the possibility of Lepe having named those points of the Brazilian coast. Moreover, if he was the author of that nomenclature, his exploration being an official one, and accomplished under the Castilian flag, the names inscribed on the Brazilian coasts and regions in all the charts issued by the Sevillan Hydrographic Bureau (such as the Weimar maps) would be entirely Spanish, and omit altogether the names given by the Portuguese; inasmuch as Spain justly claimed that the region had been first discovered by Pinzon, although they were bound by the Treaty of Tordesillas to consider it as belonging to the Crown of Portugal. We, nevertheless, read in the planisphere of Ribeiro, "C. de S. Agostin," where there should be "Cabo de Santa Maria de la Consolacion," which name was given by Pinzon; "B. de todos Sanctos," which originated with Vespuccius when he was in the service of Portugal; and "Monte Pascual," which we have shown to come from Cabral.

It is true that Diego de Lepe led another expedition to Brazil, but it was only after January, 1502,¹³ and too late, therefore, to have furnished names which could be inscribed on the Cantino map, on or before the summer of that year.

Several expeditions were sent in 1500-1501 to the Brazilian coast. Besides those already mentioned of Vicente Yañez Pinzon, of Pedro Alvarez Cabral, and of Diego de Lepe, here is another which also sailed from Spain during the last year of the fifteenth century.

In the opinion delivered November 13, 1515, by several pilots whom the Spanish Crown consulted concerning the exact position of Cape St.

¹¹ *Supra*, p. 336, note 5. LAS CASAS is the first author who gives a date for the departure of Diego DE LEPE on that voyage. Our impression is that he has no other authority for the statement than an inference deduced from the deposition of Hernando ESTEBAN, who declared that PINZON and LEPE sailed about the same time: "aquel viage, que fué así todo uno en pos de otro" (NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 552). As Peter MARTYR,

who always is LAS CASAS' chief guide, says that PINZON sailed "about the kalends of December" (*supra*, p. 336, note 4), the good bishop naturally came to the conclusion that LEPE set out from Palos in December, which, however must be correct.

¹² Depositions of LA CAVA, GARCIA, and DEL VALLE; *op. cit.*, page 553.

¹³ See *infra*, in the *Chronology of Voyages*.

Augustine, one of them, Juan Rodriguez Serrano, who afterwards became Magellan's chief pilot, speaking of a voyage to the coast of Brazil, said: "About sixteen years ago, I left the city of Seville with two caravels, which were under the command of Alonso Velez de Mendoza, and steered from the Canaries to Cape Verde, thence to Cape St. Augustine, which we doubled."¹⁴ Sixteen years back, "more or less:—poco mas ó menos," from November 13, 1515, brings us to within the last three months of 1499. This approximate date makes it incumbent on us to enquire into that alleged exploration of VELEZ DE MENDOZA.

On the 20th of July, 1500, the Commander Alonso Velez de Mendoza,¹⁵ of Moguer, obtained leave to proceed with four vessels to the Indies, but away from the countries which had been discovered by Columbus, by Guerra and by Hojeda.¹⁶ The voyage of Velez de Mendoza mentioned by Serrano was thus accomplished between October, November, or December, 1499, and July, 1500.

On the other hand, Arias Perez Pinzon, who commanded one of the ships of his uncle's expedition, in course of which Cape St. Augustine was discovered by Vicente Yañez Pinzon, said that on his return to Seville, he communicated to "Francisco Velez, comendador, vecino de Moguer," information which enabled the latter to reach and double Cape St. Augustine: "é que por la informacion que dél hubieron, fueron adelante é doblaron la punta de St. Augustine."¹⁷ That voyage of the Pinzons lasted from November 19, 1499, until the last day of September, 1500: "Pridie cal. Octobris revertentur."¹⁸ If so, the expedition in which Velez de Mendoza doubled the Cape St. Augustine is not the first, but another, carried out after September, 1500;—in admitting with Muñoz,¹⁹ that this Velez is no one else than Alonso Velez, erroneously pre-named Francisco, by Arias. Let us add that his title of "Comen-

¹⁴ "En los pareceres dados en 13 de Noviembre de 1515 [?] sobre la situacion del cabo de S. Agustin, Juan Rodriguez Serrano habla del viage que hizo, diciendo:—Ha 16 años, poco mas ó menos, que parti desta ciudad [Sevilla] en dos carabellas, que fué por capitan Alonso Velez de Mendoza." In the *Registro de copias de cédulas, provisiones, etc., de la Casa de la Contratacion desde 5 de febrero de 1515 hasta 6 de marzo de 1519*; extracted by MUÑOZ, but never published. NAVARRETE, *Coleccion de viajes*, Vol. III., p. 594, and *Opusculos*, Vol. I., pp. 65-68.

¹⁵ The term here is not to be taken in the sense of an officer in command of a ship, but in that of head

(*Comendador*) of a commandery, either of St. James of Compostella, or Alcantara, or some other Spanish order of knights.

¹⁶ NAVARRETE, Vol., II., doc. cxxxv., p. 247.

¹⁷ Arias PINZON adds that he was informed of the result of the expedition by Velez himself, who even soon showed him the map which was made on that occasion: "tambien le mostró la tierra que traia debujada." NAVARRETE, Rogatory Commission before the Fiscal, doc. lxix., Vol. III., page 555.

¹⁸ *Supra*, page 327, note 4.

¹⁹ *Historia del Nuevo-Mundo*, lib. vii., § 38 (unpublished), quoted by NAVARRETE.

dador," his situation of sea captain, his residence in Moguer, and the approximate coincidence of dates, leave but little doubt that the Velez mentioned by Arias Pinzon, and the Alonso Velez de Mendoza of the agreement of July, 1500, are one and the same.

But how can we reconcile this inference with the declaration of Serrano, that in company with Velez he doubled Cape St. Augustine at a date which is certainly nine or ten months anterior to the time when Arias claims to have conveyed to him the information required to attain that point of the Brazilian coast?

Our opinion is that the assertion of Arias is one of those vain boasts so common on the part of the Pinzons. It may also be that Velez in his first voyage was not the commander in chief, but the captain of one of Lepe's two vessels; and that the latter's voyage of 1499-1500, and Velez's of the same period, are identical. The fact that it is in answer to a question about Diego de Lepe's expedition to Cape St. Augustine that Arias made the statement, as well as the circumstance that two ships were engaged in both instances, and sailed in or about December, 1499, for the same region, and doubled that cape, strengthens our surmise in this respect. At all events, as the expedition of Velez de Mendoza embraced from December until July, names which were given in August, September, October, and December, south of the landfall, cannot have originated with the first alleged separate voyage of Velez, any more than with Diego de Lepe's.

As to the second voyage of VELEZ DE MENDOZA, authorised by the letters patent of July 20, 1500,²⁰ if it was actually accomplished, we must place its date after August 10 of the latter year, as on that day we see him yet in Seville.²¹ It follows that he could not be on the Brazilian coast in time to name the points extending on the map from Cape St. Roque to the Rio de San Francisco.

Concerning the expedition of Pedro Alvarez CABRAL, it must be said that the name of Porto Seguro was doubtless taken from his maps, now lost; but the other designations have a different origin, as Cabral remained in Brazil only during a very few days. True it is that a certain

²⁰ *Supra*, p. 339, note 16.

²¹ The notarial certificate is dated from that city and

states that "the Comendador Alonso VELEZ DE MENDOZA" appeared then in person at Seville.

statement contained in the letter which Domenico Pisani, the Venetian ambassador, sent to the Signoria July 27, 1501, implies the reverse, as it is to the effect that the companions of Cabral believed Brazil to be a continent, having ranged its coast during 2000 miles and more, without reaching the end thereof: "Indicano questa terra esser terra ferma, perché corseno per costa 2000 mia e più nè mai trovarono fin."²² Pietro Pasqualigo repeats the statement, but the figures dwindle to 600: "corsa la costa de ditta terra per spazio de 600 et più milia non hanno trovato fin alguno."²³

If either of those assertions was exact, Cabral could have furnished the cartographical data south of Porto Seguro; but such is not the case, and the two Venetian diplomatists were certainly led into error by their Portuguese informers. This can be easily shown:

On the 2nd or 3rd of May, 1500, Cabral set sail for the Cape of Good Hope: "Dua di Maggio . . . l'armata fece vela pel camino per andare alla volta del Capo di Buona speranza."²⁴ Being bound for the East Indies, he may have hugged the shores southward; but the moment his pilots noticed the Brazilian coast trend abruptly towards the west, as it does by 22° latitude, the course was certainly altered. On the other hand, the detailed account of that navigation, published by Ramusio, shows that Cabral sailed from Porto Seguro straight to the south-east.

On the 12th of May, they saw a comet "verso la parte di Ethiopia,"²⁵ which indicates that the fleet was then already nearing the African coast; and, on the 20th, they were assailed in the vicinity of the African continent by a terrible storm, in which, three days afterwards, the famous Bartolomeu Dias was wrecked: "vinte tres de Maio depois do meio dia . . . no cabo de Boa Esperança."²⁶ It was impossible, therefore, that Cabral could have ranged the coast of Brazil to such an extent as Pisani and Pasqualigo said, or even coasted it at all then.

The fact is that Cabral remained on the coast of Brazil only ten days, from April 22, 1500, until May 2 following,²⁷ when he set sail direct for

²² Marin SANUTO, *Diarii*, Vol. IV., col. 200.

²³ *Ibidem*, fasc. 25, p. 485.

²⁴ *Navigation del Capitano Pedro Alvarez, scritta por un Piloto Portoghese*. RAMUSIO, Vol. I., f^o 122 r.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, and BARROS, Decad. I., lib. v., f^o 88 v.

²⁶ BARROS, *loc. cit.*, and F. Lopez DE CASTANHEDA, *Ho livro primeiro da historia do descubrimento da India*; Lisboa, 1552, in fol., f^o 65.

²⁷ CABRAL coasted from his landfall, which was a headland named by him the Cape of the Holy Cross, to a point northward which he called Porto Seguro. What those two localities exactly were no one can tell. BARROS says that the landfall was by 10° south latitude: "em altura do polo Antartico da parte do sul dez graos" (Decad. I., lib. v., cap. ii., f^o 87 v.); but we do not know on what authority. See HUMBOLDT, *Examen*

Calicut, considering that it was his original destination, and that when he landed in the New World, it was unknowingly and by a mere accident.

Finally, the Portuguese commander returned to Portugal, not on the 24th of June, 1501, as Giovanni Cretico and Joam de Barros assert, but so far as Lisbon was concerned, during the last week in July, though he landed at Cadiz a few days before the 19th of that month. This fact, which may enable the critic to again explain certain circumstances not to be overlooked in the present enquiry, requires, on our part, a slight digression. The reader will excuse it, moreover, as we base the search upon an account of the return of Cabral, now published for the first time.

On the 19th of July, 1501, Alberto Cantino wrote to the Duke of Ferrara as follows :

"In Lisbona sta il Re de Portogallo, et hami narrato un suo che giuncto era pur hora in Calice che de dodece charavelle che gia quindecim messi fanno erano andate a Colochuti, insula lontano da Lisbona 15,600. miglia. hora novamente cinque ne sono retornate cariche de grandissime spiciarie et perle molte et altre cose assai dignissime : le sette a compimento de dodece con 500. persone per una grandissima fortuna se son perse et anegate, et cusi el sopradieto Re al presente altre dodece ne arma, et con gran celerita a quella parte le manda, perche narrase publicamente haver ritrovate cose riche et maravigliose, le quale piacendo a dio spero alla giornata darne a V. S. de veduta nove piu et piu verissime.—Adi. xix. Luglio. del MDI."

"The King of Portugal is at Lisbon, and he has told me that one of his men had just arrived in Cadiz, and that out of the twelve caravels which were sent fifteen months ago to Calicut, an island distant 15,600 miles from Lisbon, five had lately returned with large cargoes of spice, a quantity of pearls, and other precious articles. The other seven caravels with five hundred persons have been wrecked and lost during a very great storm. In consequence, the King is arming twelve other ships with great rapidity, which are intended for those countries, it being publicly reported that precious and marvellous things have been found there. God willing, I hope soon to send to Your Excellency, news [obtained] *de visu*, and more and more reliable.—July 19th, 1501."²⁸

This letter, in disclosing a fact heretofore unknown to historians, viz.: the landing of Cabral at Cadiz before coming to Lisbon, enables us to fix the controverted date²⁹ of his return to Portugal, and particularly to understand the precise meaning of the first phrase of the letter whereby Manoel informed Ferdinand and Isabella of the successful issue of that enterprise. The letter of the King of Portugal begins as follows :

Critique, Vol. I., p. 315; Vol. IV., p. 177, and particularly Vol. V., pp. 54-61. As the first land seen was a high and round mountain, called by CABRAL "Monte Pascoal,"—which has been identified, it seems, with one of the peaks of the Serra dos Aymores,—the landfall was

by about 17° (ESPINOSA, LA CRUZ and ROUSSIN, in HUMBOLDT, *loc. cit.*).

²⁸ MS. State archives in Modena.

²⁹ HUMBOLDT, *Examen Critique*, Vol. V., pp. 77-79, note.

"Estees djas pasados, depois que a primera nova da Indya cheguou, nom escripvuy logou a Vossas Señoryas as coussas dellá, porque nom era aimda vinido Pedro Alvarez Cabrall meu capitaa moor da frota . . . E depois de sua chegada sobre syuy niso, porque tambem non eram da Imda vinidas duas naaos de sua companhia . . . E depois de chegudas as ditas . . ." ⁸⁰

"These days past, after the first news from India arrived, I failed to write to Your Highnesses on the subject, because Pedro Alvarez Cabral, the commander in chief of the fleet, had not yet come [to Lisbon]; . . . and, from the time of his arrival, I have postponed writing, as two of his other vessels had not yet come These said ships having since arrived"

This was written from Santarem ³¹ on the 29th of July, 1501, and shows that not very long before, at a time when Cabral had not yet arrived in Lisbon, news had already been received of his return to Europe. The letter of the King of Portugal also shows that the Portuguese commander finally landed in Lisbon a very short time before July 29th.

The fact of the return of the fleet to Lisbon at the end of July is corroborated by the statement of Cabral's own pilot, who says: "giungemmo in questa citta di Lisbona nella fine di Luglio," ³² and by the Chronicle of Damião de Goes, where we read: "chegou a Lisboa ao derradeiro dia de Julho de mil, et quinhentos, et hum." ³³

On the other hand, Giovanni Cretico, ³⁴ in a letter dated from Lisbon, June 27, 1501: "Data adi xxvii. Zugno M.ccccci.," gives the news of Cabral's success, as brought by a vessel which entered the port of Lisbon, in the afternoon of the day of St. John: "questa intro la sera di San Joãne," that is, on the 24th of June. This date is also given by Barros: "vespora de S. Ioão Baptista," ³⁵ who borrowed it, doubtless, from one of the numerous editions and translations of the *Paesi*, which were current everywhere in Europe during the sixteenth century, ³⁶ and all of which contain Cretico's letter.

³⁰ Original Portuguese text, lately discovered in the State archives at Venice; *Bolletino della Soc. Geogr. Itoliana*, March, 1890, page 274.

³¹ That is the date of the letter itself. See NAVARRETE, Vol. III., pp. 94-101; but the above Portuguese text is dated "escripta em Lixboa a xxviiij. d'augusto de 1501," referring doubtless to the day when the transcript was obtained.

³² *Navigation del Capitano Pedro Alvarez, scritta per vn Piloto Portoghese*; RAMUSIO, Vol. I., f^o 127, v.

³³ Damião DE GOES, *Primeira Parte de la Chronica do Rey Emanuel*, cap. lx., Vol. I., p. 159. This historian, however, is mistaken when he says: "Do Cabo verde sem tomar outro porto, chegou a Lisboa."

³⁴ *Paesi novamente ritrovati*, edition of 1507, lib. vi.,

cap. cxxv., and Marin SANUTO, *Diarii*, Vol. IV., col. 99, in the letter sent from Spain to the Signoria of Venice by Domenico PISANI, July 27, 1501. This Giovanni (erroneously called Domenico) CRETICO had been a professor of Greek at the university of Padua, and was appointed secretary to Domenico PISANI September 6, 1500: "Proposi fusse manda uno secretario, onsieme con Domenego Pixani, va orator in Spania, qual poi debe andar in Portogallo [which accounts for the presence of CRETICO in Lisbon] . . . fo aricordato uno Zuam Creticho, deze a Padoa in grecho, qual orator mena con lui." SANUTO, *Diarii*, Vol. III., col. 736.

³⁵ ANGHIERA, *Decad. I.*, cap. ix., f^o 104, verso.

³⁶ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, Nos. 48, 55, 58, 70, 83, 84, 86, 90, 94, 109, 111, &c.

The date given by Juan Cretico is corroborated by the dispatch sent by Domenico Pisani to the Signoria of Venice, from Lisbon, July 27, and which also states "intorno la sera di San Zuane."³⁷ The language used by Cretico is, besides, too positive to admit of any doubt: "That vessel, says he, entered the port the evening of St. John's day, and when she arrived I was with the King, who called me and told me to rejoice, as his vessels had come from India with cargoes of spice:—mi atrouaua dal Seren. Ré, el qualle me chiamo et disieme congratulasse che le sue nave de India erano zonte cargo de specie."

Now Cantino's letter is clearly dated "diè 19 July, 1501," and this date cannot be erroneous, as he relates then having met at Almeria, on the 9th of that month, a Portuguese fleet of seventy sails, which was the expedition commanded by Joaõ de Menezes, and sent at the request of Pope Alexander VI. against Bajazet II. to protect the Greek possessions of the Republic of Venice.³⁸ Nor could we admit that Cantino would relate to his master, as an event which on July 29 had just taken place: "era pur hora," and as having been informed of it by the King himself, "et hami narrato," a fact alleged to have happened twenty-six days before.

The apparent contradiction between the two statements disappears when we read entirely Cretico's letter, but more particularly the letter of Juan Francesco de la Faitada, dated Lisbon, the 26th of June, 1501, forwarded to the Signoria of Venice by Domenico Pisani, and inserted in the *Diarii* of Marin Sanuto.³⁹

In that interesting document we notice that when at the Cape of Good Hope, Cabral decided to send ahead to Lisbon the swiftest vessel in the fleet, to bring news of his success. The ship selected was the smallest of all, and the private property of four residents of Portugal; named, Don Alvaro (?), Bartolo fiorentino, Hieronymo (?), and a Genoese whose name is not given. Only one of these is known to us, viz., "Bartolo," that is, Bartolomeo Marchionni, the head of a noted Florentine firm in Lisbon. The ship arrived in that port on the 25th of June, as

³⁷ SANUTO, *Diarii*, Vol. IV., cols. 99 and 101.

³⁸ *Gaspar Corte-Real; la date exacte de sa dernière expédition au Nouveau Monde, or Post Scriptum*, p. 15.

³⁹ *Letera di Zuan Francesco de la Faitada, scritta in Lisbona, a di 26 zugno 1501, drizata in Spagna a sier Domenego Pixani, laqual, per sue di x luio, la mando in questa terra [Venice], SANUTO, Diarii, Vol. IV., col. 66; and confirmed on col. 87. This DE LA FAITADA*

is the identical "Francescho de la Saita Cremonense" of the *Paesi*, but the above letter is different from the one published in the Vicenza collection, lib. vi., cap. cxxvii. LA FAITADA and CRETICO wrote on the same day, the former announcing the latter's description: "Ben che per missier Cretico sara scritto a compimento . . ." This indicates that both used the same authorities, but LA FAITADA's letter is the most satisfactory of the two.

in his letter dated "26 zugno 1501," De la Faitada writes, "eri, al tardi, vene uno de li navilij." As to the above statement, it is in these words: "Gionti al Capo de Bona Speranza, el capitano commandó que questo, ch' è venuta [the above mentioned vessel], per esser meglor de le vele, se partisse de l'altre, e venisse dar nova de esse . . . e lo più piccolo de tutto." We must add that both the ship and cargo belonged to the parties above named.

We are now enabled to describe with tolerable accuracy the return to Lisbon of Cabral's fleet, as follows:

The swiftest of his vessels, shooting ahead of the rest from the Cape of Good Hope by order of Cabral, arrived at the port of Lisbon in the afternoon of June 25 (or 24), 1501.

The King felt uneasy concerning the remainder of the fleet, now composed of only four ships,⁴⁰ seven having been lost during the voyage,—when on the 19th of July, he received news that four of Cabral's vessels, including the flagship, had landed in Cadiz, either by stress of weather,⁴¹ or to obtain supplies.

Two of these then arrived in Lisbon about a week afterwards with Cabral on board, followed a couple of days later by the two ships, when Manoel wrote the above mentioned letter to his father and mother-in-law.

The pertinence of this analysis will appear when describing further on the third voyage of Americus Vespuccius.

On the 5th of September, 1501,⁴² Vicente Yañez PINZON was empowered to lead an expedition for the purpose of colonising a portion of the country he had discovered in 1499-1500, viz.: from the Marañon to Cape St. Augustin. The çedula of October 15, 1501, shows that serious preparations were made for the expedition, to which reference is explicitly made therein: "para ayuda al viage que agora habeis de tornar á hacer en nuestro servicio."⁴³ But we have no information whatever concerning

⁴⁰ King MANOEL says that CABRAL'S expedition was composed of thirteen ships: "Con trece naos partió de Lisboa" (NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 95); but when about to double the Cape of Good Hope on the way to Calicut, CABRAL sent one of these back to Lisbon: "me envió de allí un navío a me notificar . . ." (*Ibidem.*) Seven were lost at sea: "ma di 13 che furono son perse le 7" (SANUTO, Vol. IV., col. 101.) When CANTINO mentions five vessels as having then arrived with cargoes of spice, he includes the one which landed at Lisbon on the

25th of June, and the four which were at that time safe in the harbour of Cadiz.

⁴¹ The words of the King: "de dos naos que para ello iban una de ellas se perdió en la mar, é otra se apartó de la flota con tiempo fortunoso," may refer to storms encountered then.

⁴² NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 40, in the note, quotes those letters patent, but without giving the text, which has never been published.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, doc. xvi., p. 102.

that voyage, which, at all events, could yield no cartographical names and configurations south of Cape St. Augustine.

A document from the State archives in Modena, now first published,⁴⁴ may be interpreted as indicating that Portugal sent to Brazil one or more several vessels, immediately upon receiving news of the discovery of that country by Cabral.

In the letter addressed by Alberto Cantino to the Duke of Ferrara, on the 17th of October, 1501, we read the following passage :

“Mettero un termine il quale hora ha posto in uso questo Re ; tutti coloro quali nel suo regno commettono cose digne de gran pena ovvero di morte, tutti quelli fa pigliare ne alcun ne amaza, et servandoli col tempo gli manda in questi lochi et insule ritrovate, et imponeli questo, che se mai per alcun tempo ritornarano de dende gli harano lassati per terra a Lisbona, perdonali el delicto, et fali mercede de cinque cento ducati, ma credo io che rari ve ne ne tornarano, benché in un locho che se chiama Sancta Croce, per essere dilectevole di bona aria et de dolcissimi fructi abundante, fugirno cinque marinari dele nave del Re, et non volseno piu tornare in nave, et li restarno.”⁴⁵

“The King of Portugal has published a decree to the effect that all criminals liable to severe punishments, even the penalty of death, are not to be executed, but imprisoned for a time, and then sent to the places and islands [lately] discovered. The condition is that, later, they will be allowed to return to Lisbon, receive a pardon for the offences committed, and 500 ducats. But I doubt whether any will ever be disposed to come back ; for five sailors, who had deserted the vessels of the King, and fled to a place called Santa Croce [Santa Cruz or Brazil⁴⁵], on account of its wholesome air and abundance of delicious fruit, would not return on board, and remained in that country.”

When Cantino wrote that letter, there had been in Portugal, so far as we know at present, only two arrivals from Brazil, viz.: that of Gaspar de Lemos,⁴⁷ the bearer of the news of the discovery of that country, who, sailing Porto Seguro the first week in May, 1500, reached Lisbon apparently a couple of months afterwards, and that of Pedro Alvarez Cabral during the last week of July, 1501. Must we suppose that some unknown expedition was sent from Lisbon to Brazil immediately after the return of Lemos to Portugal, which could have been back home before the summer of 1501? The assertion of Humboldt that the letter of Vaz

⁴⁴ A portion of that letter was published in our *Document inédit concernant Vasco da Gama. Relation adressée à Hercule d'Este, duc de Ferrare, par son ambassadeur à la cour de Portugal* ; Paris (privately printed), 1889, sm. 8vo.

⁴⁵ See *supra*, chapter x., p. 341, for complete details concerning the expedition of Cabral and naming of Brazil.

⁴⁶ *Dispacci dalla Spagna, sub anno 1501. Cancelleria Ducale.* State archives in Modena.

⁴⁷ “Dali espedio hum nauio, capitão Gaspar de Lemos.” BARROS, *Decad. I.*, lib. v., cap. ii., f° 88. The name of that commander is omitted in the letter of VAZ DE CAMINHA, although the latter's epistle to the King was entrusted to LEMOS.

de Caminha urged King Manoel to continue the discovery by sending other vessels to the land of Vera Cruz,⁴⁸ would authorise such a presumption, if it were exact. Unfortunately, we have failed to discover any passage to that effect in Vaz de Caminha's letter,⁴⁹ and as to the statement concerning the five sailors who fled from the Portuguese vessels, it may be explained without resorting to the hypothesis of an intermediary voyage.

In the letter of Vaz de Caminha we notice the following phrase :

“Creo que com estes dous desgrados, que aquy ficam, ficam mais dous grumetes, que esta noute se sayram desta naao no esquife fugidos, hos quaaes nom vijeram mais :—I believe that the two criminals who are to remain in the country, will not be alone. Two cabin boys ran away last night, and they have not been seen since.”⁵⁰

This information was known in Portugal so far back as the autumn of 1500. It may have been also repeated by Cabral, who had been in Lisbon nearly three months when Cantino mailed his letter. True it is that “five sailors :—cinque marinari,” is a description which does not exactly coincide with “two criminals and two cabin boys :—dous desgrados et dous grumetes ;” but the chief circumstance in the account is the fact that a certain number of Portuguese seamen remained in Brazil in May, 1500. At all events, there is no impossibility in the flight of five sailors, and in the information having been conveyed by Cabral in person. As to the decree of the King, we must consider it as having been prompted by Cabral's own description of the country which he had so fortunately and unexpectedly discovered.

Another question is whether Gaspar de Lemos may not have brought the cartographical data used in the Cantino chart ?

In Vaz de Caminha's letter, it is stated that a council was held at Porto Seguro to take the following resolution :

“Com hos quaaes asy a todos se nos parecia seer beem mandar ha nova do achamento desta terra a V. A. polo navio dos mantimentos, para milhor mandar descobrir, e saber de la mais do que agora nos podiamos saber, per hirnos de nosa viagem :—Whether it would not be desirable to send to the King, by the supply ship, news of the discovery

⁴⁸ “Pedro Vaz de Caminha ajoute qu'on expédie Lemos afin que S. A. puisse le plus tôt possible continuer cette découverte en envoyant d'autres vaisseaux à la terre de la Vera Cruz.” DE HUMBOLDT, *Examen Critique de la*

Géographie du Nouveau Continent, Vol. V. page 49.

⁴⁹ Letter of VAZ DE CAMINHA, published by Manoel Ayres DE CAZAL in his *Corografia brazelica*, p. 33.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*.

just accomplished, while the captain of that vessel would endeavour to make greater discoveries, and ascertain more [about the country] than we could then, being obliged to continue our voyage."

The reply is that in Vaz de Caminha's letter, which contains an account of the voyage homeward, there is no mention of further discoveries. It follows, that the maps brought by Lemos could only describe the portion of the Brazilian coast about Porto Seguro.

We have now the expedition which Cabral met when on his way back to Lisbon, at Cape Verde, and mentioned by one of his pilots in these words, as reported by Ramusio :

"Doue trouammo tre nauili che'l nostro Re di Portogallo mandaua a discoprire la terra nuoua, che noi haueuamo trouata quando andauamo a Calicut :—We landed at the first land near Cape Verde, which is called Beseneghe, and where we met three vessels, which the King of Portugal had sent to discover the new land which we had found when on our way to Calicut."⁵¹

What is that expedition to Brazil? Several authors have ascribed it to Gonçalo COELHO, but Humboldt has shown the fallacy of such an opinion.⁵²

The little we know concerning that or any voyage of Gonçalo Coelho is contained in the following lines, written by Damiaõ de Goes in 1568 :

"No mesmo anno [M.D.iiij.] mandou Gonçalo Coelho com seis naos à terra de Santa Cruz, com que partio do porto de Lisboa aos diez dias do mes de Junho, das quaes por ainda terem pouca noticia da terra, perdeu quatro, et as outras duas trouxe as regno, com mercadorias da terra, que entam nam eraõ outras, que pão vermelho, a que chamam Brasil, bogios, et papagaios:—In that same year [1503⁵³], the King sent Gonçalo Coelho with six ships to the country of Santa Cruz, which sailed from the port of Lisbon the tenth day of the month of June. But owing to his poor knowledge of that land, he lost four of his vessels. He returned to this kingdom with goods from the country, consisting of red wood, called Brazil, monkeys, and parrots."⁵⁴

Pedro de Mariz, who wrote in 1594, has only copied De Goes, adding an absurd statement, taken probably from Gabriel Soarez,⁵⁵ to the effect that when Coelho returned to Portugal it was João III. who was on the

⁵¹ *Navigazione del capitano Pedro Alvarez scritta per un Piloto Portoghese*, in RAMUSIO, Vol. I., f^o 127.

⁵² HUMBOLDT *Examen Critique de la Géographie du Nouveau Continent*, Vol. V., p. 143.

⁵³ The whole of that chapter in DE GOES is devoted to events which occurred "No anno M.D.IIj."

⁵⁴ DAMIAM DE GOES, *Primeira Parte da Chronica do Rey Emanuel*, cap. lxxv., p. 170.

⁵⁵ *Noticia do Brazil*, in the *Revista trimensal*, Vol. XIV., pp. 13-365. Gabriel SOAREZ DE SOUSA (erroneously called FRANCISCO DA CUNHA) wrote so early as the year 1587.

throne: "se apresentou a El Rey Dom João III. que ja neste tempo regnava."⁵⁶ This would have made Coelho absent from Portugal on that expedition at least eighteen years,⁵⁷ as Manoel died on the 13th of December, 1521.

Finally, Father Simão de Vasconcellos has simply taken his account of Coelho from Pedro de Maris, word for word, but gave him as his authority. He adds, however, the phrase that Joaõ III. was then on the throne, "owing to the death of Manoel."⁵⁸

The simple date, "M.D.ijj.," shows conclusively that the vessels met by Cabral at Beseneghe, in the summer of 1501, did not belong to Gonçalo Coelho's expedition.

In 1842, Varnhagen made known⁵⁹ a diplomatic dispatch from Alvaro Mendez de Vasconcellos, the Portuguese envoy to the Spanish Court, dated Medina del Campo, December 4, 1531, and concerning a claim urged by Portugal for the possession of the Rio de la Plata. The pretention was predicated upon an alleged discovery of that river by one Nuño MANOEL.

Varnhagen being of opinion that the Rio de la Plata had been discovered by Americus Vespuccius during his third voyage, assumed at once that the said Nuño Manoel was the commander of Vespuccius' third expedition. If so, we would have here a voyage to Brazil and south of it, carried out between May, 1501, and September, 1502.

There is a great deal to be said against that theory. In the first place, let us state that all we know concerning the said expedition is contained in the following three lines:

"Huma armada de dom nuno manael que por mandado del Rey voso paj que estaa em gloria foy descubrir ao dito Rio [da prata]:—A fleet of Dom Nuno Manoel which, by the order of your late father, was sent to discover that River de la Plata."⁶⁰

No date is assigned to the event, and our only means of ascertaining when it took place leaves a margin of *twenty-six years*, as nothing

⁵⁶ P. DE MARIZ, *Dialogo de varia historia*, Lisbon, 1749, 4to, Dialog. v., cap. ii., Vol. II., p. 40.

⁵⁷ DE GOES, *op. cit.*, Part IV., cap. lxxxiii., p. 634.

⁵⁸ Simão DE VASCONCELLOS, *Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil*; Lisboa, 1663, fol., p. 16. As to OSORIUS (in the original Latin edition of *De Rebus Emanuelis*, for the passage is omitted in the French

translations) he only paraphrases DE GOES.

⁵⁹ *Primeiras negociações diplomaticas respectivas ao Brazil*, in the *Memorias do Instituto historico e geographico*, Rio de Janeiro, 1842; and DE VARNHAGEN, *Nouvelles recherches sur les derniers voyages du Navigateur florentin*, (Vienna, 1870) folio, page 9.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*.

is said on the subject except that the discovery was made while the father of Joaõ III., to whom the dispatch is addressed, was living. Now the father of Joaõ III. was Manoel, who reigned from 1495 until 1521.

By referring to the *Provas da Historia Genealogica*, that is, the complement of Antonio Caetano de Sousa's great work,⁶¹ Varnhagen seeks to identify the discoverer with Nuño Manoel, the King's "Guarda mör," "Almotace mör," and lord of Salvaterra de Magos, an old courtier who seems to have spent his entire life at the Court of Portugal, whose services and offices are frequently enumerated,⁶² and who is never mentioned as having accomplished maritime discoveries of any kind. Damiam de Goes names⁶³ him among the high functionaries who accompanied King Manoel to the shrine of St. James of Compostella, when that monarch made the pilgrimage for the better success of his expeditions to the East Indies. That was in October, 1502. As Vespuccius returned to Lisbon on the 7th of September of that year, there is no impossibility in his commander having accompanied the King. Yet, taking into consideration the object of the pilgrimage, and how De Goes is wont to give details about those voyages of the Portuguese, it is worthy of notice that he lets pass such an opportunity of recalling the important discovery which Nuño Manoel is said to have then just accomplished.

We must add that neither the name of "Ryo da prata," nor a mention of any river carrying an abundance of silver, occur in the accounts which we possess of the third voyage of Vespuccius. Withal, it is possible that the Florentine navigator should have omitted to relate the circumstance, but he would not have stated explicitly that there were no minerals in that country: "Uisto che in questa terra non trouauamo cosa di minero alcuno,"⁶⁴ or, if he had mentioned one of the precious metals, it would have been silver, not gold; whilst, on the contrary, he says that the latter is the only metal existing in those regions: "Nulla ibi metallorum genera habent preter auri."⁶⁵

We are unable, therefore, to place that expedition within the limits assigned to it by Varnhagen, and still less "aceitar sem nenhuns escrupulos como verdadeiro chefe dessa expedição [of Vespuccius] a D. Nuno Manuel."

⁶¹ DE SOUSA, *Historia genealogica da casa real portugueza*; Lisboa, 1735-49, 14 vols, sm. folio. The *Provas* were also published at Lisbon, in folio, 1739-48, 6 vols.

⁶² *Historia genealogica*, Vol. XI., p. 422.

⁶³ "O acompanhou dom Nuno Emanuel seu guarda

mör. Partio el Rei de Lisboa afforado no mes Doctubro deste anno de mil, et quinhentos et dous."—DE GOES, *Chronica do Rey D. Emanuel*, Part I., cap. lxiv., p. 167.

⁶⁴ Italian edition of the *Lettera*.

⁶⁵ Separate Latin edition of the Third Voyage.

In fact, of all the transatlantic enterprises known the only one which corresponds *a priori* with the data borrowed from the statement of Cabral's pilot, from the liturgical names inscribed on the Cantino chart, and from the period of time within which it must have been accomplished, is the third voyage of AMERICUS VESPUCCIUS under the Portuguese flag.

First, as to the meeting with Cabral's fleet at Cape Verde, we have shown that the latter reached Lisbon only at the end of July, but that he had been obliged to land at Cadiz, on or about the 15th of the same month. This landing implies that he met with difficulties on the voyage, after leaving Cape Verde.

Now, Vespuccius, having sailed from Lisbon on the 10th⁶⁶ or on the 14th⁶⁷ of May, 1501, reached the very place of Beseneghe (*Besechicce*⁶⁸) in time, to all appearances, to meet Cabral there. The latter would then have encountered the storms or other obstacles which retarded his arrival in Lisbon, and compelled him to land in Spain, as shown by Cantino's letter, between that date and about July 15, which is the time of his landing at Cadiz.

At present, concerning the voyage of Vespuccius across the Atlantic, if we calculate the time required by that navigator to go from Lisbon to the Canaries (ten days?), three days' sojourn there; the time to reach about Cape Verde (*Besechicce*, fifteen days?), eleven days' stay at that point; thence sixty-seven days to the Brazilian landfall,—all of which data we borrow from the *Lettera*⁶⁹ itself,—Vespuccius is shown to be exact when stating that he anchored off the coast of Brazil on the 7th of August. According to his account, he continued the exploration along that coast, southwardly, until after February 15, 1502, when he steered south-east. Those dates cover exactly the liturgical nomenclature, which

⁶⁶ "Partimo di q'sto porto di Lisbona adi. 10. di Maggio 1501," and "Lettera die Maii decima MCCCC. et primo," in the St. Diey, or WALDSEEMÜLLER'S *Cosmographiæ Introductio*.

⁶⁷ "Prospero cursu quarta decima mensis maii quingentesimo primo" (Letter to SODERINI); "A. XIII di del mese de Mazo del M.CCCCL." (*Paesi*, cap. cxv.)

⁶⁸ "Fumo nella costa dethiopia ad un porto che si dice Besechicce" (*Lettera*); "Ab ethiopicis Besehice" (separate edition of the Third Voyage). We leave aside, as it would involve a long dissertation about its authority, the letter of VESPUCCIUS first published by BALDELLI BONI (*Il Milione di Marco Polo*, Vol. I., p. liii.), where

occurs the following explicit statement: "trovammo surto due navi del Re di Portogallo, ch'erano di ritorno d'alle parte d'India orientale, che sono di quelli medesimi che andarono a Calichut, ora quattordici mesi fa." This letter is dated "dall' Isola del Capo Verde, sotto di 4. di Giugno 1501." It is well, however, to recollect that the landing of CABRAL at Cape Verde appeared in print for the first time only in 1550, at Venice, in the *editio princeps* of RAMUSIO'S *Raccolta* (recto of f^o. 138), printed "l'anno MDL nel mese di Maggio."

⁶⁹ *Lettera di Amerigo Vespucci delle isole nuovamente trovate in quattro suoi viaggi*; *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 87.

we made the basis of the present analysis and description, that is, from our Cape St. Roque to the Port or to the River of St. Vincent.

There is another name, quite typical, at this juncture, which, as has already been shown, can also be traced to Americus Vespuccius.

It is the "Bay of All-Saints." We find it in print for the first time in the Italian edition of his famous *Lettera*, as follows :

"Dipartimo . . . teneuamo un reggimento del Re, che si mandaua, che qualunche delle nauì che siperdesse della flocta, o del suo capitano, fussi a tenere nella terra, che el uiaggio passato [*sic*]. Discoprimo in un porto che li pone'mo nome la badia di tucte e sancti."

This textual punctuation renders the passage unintelligible, and we agree with Varnhagen who proposed to read : ". . . . che el viaggio passato discoprimo," by making a single sentence of the two. The phrase thus corrected may be translated as follows :

"We departed [from Lisbon] . . . with instructions from the King, which ordered that if any of our ships became separated from the fleet or happened to lose her captain she should make for the land which we discovered in the preceding voyage, and [for] a port to which we gave [or had given] the name of the Abbey [*sic*] of All-Saints."

This sentence is in the account of Vespuccius' fourth voyage, which could not have been known in Portugal before June, 1504. But as it is therein stated that the name was given to that bay in the preceding voyage, they certainly knew it in Lisbon so far back as the 7th of September, 1502, when Vespuccius returned from his third expedition, and in time therefore to be inserted in the Cantino chart.

We have shown, in the above chapter ix., that the first section of the Cantino chart exhibits configurations and a nomenclature based upon or derived from Vespuccian data. We now claim to have demonstrated that such is likewise the case with the second section of the said chart, so far, at least, as its names and legends are concerned.

CHAPTER XI.

THE NORTH-EAST COAST AGAIN.

WE have now ascertained the geographical origin of the two sections of the Cantino and other early Portuguese charts, which, together, embrace the regions extending from the Gulf of Maracaybo to their southern terminus on the Brazilian coast. At present it is necessary to elucidate in the same manner, if possible, the third section, which embraces the north-east coast of a continent depicted, according to one of its scales (Canerio's), as commencing at 20° north latitude, and continuing northward to 57° or 58°; but which, when placed on modern maps, begins by about 80° west longitude, and comprises the space between 25° and 45° north latitudes.¹

The cartographical and relative characteristics of that continental region have been fully discussed in the first part of the present work, where we have also investigated a number of historical data, which all apply to a continent then already believed to lie west and north-west of the Antillies. To that category belongs the relation of the first voyage of Americus Vespuccius, alleged to have been accomplished between May, 1497, and October, 1498, and which our line of argument requires us to examine again.

We are fully aware of the difficulties which the historian of maritime discovery encounters when examining critically the account which we possess of that expedition, and the impossibility to accept several of its leading statements and descriptions. Nor do we pretend to explain them away. It is not our province just at present.

But we find ourselves in presence of a narrative which was publicly printed and translated in the life time of all the personages mentioned therein by name, such as King Ferdinand, King Manoel, the Gonfalonier Pier Soderini, René II., Duke of Lorraine, and Americus Vespuccius

¹ According to the scale inscribed in Canerio, that continental region covers, for the portion configurated in

Cantino, from 35° to 55°, or twenty degrees of latitude. It is not equal in all such maps.

himself; and when were also living those who, like the sons of Columbus, Alonso de Hojeda, Juan de la Cosa, and others, were entitled to enter a protest. And yet, every allegation in that account is accepted, repeated, and made the basis of numberless scientific works all over Europe for several centuries, without scarcely a dissenting voice.

Although the life of Vespuccius is known documentarily from the time of his birth to that of his death almost, and with an abundance of details which are not to be found in the biographies of Columbus, of John Cabot, and other great navigators of that period, no alibi can be proved or shown for the period said to have been spent in his first transatlantic voyage.

Finally, there exists in reality a continental region west of his alleged landfall, which can be coasted northwardly for eight hundred and seventy leagues or more, as the relation ascribed to him claims to have been effected then and there.

Those circumstances clothe the narrative in question with a character of *prima facie* evidence that no impartial critic can disregard, especially when his inquiry is limited to a comparison of geographical data.

Concerning the first point, we need only recall the fact that in the opinion of bibliographers, the *Lettera delle Isole novamente trovate*, which contains the oldest narrative now known of the first voyage of Vespuccius, was printed at Florence by Gian Stefano di Carlo di Pavia, within a year or two after September 4, 1504, which is the date of its fourth and last part.

As to the second point, no document has yet been produced to prove that, between May, 1497, and October, 1498, Americus Vespuccius cannot have been engaged in a maritime expedition. The affirmations set forth thus far² are based altogether upon the circumstance that after the death of Juanoto Berardi, which occurred in Seville during the month of December, 1495,³ Vespuccius received, for the Berardi estate, from Pinelo,

² "Pues habia continuado en tales aprestos, por lo menos hasta mayo de 1498." NAVARRETE, *Biblioteca Maritima*, Vol. I., p. 57. "Les documents authentiques trouvés par mon ancien et illustre ami, don Juan Baptista Muñoz, parmi les Livros de gastos de armadas, et établissent que Vespuce, placé en décembre 1495 à la tête de la maison de commerce de Berardi, était chargé de l'armement de navires pour la troisième expédition de Colomb." HUMBOLDT, *Examen Critique*, Vol. IV., p. 267. The only document ever produced in that respect is the receipt

of January 12, 1496, which is no proof whatever.

³ In a document lately published, Juanoto BERARDI, December 15, 1495, being at Seville, and on his deathbed, executes a notarial act concerning claims against Christopher COLUMBUS, and in which he calls VESPUCCIUS his factor, friend, and executor testamentary: "Amerigo Vespucci, mi fator, . . . mi albacea, e especial amigo." *Documentos escogidos del Archivo de la Casa de Alba. Los publica la Duquesa de Berwick y de Alba, Condesa de Siruela*; Madrid, 1891, 8vo, p. 202.

the Crown Treasurer of Castile, 10,000 maravedis on account of wages due to sailors or masters of vessels fitted out for Hispaniola. The sum was paid on the 12th of January, 1496,⁴ and the document quoted by Muñoz and Navarrete in that respect only proves that Vespuccius was in Seville at the latter date.

His presence in Spain is next derived from the assertion of Hojeda that Vespuccius accompanied him in an expedition to the New World, which set out from Cadiz in the spring of 1499. But between January, 1496, and May, 1499, there is a space of more than three years, during which no trace whatever of Americus Vespuccius is to be found in the Spanish documents. The statement that he continued in the house of Berardi is a mere supposition, based upon another hypothesis, viz., that Vespuccius supervised the equipment of the caravels for the third voyage of Christopher Columbus, which sailed from San Lucar in May, 1498. The surmise is certainly erroneous. The twelve ships fitted out by the house of Berardi in consequence of the agreement of April 9, 1495, and concerning which Vespuccius gave a receipt to Pinelo, January 12, 1496, were contracted to sail four in April, four in June, and four in September, 1495,⁵ while Columbus was in Hispaniola. They were not, therefore, intended for his third expedition, which, besides, was not initiated until two years afterwards; and no one has yet shown that either Juanoto Berardi or Vespuccius was ever connected with that voyage. Nay, the probability is that the house went into liquidation immediately after the death of this Berardi, as, on his death-bed, we see him speak like a man who had lost all his worldly goods. In notarial instructions given to Americus Vespuccius and his other executors, to collect from Christopher Columbus 180,000 maravedis for monies advanced and services rendered to him in 1492,⁶ he says :

“He dexado, por le servir, mi trato e biuienda, y perdido y gastado mi hacienda y de mis amigos :—To serve him [Christopher Columbus], I have abandoned my business and home, and lost and spent my property and that of my friends.”⁷

Berardi then proceeds to say that he requires that sum to pay debts and obligations contracted on behalf of his daughter, “and thus free his

⁴ NAVARRETE, *Coleccion de viages*, Vol. III., p. 317.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Vol. II., doc. lxxxiv., p. 159.

⁶ “Tres años ha,” and the document is dated “Sevilla, martes quinze dias del mes de diziembre, año de mill é quatrocientos e nouenta é cinco años.”

⁷ *Credito de Janoto Berardi contra Christoval Colon*, in the important and already quoted *Documentos escogidos del Archivo de la Casa de Alba*, published by the Duchess of Berwick and Alba, Countess of Siruela, at Madrid, 1891, 8vo, p. 202.

soul and conscience:—*asy cuple al descargo de mi ánima é consciencia.*” In fact, the tenour of the entire document indicates a ruined man, leaving behind him nothing but debts, and certainly no commercial house of any kind whatever.

The only names of shipowners and merchants mentioned as having been employed to equip the third expedition of Columbus, and for a large amount, are those of the Genoese Pantaleone Italiano and Martin Centurione. The account of January 12, 1496, was extracted from the account books of expeditions to the Indies. The fact that neither Muñoz nor Navarrete, although the latter wrote three biographical sketches of Vespuccius (published in 1829, 1848, and 1852 respectively), make no further mention of payments made either to Vespuccius or to the house of Berardi, tends to prove that his connection with that commercial establishment or its liquidation ceased soon after the winter of 1495-1496.

The sixty-eight letters addressed to Americus Vespuccius which we extracted from the *Carteggio* of the Medici in 1868,⁸ and written from 1488 until November, 1491, while he was yet living in Italy, show him to have been then exclusively engaged in mercantile pursuits. A document newly brought to light, dated December 30, 1492, and signed: “Amerigho Vespucci, merchante fiorentino in Sybilia,”⁹ as well as the receipt of January 12, 1496, show occupations of the same character. But when mention is next made of him, it is in relation to the transatlantic enterprise of Alonso de Hojeda, which sailed from Cadiz on the 16th of May, 1499; and then he is spoken of by the chief commander himself, not as a merchant or supercargo, but apparently as a professional pilot: “Juan de la Cosa, piloto, é Merigo Vespuche é otros pilotos.”¹⁰ And thenceforth he appears solely either as a navigator or commander of maritime expeditions, ending by being appointed, March 22, 1508, Pilot-Major of Spain. It is not likely that Vespuccius passed, all at once, from the counting-room of Berardi to the helm of Hojeda’s flag-ship. He must have acquired great nautical experience before being entrusted with such a post in a fleet sailing under the royal flag, and sent across the Atlantic to discover new lands. This forces upon us the belief that, between 1496

⁸ State archives in Florence, Documents of the MEDICI, file lxviii., No. 259.

⁹ Gilberto GOVI, *Come veramente si chiamasse il Vespucci*. Extract from the *Rendiconti della Real Accademia dei Lincei*, Roma, 1888, 8vo., p. 299. The letter is addressed to Corradolo STANGA, the agent of

Ludovico IL MORO in Genoa. See our *Colombo de France et d'Italie; Mémoire lu à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*; pp. 72, 127, 129, 130.

¹⁰ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 544. We have reasons to think that HOJEDA’S deposition has been curtailed by the learned editor.

and 1499, Vespuccius led a seafaring life, and, therefore, may have been navigating from May, 1497, to October, 1498, which is the time when he claims to have coasted 870 leagues of a north-western continental region.

Now, what was that expedition exactly, who commanded it, and the position in the fleet assigned to Americus Vespuccius, are questions which have no immediate bearing upon the point under investigation. Nor is it our task to offer a solution. But it is necessary to recall the fact that the account of that first voyage which we possess, is only a clumsy abridgment of the geographical treatise that Americus Vespuccius had written, and to which reference is expressly made as an elaborate work describing his four expeditions most minutely: "un volume in stilo di geografia: & le intitulo *Le Quattro Giornate*: nella quale opera se contiene le cose per minuto." If we possessed that work in its original form, it is evident that many difficulties would certainly disappear when endeavouring to elucidate the text of the *Lettera*.

Be that as it may, we only propose at the present juncture, and as a consequence of our system of argumentation, to inquire whether, after having shown that the regions extending in the Lusitanian charts from about 10° north to about 22° south latitudes, were borrowed from Vespuccian data, gathered by the Florentine navigator *de visu*, the representation of a north-western continental land in said maps is not based upon elements also derived, directly or indirectly, from one of his charts or original narratives.

According to the relation ascribed to Americus Vespuccius, and in which he is made to speak in the first person, the expedition sailed from Cadiz on the 10th May, 1497: "*del porto di Calis adi 10 maggio 1497.*"¹¹

It was composed of four ships, which had been equipped by order of the Spanish Crown, for the special purpose of discovering new countries in the direction of the west: "*El Re don Ferrando di Castiglia hauendo a mandare quattro navi a discoprire nuoue terre verso loccidente.*"

Thirty seven days after the expedition had sailed westward from the Canary islands, they descried a new land, which they believed to be a continent: "*alcapo di 37 giorni*¹² *fumo a tenere una terra che la giudiçamo essere terra ferma.*"

¹¹ We follow verbatim the text of the *Lettera*, which is doubtless the oldest and most authentic of all; adding however, differences taken from the Latin version of

WALDSEEMÜLLER'S *Cosmographie introductio*. "Et solvimus vigesima die Maii MCCCCXCVII de porta Calice."

¹² "Ut viginti septem vix elapsis diebus . . ."

This land was by 16° (north latitude): "*trouãmo el polo del septentrione alzare fuora del suo orizonte 16. gradi,*" and by 75° (west longitude): "*piu occidentale che le isole di Canaria 75. gradi;*" and there they cast anchor.

They then ranged the coast northward: "*nauigamo per el maestrале, che cosi sicorreua la costa,*" until they reached a port, where the habitations of the natives were built on the water, like Venice: "*un porto, doue trouamo una populatione fondata sopra lacqua come Venetia.*"

Thence, they continued to range the coast northwardly to the 23° (north latitude): "*doue alza el polo dello orizonte 23 gradi.*"

Resuming their course, they kept on coasting the shore in the direction of the north, until they had thus sailed 870 leagues: "*nauigamo allungo della costa sempre a uista della terra, tanto che correimo dessa 870 leghe tutta uia uerso el maestrале,*" stopping, however, in many places: "*faccendo per epsa molte scale.*"

Having been then navigating for thirteen months, they stopped in a harbour which they considered the best in the world, and where they remained thirty-seven days repairing their vessels prior to returning home: "*Erauamo gia stati 13. mesi nel uiaggio . . . doue stōmo 37. giorni . . . un porto elmiglior del mondo . . . tornarcene per la uolta di Spagna.*"

They then left, bound homeward, steering east and north-east: "*alla uolta del mare per el uento infra greco et leuante.*"

After various incidents and landings in islands, they finally arrived in Cadiz on the 15th of October, 1498: "*giungnemo nel porto di Calis adi 15. doctobre 1498.*"¹³

The first point to ascertain is where to place the landfall of Vespuccius on that occasion. If the "16 gradi" of his narrative corresponds with our 16° north latitude, there is no difficulty in coming to a conclusion; and the first landing in 1497 must be fixed on the shores of the Honduras Gulf. From there he may have coasted northwardly along Yucatan, the Gulf of Mexico, Florida, Georgia, the Carolinas, nay, so far as the Delaware and Hudson; all of which can be considered as being embraced within the 870 leagues of coasts mentioned in the account of that voyage.

¹³ "xv. Octobris die, anno Domini MCCCCLXXXIX" (edition of May). "xv. Octobris die. Anno dñi M.CCCC. LXXXIX" (edition of September); in the St. Diey *Cosmographie introductio*.

Unfortunately, we cannot accept as precise the latitudes, longitudes, or distances in miles and leagues expressed in the accounts of the early navigators, owing to the imperfection of their nautical instruments and modes of computation.

To determine (relatively, of course,) the points which in the mind of Portuguese or Spanish pilots corresponded with such specific statements, the only resource is the scale set forth in their charts, together with the true position of certain localities perfectly recognisable, such as Cuba, Maracaybo, or Cape St. Augustine. This may at least enable us to locate the regions approximately and in respect to the whole,—though regardless of exact latitudes and longitudes.

The earliest of those maps exhibiting a scale which can be easily interrogated in that respect, are the King and Canerio charts. Now, their sixteenth degree of north latitude would fix the landfall of Vespuccius in 1497, somewhere on the coast of Guyana. Ruysch's and Waldseemüller's *Tabula* carry us nearly to the same point.

Starting from that position, and coasting thence westwardly, and then northwardly for 870 leagues (as we did when predicating the inquiry upon our modern 16° north latitude), we again embrace within the space said to have been navigated by Vespuccius in 1497-1498, regions answering the north-western continental coast in the Lusitano-Germanic charts.

Here, however, we meet with a difficulty, which applies likewise to the supposed landfall in Honduras. The narrative states that the 870 leagues were navigated along the coast, always in sight of land: "nauigāmo allungo della costa sempre a uista della terra, tanto che corremmo dessa 870 leghe tutta uia uerso el maestrale." If so, in either hypothesis, there should not be the large gap which mars the Cantino, Canerio, Ruysch, and Schöner maps west of the Gulf of Venezuela or Maracaybo. The coast would continue westward along Darien, Panama, then northward around Honduras, Yucatan, and the Gulf of Mexico.

The configuration in that part of the Lusitano-Germanic maps (with the exception of the maps of Stobnicza and Waldseemüller) does not agree therefore with the data set forth in the account of Vespuccius' first voyage.

But what is almost certain and of some importance in the present enquiry is that Vespuccius must have seen and tacitly approved the configurations of the Cantino chart, including, of course, the delineation of that north-western continental land.

Alberto Cantino and Americus Vespuccius were both Italian by birth; they found themselves at the same time in Lisbon;¹⁴ and their respective positions brought them together at the Court of Portugal, just as the map was about to be sent to Italy. It had been ordered by an Italian prince through his diplomatic agent, whose instructions were to obtain the latest information concerning transatlantic discoveries. Is it not natural to believe that, under such circumstances, Cantino, before packing and forwarding the map to Ferrara, should show it to Vespuccius, who had just returned from his third expedition? We may even reasonably suppose that the interpolations were prompted by the Florentine navigator, then and there!

Withal, it would prove erroneous to infer that, at the close of the fifteenth century, the positive notion of a continent existing west of the Antillies could have been derived solely from Vespuccian data, whether epistolary or cartographic, expressed or implied, and that assertions predicated upon the existence of such a continental configuration in maps must sink or float according to whether we accept or reject the narrative of Vespuccius.

In the chapter of the present work entitled *Unknown Navigators*, we have shown that, so far back as April, 1495, all the subjects of Queen Isabella, notwithstanding the privileges conceded to Columbus in 1492, were authorised to equip expeditions for the distinct purpose of discovering isles and continents beyond the Atlantic, and that a number of mariners availed themselves of the leave;

That Columbus himself finally approved of the permission, which approval was immediately followed by voyages across the Ocean; but that the requirements of the Spanish Crown were so severe that they induced certain adventurers to engage in clandestine expeditions, which were fitted out in Spain (and Portugal) between 1493 and 1501;

That the leading condition imposed, even on licensed seafarers, by the Spanish government was *an absolute prohibition to explore American regions already discovered*, and that, consequently, unauthorised adventurers, especially at a time when the law could not be infringed with impunity, must,

¹⁴ Alberto CANTINO left Lisbon on his return home, only late in the autumn of 1502; passing through Genoa where he left the map to be forwarded to Ferrara. From Rome, November 19, 1502, he informed Hercules D'ESTE that he had deposited the same with Francesco CATANEO. (*Les Corte-Real*, doc. xxi., p. 216). As to VESPUCCIUS, he reached Lisbon September 7 or 8, 1502, and did not

set out on his fourth voyage before May, 1503. True it is that in these eight months he may have been absent from the city, but it is not likely that he left Portugal until at least a few weeks after his return from such an eventful expedition; and that is sufficient to authorise the belief that CANTINO and VESPUCCIUS met then at the Court of João II.

as a rule, have avoided lands already known, or kept to themselves the results of their unlawful voyages ;

That such an interdiction necessarily led a number of those explorers, licensed and unlicensed, to direct their course not only south-westerly, but also north-westerly, beyond the Antillies ;

That notwithstanding incomplete researches in the Spanish and Portuguese archives, governmental as well as notarial, and the loss of a vast number of documents, we possess authentic proofs of not less than ninety vessels belonging to twenty-nine expeditions (besides those of Columbus, Vespuccius, De Lepe, Bastidas, Hojeda, Guerra, Pinzon, and La Cosa), all equipped before 1504, and which sailed over the area of the West Indies, which are within ninety miles of the continental region, north-west of the Bahama bank ; that is, a distance which a gust of east or of south-east wind would have enabled any swift caravel to run over in twenty-four hours. And, in that list of vessels, there are only three or four clandestine expeditions ; whilst we know that these were numerous. Nor do we speak of the Norman and Brittany ships which Captain de Gonville, in 1505, asserted to have visited the West Indies : “ d’empuis aucunes années en ça,” viz. : before 1503 ;

That the map of Juan de la Cosa, completed in the autumn of 1500, already depicts the entire coast line west and north-west of the Antillies, and wholly distinct from Cuba, or from any of the West India islands ;

That in said map the north-western continental land is washed by the Atlantic Ocean, which, along the sea board, bears the inscription : “ Mar descubierta por Ingleses :—Sea discovered by the English ;”

That the region ascribed to the English discoverers is represented thereon as extending at the south beyond the latitudes reached by John Cabot during his first voyage ;

That the Spanish government, already in the fifteenth century, apprehended an extension southward of the English explorations ; that these were then actually carried out by John Cabot ; and that so early as 1501, Hojeda was commissioned to stop such progress ;

That the accounts brought to Portugal by Gaspar Corte-Real, or his captains, in 1501, imply the belief that from the northern regions discovered by the Portuguese, the coast continued uninterruptedly in a southern direction as far as the Spanish possessions ;

That the numerous endeavours made before 1502 to find a strait leading to the Asiatic islands and countries, force upon impartial students of the history of maritime discovery the conviction that the navigators who first crossed the Atlantic Ocean, believed at a very early period in the existence to the west and north-west of Cuba, of a continent which was neither Cathay nor Asia.

All those facts present a source of geographical information, more or less crude, yet sufficient to account for the presence in Portuguese and Lusitano-Germanic maps, of that north-western continental land, without our being obliged to derive it from the account of the first transatlantic voyage of Americus Vespuccius.

[END OF PART SECOND.]

Part Third.

Cartographia Americana Vetustissima.

PART THIRD.

Cartographia Americana Vetustissima.

1461—1493—1536.

THE following lists of maps, charts, globes, and portolani, are divided into two parts. The first comprises cartographical documents the date of which is anterior to the discovery of the New World, accomplished by Christopher Columbus in 1492. The second embraces those which were constructed from 1493 until 1536.

We should perhaps have carried our descriptions to the year 1543, when Bartolomé Ferrelo, the pilot-major of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, returned from the expedition in the course of which he reached 43° north latitude, near Cape Orford in Vancouver, having thus nearly completed the periplus of the American continent; but the number of maps and globes for those seven additional years is relatively so considerable, that it would have enlarged the present work to excessive dimensions. We have preferred to leave the description of that class of cartographic monuments for a Third Section, which, if the sight of our eyes permit, we may write at some future time. The present lists, therefore, terminate with the great map of Alonso de Chaves, which constituted, in 1536, the *Padron Real*, and became the supreme authority for all Spanish navigators, by order of Charles V. Unfortunately, that map is lost; and we have been obliged to reconstruct it with the elements furnished by the analysis of Oviedo.

Strictly speaking, our cartography ought also to commence with the year 1493; but we have deemed it useful to mention, among the vast number of charts and atlases constructed before the return of Columbus, those which, directly or indirectly, may have exercised an influence on the cogitations of cosmographers during the last quarter of the fifteenth century, when meditating about the existence of transatlantic countries.

Nor did we limit our efforts to maps still existing. The cartographical documents which are lost deserve, likewise, to be cited or described, though it be only from incomplete mention scattered in various writings of the time. Their date, as well as the coasts which they delineated, enable the historian to link together elements serving to establish the origin and filiation of many important geographical data.

We are constrained to confess that there are in existence, so far as is known at the present day, for the twenty-five years which followed the discovery of America, no maps constructed out and out with information obtained by the cartographer, either *de visu*, or direct from original graphic notes. In other words, we possess no prototype of that time. Even the famous chart of Juan de la Cosa, although it is an autograph, and the work of the greatest Spanish pilot of the period, does not escape this defect in important particulars, as can be easily seen by the unintelligible names inscribed on the islands and coasts of the New World.

Pilots then already followed the method which has never ceased to be in use with nearly all map-makers. When in possession of a clear geographical outline, they assumed that it corresponded with existing configurations. Gradually, as they remarked in notes brought from transatlantic voyages new profiles and new names, they inserted them in their own general *padron*. This led to a sort of inlaid work, from which certain elements were eliminated, and others added. And as, in many instances, the map so prepared was entrusted by the pilot himself to copyists of foreign origin, chiefly Italians, who were not perfectly conversant with the language in which the nomenclature had been originally written, and whose merit consisted only in being good calligraphers or miniaturists, there crept into the map new errors, which the original informer could not, or did not care to correct. Cantino, Kunstmann No. 2, and Canerio, however invaluable in themselves, do not seem to be even maps of that secondary degree. They are mere copies of copies made by Italian artists, who probably possessed no scientific attainments, and accomplished their work very much as Baptista Agnese afterwards designed and calligraphed such a great number of atlases in Venice. But the maps which we have just named are the most ancient of that category which have reached us; and, as they in their turn became models, besides each exhibiting what may be termed progressive configurations, their importance is considerable for the present enquiry.

The characteristics of those maps impose on us the necessity, at this juncture, to examine the question of priority between the earliest specimens of the Lusitanian hydrography described in the following lists.

As we have already stated, there are still in European collections five manuscript charts of that kind, viz.: Cantino, Kunstmann Nos. 2 and 3, King, and Canerio. Neither in Spain or Portugal, in public or private archives or libraries, do they possess (with the exception of the planisphere of La Cosa) a single manuscript map, or globe, representing American configurations, which dates from the first fifteen years of the sixteenth century. We are bound, therefore, to limit our analysis to the above mentioned maps, which constitute, directly or indirectly, the origin of what we have termed the Lusitano-Germanic Cartography.

Those documents certainly proceed from different types; as we claim to have shown in the preceding chapters. Their data, which are more or less complete, seem also to belong to different epochs, though comprised within a few years. When one, for instance (Kunstmann No. 2), exhibits Brazilian configurations which are posterior to 1501, it omits a portion of the north coast of South America, which was nevertheless known to have been visited, explored, and described several years before. Another (Kunstmann No. 3) delineates the discoveries of Gaspar Corte-Real, the news of which reached Lisbon in the autumn of 1501, while it excludes altogether the West Indies. A third exhibits the coast of Brazil according to data brought by Gaspar de Lemos, or by Cabral, but imparts to its "Terra de Cuba," the form of an island, and omits the north-western continental region which is so conspicuous in Cantino and Canerio.

Differences of that importance, which are due to various causes, such as a desire to inscribe exclusively the Portuguese possessions in the New World; or to mark only parts visited by certain navigators; or, simply to lack of knowledge concerning new countries which were beyond the range of action of the mariners who furnished technical elements for making the maps, show that we must not interrogate the geographical ensemble to ascertain the date. Answers spring, so to speak, from some point in particular.

A touchstone of that character can be found, for instance, in the extent and nomenclature of the Brazilian coast. Those charts having been originally executed for Portuguese enquirers, must be considered as

containing all that was known of Brazil when they were made. This notion, if correct, yields, necessarily, elements of a controlling character, clear and positive, yet not absolute; as they permit us only to determine the time before which the map cannot have been designed, but not how long afterwards.

One of those tests is the following:

We notice in all the above-mentioned Lusitanian maps, with the exception of one which purposely omits the Brazilian nomenclature entirely, the "Baya de todos Sanctos." At first sight, this name would imply a date posterior to June 18, 1504, as that is the time when Vespuccius returned from his fourth voyage; in the account of which mention is first made, *by name*, of the "Bay of All-Saints." But since the Florentine navigator refers to his third expedition as being the one in course of which that bay was discovered and so named, the designation must have been known in Portugal during the month of September, 1502, when Vespuccius returned from his third voyage. It follows that all maps which inscribe on the coast of Brazil "A baya de todos Sanctos," or its equivalent in Latin or in Spanish, were, or may have been, designed after September 8, 1502, but not before.

There is, however, an exception, which we find in the Cantino chart. There the designation "A baya de todos Sanctos" is duly inscribed, but in a handwriting different to the rest, except for five other names placed in the same region, and which were certainly inserted simultaneously. Those six names are in the Portuguese language, which shows that they were added to the map before it left Portugal for Italy. Otherwise, we should have to assume that the interpolation was made after the map had been lodged in the Ferrara archives, since we know from Cantino's letter that it went direct from Lisbon to Genoa, at the close of October, 1502. But, in such a case, the additional names would be in Italian, and not in Portuguese; for, if we can readily understand why a map copied in Portugal should be written in the language of that country, although intended for an Italian, we do not very well see why, when once in his possession, cursory names or legends should be added in any other language than his own.

Vespuccius returned to Lisbon on the 8th of September in that year; and Cantino, who had not yet taken his departure from that city, hearing of the discoveries lately accomplished by his countrymen and his presence

in Lisbon, doubtless caused those new names, which belong to the successful voyage of 1501-1502, to be added.¹ We must, therefore, infer that the Cantino chart is older than the four other Lusitanian maps referred to.

When Cantino's cartographer made the map, he possessed no other Brazilian data than those which had been brought by Gaspar de Lemos in the summer of 1500, or by Cabral himself in July, 1501. But these embraced only the landfall, or Porto Seguro, a few miles further north. The description given by the discoverers indicated nevertheless a continuation of the coast southwardly, as a mere surmise, and not as the result of an actual exploration; since from Porto Seguro, after remaining only ten days in Brazil, they had darted off straight across the Atlantic for the Cape of Good Hope. It was this supposition which induced the cartographer of Cantino to extend the coast line a certain distance south of Porto Seguro. What shows the hypothetical character of the prolongation is the fact that the coast is made to trend eastward, whilst in reality it is the reverse. We also see that it was thus designed at the same time with the rest of the map, as there is no disconnection, or difference in the colouring. Further, had the cartographer been asked to continue the line after the map was made, he would have also inscribed the six additional names, which, on the contrary, are in a cursive and different handwriting.

In the other Portuguese charts which are now under examination, the coast south of Porto Seguro shows a continuous seaboard which, according to the scale inserted in those maps, covers not less than thirty degrees of latitude; one of these contains, on that coast line, twelve, and another thirteen names, not to be found in Cantino.

That coast, which in these Lusitanian maps exhibits mouths of rivers, large bays, extensive peninsulas, and the additional nomenclature just mentioned, all of which reveal the same easel and pen as the rest of the map, betray a production of a later epoch than the Cantino chart. Yet, the data themselves may come from the same source as the six extra names in the latter; that is, from the geographical information brought by Americus Vespuccius in September, 1502, since the Florentine navigator claims to have coasted during the third voyage, beyond 52° south latitude: "che ci troua'mo tanto alti, chel polo del meridione

¹ See the letters addressed on the subject by Alberto CANTINO to Hercules D'ESTE, Duke of Ferrara, in *Les voyages des Corte-Real au Nouveau Monde*, page 70, and doc. xxi.

cistaua alto fuora del nostro orizzonte ben 52. gradi." But the data can also have been derived from his fourth voyage, considering that Vespuccius on this occasion also ranged the coast south of Porto Seguro, at least 260 leagues: "et io correr la costa: et nauiga'mo piu inanzi 260. leghe." In such a case, the said Lusitanian maps could not have been made before September, 1504.

Unfortunately, we do not find in them any intrinsic evidence enabling the critic to decide which of those two dates, viz.: September, 1502, or September, 1504, must be assigned. All we can say is that, thus far, the two voyages made by Vespuccius under the Portuguese flag are the only transatlantic expeditions known which were calculated to supply those Lusitanian cartographers with the geographical information exhibited in the Brazilian regions. The voyages of Alfonso d'Albuquerque (1503), Francisco d'Almeida (1505), and of Tristram da Cunha (1506), cannot have yielded the necessary elements, as only a point of the coast of Brazil was touched by these commanders when on their way to Calicut. The other expeditions, like that of João da Nova (1501-1502), sailed direct from Portugal to the East Indies. As to the voyage of Christovão Jaquez, which, on the authority of De Cazal, was supposed to have been accomplished in 1503, Varnhagen has shown² that it is only of the year 1526.

Now, which of those three Portuguese maps, viz.: Kunstmann No. 2, Kuntsmann No. 3, or the King chart, was designed first? We have no means of ascertaining.

The King chart, owing to its comparative lack of American designations, might be considered the oldest, were it not for the fact that it exhibits precisely the same extent and form of coasts south of Porto Seguro, as Kunstmann No. 2; of which it is a mere outline. In reality, if the King chart sets forth there so few names, the paucity must not be ascribed so much to a want of knowledge, as to the little importance given to the New World by the cartographer, who has reserved for Africa³ and Asia, more details and a richer list. But Kunstmann No. 2 is the work of an artist who has Italianised certain portions of the nomenclature, or copied unconsciously Italian names and legends, which defect imparts to his map the inferiority of a second-hand production; whilst the King chart and Kunstmann No. 3 are absolutely Portuguese, and, on

² VARNHAGEN, *Primeiras negociações diplomaticas*, page 127.

³ The American continent contains only four names,

whilst there are two hundred and fifty-five from Tangiers to Melinde, in rounding the Cape of Good Hope. Dr. HAMY, *Notice sur une mappemonde portugaise*, p. 149.

that account, nearer the original. Therefore, we insert the latter before Kunstmann No. 2, and the King chart between the two. As to Canerio, the prolongation of the north-western continental region so far south as its 20° north latitude, places it after all the above-mentioned Lusitanian maps.

Our classification is necessarily of a relative character; nor can it ever be made absolute, owing to the fact that so many intervening maps are lost, without our being able to find traces which would permit critics to fix the date when those cartographical documents were originally framed, and to ascertain their primary configurations. More than five hundred charts have certainly been constructed, or copied, a great number of these with important changes and additions, between 1494 and 1504. The *Chronology of voyages westward* inserted at the end of the present work shows, for that space of time, at least one hundred ships crossing the Atlantic, and twice as many pilots engaged in conducting vessels to the newly-discovered regions. Every one of those mariners possessed several maps. But, as their charts have all disappeared, only broken and incomplete categories can be established. These categories, however, chiefly for the purpose of devising a practical classification, we have embodied into five types.

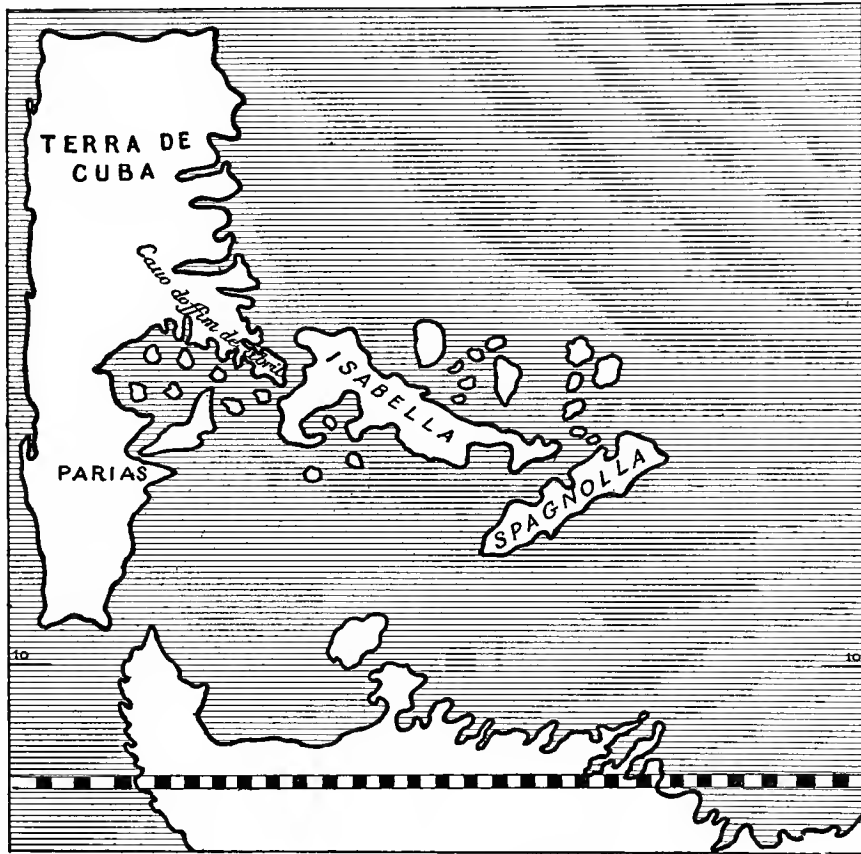
Limiting the elements of comparison to the profiles and names of the north-western continental region in the Portuguese and Lusitano-Germanic maps and globes constructed before the year 1520, the five types described in the preceding chapters are represented in our lists by the following specimens, viz.:

| FIRST TYPE. | SECOND TYPE. | THIRD TYPE. | FOURTH TYPE. | FIFTH TYPE. |
|-----------------|--------------|-------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| Kunstmann No. 2 | Cantino | Ruysch | Canerio | Stobnicza |
| King | | | Hauslab No. 1 | Waldseemüller |
| Lenox globe | | | Boulangier | <i>Margarita</i> map |
| Sylvanus | | | Nordenskiöld | ..... |
| | | | Hauslab No. 2 | ..... |
| | | | Schöner of 1515 | ..... |
| | | | Paris Green globe | ..... |
| | | | Schöner of 1520 | ..... |
| | | | Frankfort globe | ..... |
| | | | Apianus | ..... |

As our classification of the Lusitano-Germanic maps and globes is based upon the gradual extension southward of the north-western continental land, we should have created, perhaps, one more type; the place

of which would have been between the above Fourth and Fifth; thus making the latter, the Sixth and last Type.

Canerio, Hauslab No. 1, and Boulengier, depict the southern terminus of that north-western continental region by 20° north latitude. But the Schönerean globes, and the maps based upon the latter's data, carry it nearly nine degrees further in the direction of the equator.



SCHÖNER'S GLOBE OF 1520.

This new Fifth Type, therefore, would have comprised the following spheres and mappamundi :

| | |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| Nordenskiöld | Paris Green Globe |
| Hauslab No. 2 | Schöner of 1520 |
| Schöner of 1515 | Frankfort Globe |
| Apianus' Mappamundi | |

But we were apprehensive to complicate the subject by creating too many categories. Nor were we convinced that this new prolongation of the coast was not a devise of Schöner or of some other early German cartographer, who, identifying with the north-western continental land, both the American continent and the septentrional region discovered by Vespuccius, made room for the *Parias* country.

Kunstmann No. 3, is a map exclusively Portuguese, in so far as its delineations for the New World are made to embrace only the discoveries accomplished under the royal flag of Portugal; and as it contains no data relative to the West Indies, nor to Spanish voyages to the mainland, we omit it from the above divisions. Else we should have been compelled to create a special type for a map which is *suis generis*, so to speak, and never became the prototype of any chart or globe.

The same reason applies, in a great measure, to the Leonardo da Vinci gores, so called.

Nomenclatures are so important to ascertain the origin, filiation, and approximate dates of maps, that we have reproduced every name which occurs in the charts, portolani, mappamundi, and maps of all kinds which are described in the following *Cartographia Americana Vetustissima*. But those names are given only when they appear for the first time in that class of documents, so far as this class has reached us. The geographical index at the end of the work, will indicate the original chronicles or histories of the discovery of America where the same names are mentioned. Certain designations have been omitted from our lists, although frequently seen in charts of the time. The reason is that they were not intended to be strictly geographic, and are mere designatives used for a purpose, which is of no avail in the present enquiry. It is evident that when the cartographer or pilot inscribed on his sailing chart "here is a ledge of reefs," or "there are low lands," etc., he did not mean to create a geographical name. His only object was to mark certain peculiarities, exclusively for his own use or that of other pilots, and which in a general cartography convey no useful information. The original maps may have set forth several of those words with the addition of some term which rendered them entirely geographical; but, at the present time, the critic is generally unable in that respect to separate the grain from the chaff.

The isolated substantives or adjectives which we have excluded are chiefly the following :

| | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Arecifes</i> | or shoals. | <i>Martireno</i> | or sea-eels. |
| <i>Aguada</i> | , watering place. | <i>Matas</i> | , bushes. |
| <i>Ancon</i> | , small gulf. | <i>Montañas</i> | , mountains. |
| <i>Alacranes</i> | , crabs. | <i>Pescarias</i> | , fisheries. |
| <i>Arena</i> | , sands. | <i>Playa</i> | , beach. |
| <i>Baxa</i> | , low. | <i>Puerto</i> | , port. |
| <i>Baxos</i> | , reefs. | <i>Pequeña</i> | , small. |
| <i>Camarona</i> | , lobsters. | <i>Placel</i> | , sand bank. |
| <i>Culata</i> | , depression. | <i>Refugio</i> | , refuge. |
| <i>Costa tesa</i> | , abrupt coast. | <i>Reparo</i> | , reparation |
| <i>Costa</i> | , coast. | <i>Rescate</i> | , trade. |
| <i>Desconocida</i> | , unknown. | <i>Sarsales, or Zarsales</i> ... | , moors. |
| <i>Farralones</i> | , sand banks. | <i>Sierra alta</i> | , high mountain. |
| <i>Golfo</i> | , gulf. | <i>Sierras</i> | , mountains. |
| <i>Lago</i> | , lake. | <i>Salinas</i> | , salt pits |
| <i>Lucayos</i> | , keys. | <i>Tortugas</i> | , turtles. |
| <i>Laguna</i> | , lagoon. | <i>Terra anegada</i> | , land overflowed. |
| <i>Malabrigo</i> | , bad shelter. | <i>Terra llana</i> | , low land. |
| <i>Motas</i> | , hummocks | <i>Terra plana</i> | , , |
| <i>Medanos</i> | , downs. | <i>Terra bassa</i> | , , |

Cartography.

SECTION FIRST.—FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

1461.

NO. I. LAURANA'S MEDAL.



THE belief in the existence of another continent different from the three parts of the world then known, assumed various forms. The present, which we are unable to connect with any of the cosmographical notions set forth in the geographical treatises of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, is probably the most curious of all.

It is exhibited on the verso of a bronze medal giving the effigy of Charles IV. of Anjou, Count of Maine, and brother of René of Anjou, King of Sicily. That prince was born in 1414, and died in 1475. As to the medal, it was engraved by the celebrated Italian artist, Francesco

Laurana, and, in the opinion of Mr. Aloïss Heiss, about the time when he executed other medals for members of the family of René, in 1461. It is described by that learned numismatist as follows :

Recto :

“KAROLVS . CENOMANIE . COMES . FILIVS . FRATER . REGVM . ALVPNVS . REGIS . PATER . REGNI . PARDENTIA . CONSILIOQVE . KAROLO . VII . IMPERA . ANTE. Buste à droite coiffé d'un bonnet, revêtu d'un hoqueton avec collet fourré:—CHARLES, COUNT OF MAINE, SON AND BROTHER OF KINGS, WARD OF THE KING, THE FATHER OF THE COUNTRY, BY HIS PRUDENCE AND COUNSEL, CHARLES VII. BEING ON THE THRONE. The bust on the recto bears a cap; is dressed in a cassock without sleeves, with a fur collar.”

Verso :

“FRANCISCVS . LAVRANA . FECIT. Une mappemonde entourée d'eau, avec une tête de vent à chacun des points cardinaux; les différentes parties du monde sont distinguées par les mots EVROPA . ASIA . AFRICA . BRVMÆ. Bronze. Diamètre 70 mm.:—EXECUTED BY FRANCESCO LAURANA. A mappamundi surrounded by water, with an Eolian head at each of the four cardinal points. The different parts of the world are severally denominated: EVROPA . ASIA . AFRICA . BRVMÆ. Bronze. Diameter 70 millimeters.”¹

That curious medal, of which there is only one specimen known to exist, is preserved in the Numismatic Department of the Paris National Library, and was recently acquired at a public sale.

It is worthy of notice that the prince in honour of whom the medal was engraved is the grandson of René, in whose service Christopher Columbus claimed to have been; and the uncle of René, Duke of Lorraine, under whose patronage Waldseemüller wrote the *Cosmographiæ introductio* and designed the maps for the Ptolemy of 1513.

Those Anjou princes, like the dukes of Ferrara, all showed a taste for geography. Not only had King René caused several mappamundi to be painted on the walls of his residence at Angers and Chanzé, but Antonio Marcello presented to him the Latin translation of Strabo which Guarino of Verona had recently completed. It was to his son John, Duke of Calabria, that Antoine de la Salle dedicated the strange historico-geographical work quaintly entitled *La Salade*,² containing a curious mappamundi, which, however, does not exhibit *Brumæ*, or “The Foggy Continent.” As to René II., we have already recalled his zeal for the science of cosmography.

¹ Aloïss HEISS, *Les médailleurs de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1882, folio; Alfred ARMAND, *Les médailleurs italiens des quinzième et seizième siècles*; Paris, 1883,

8vo, Vol. I., page 40. Our facsimile is a “frotti,” or pencil rubbing, kindly furnished us by Mr. HEISS.

² *Bibliotheca Americana Vetust.*, Additions, No. 66.

1463.

No. 2. GRACIOZO BENINCASA.

Map of the Atlantic Ocean, taken from the atlas executed by Gracioso Benincasa of Ancona in the year 1463.

“This map is remarkable because it has in the latitude of Spain *the Island of ‘Antilia,’* nearly as large as Portugal, and two other large islands to the west and north of it, named ‘Rosellia’ and ‘Salvaga,’ which islands appear in the same or a somewhat varying manner and shape on many other maps, and may be considered as *the first indication of larger countries to be found to the west of Europe.*”—KOHL.³

It is to be regretted that no mention should have been made of the library where the above atlas is to be found at the present day, or where Kohl has copied the map. The only atlas of Gracioso Benincasa reported to have been designed in 1463, is the one which was sold with the library of Matteo Pinelli at London in 1789.⁴

Zurla⁵ and Santarem⁶ also mentioned that atlas, but not *de visu*. Both derived their information from Morelli. We accept, of course, Kohl's description and facsimile as absolutely authentic; regretting only that we are unable to see the original, as further elements of discussion might perhaps be derived from some other parts of the map. Meanwhile, it must be said that the representation of what has been justly termed the “Fantastic islands of the Atlantic Ocean in the Middle Ages,” particularly the Antilia, differs here from its appearance in other maps of the time. In the present map, for instance, not only is the Antilia of considerable dimensions, but it assumes the shape of a parallelogram, and bears seven names, besides the general one, viz.:

| | |
|---------|---------|
| Anna | Ansetti |
| Antioul | Ansolli |
| Anselli | Ansoldi |

Cori

That configuration and its nomenclature are no longer to be found in the maps which Gracioso Benincasa designed in 1466, 1467,⁷ and 1471.⁸

³ *Report upon the United States Geographical Surveys west of the one hundredth meridian*; Washington, 1889, 4to, Vol. I., p. 498, with a facsimile.

⁴ “Carte Nautiche quattro desegnate da Gracioso Benincasa Anconitano in Venezia, l'anno 1463; in *picciolo.*” MORELLI'S Pinelli Catalogue, Vol. V., page 101, No. 3905.

⁵ ZURLA, *Di Marco Polo*, Vol. II., page 351.

⁶ SANTAREM, *Essai sur l'histoire de la Cosmographie*, Vol. I., p. xlii.

⁷ Paris National Library, Geogr. Department, and a dateless as well as anonymous one lately purchased, and preserved in the MS. Department.

⁸ SANTAREM, Atlas, plates 48-50.

But we may well imagine how such an important delineation may have strengthened the belief in the existence of transatlantic lands, and prompted so many maritime efforts westward.

The fact is that the numerous attempts which we have described,⁹ as well as the theories of mariners, were not due so much to ratiocination of an abstract character, fables, or legends, as to the graphic description of those islands to be seen in charts, since, at least, the second half of the fourteenth century.¹⁰ But the notion became more general when the Antilia commenced to figure in portolani, towards 1424.¹¹ All those isles, with their fanciful names and localities, were certainly believed by every pilot and sailor to be positively existing.

The Portuguese derived their credence on the subject from the map which Dom Pedro, the son of João I., brought from Italy in 1428. Toscanelli goes even so far as to mark, in his chart of 1474, the islands and countries where navigators crossing the Atlantic may find a refuge in case of bad weather. Martin Alonso Pinzon claimed to have seen depicted on one of the Vatican maps¹² the transatlantic regions which he afterwards discovered in company with Christopher Columbus. We could mention a number of other instances, but these are sufficient to authorise the insertion in the present Cartography of Benincasa's map.

1474.

No. 3. TOSCANELLI.

Map made by Paol del Pozzo Toscanelli († 1482), and sent by him to Affonso V., King of Portugal, June 25, 1474.

“Mito ergo sue Maiestati cartam manibus meis factam in qua designantur litora vestra et insule ex quibus incipiat iter facere versus occasum senper. . . .¹³—I send to His Majesty a map which I have designed with my own hands, and on which I have marked the coasts and islands which may serve to you as a starting point when you undertake that navigation, in steering always westward.”

⁹ *Supra*, Book Third, chapter i., p. 51; and *Les Précurseurs*, in *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. I., pp. 307-329.

¹⁰ Medicean Atlas of 1351: BALDELLI, *Del Portulano mediceo*, in his *Storia del Milione*, pp. cliij.-clxxij., and map 5 of the atlas.

¹¹ “L'île Antilia, que l'on voit dessinée sur une carte conservée dans la bibliothèque grand-ducale de Weimar,

et qui fut composée en 1424 par un cosmographe anconitain dont le nom est effacé.” D'AVEZAC, *Iles de l'Afrique*, p. 24.

¹² *Infra*, No. 8.

¹³ Original Latin text of TOSCANELLI'S letter to Fernam MARTINS, *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, *Addit.*, p. xvi. Concerning that letter, see *infra*, p. 381.

BEFORE 1484.

No. 4. TOSCANELLI.

Duplicate of the above mentioned map sent by Toscanelli, with a letter, to Christopher Columbus: "Copia misa christofaro colonbo [*sic*] cvm vna carta navigacionis."

This map was crossed with longitudinal lines indicating the distances from east to west, and with horizontal ones showing the distances from north to south. The interval between those lines was called a "space," and each space measured from east to west 250 Italian miles.¹⁴

From Lisbon to the city of Quinsay there were 26 such spaces, which 26 spaces represented, in the opinion of Toscanelli, about one-third of the surface of the entire globe.¹⁵

On that map were marked, adjoining the coast of Portugal, islands which we assume to have been the Azores, and, west of the same, that is, on the opposite shores of the Atlantic Ocean, the province of Mango, near Cathay, and the Empire of the Great Khan, the extremity of which bore the name of Zaitam.

Nearly in the middle of the Atlantic, was the imaginary Antilla island, 10 spaces distant from the island of Cipango.¹⁶

Finally, the map stated "how much it was necessary to deviate from the pole and from the equinoctial line."

This primitive and original chart was in the possession of Las Casas when he wrote his History of the Indies,¹⁷ and apparently until the time of his death, which occurred in 1566. It doubtless belonged originally to the library of Fernando Columbus; and we are of opinion that it was given to Las Casas by the Dominican friars, who were yet in charge of that library as residuary legatees, when he was ordained bishop in their monastery of San Pablo, at Seville, in 1544.

There is a minute description of the map in Book I., chapter L., of Las Casas' *Historia General de las Indias*, to which we refer the reader.

¹⁴ The Italian mile was equal to 1481 meters. The early Spanish navigators considered the nautical league as equal to four miles: "Volunt lequam Hispani millia passuum quatuor continere mari præsertim: terra verò, tria." ANGHIERA, *Decad. II.*, cap. x., p. 174.

¹⁵ LAS CASAS says: "Tenia en circuito 2,400 millas, que son 600 leguas," *Historia General*, lib. i., cap. l., Vol. I., p. 360.

¹⁶ It would prove useful to compare the above figures

with those which are to be found in a manuscript of TOSCANELLI (Florence National Library, *Codice Magliabechiano*, Class XI., No. 121) which we have examined on the indications furnished us by Dr. Gustavo UZIELLI. See his interesting paper, *Della grandezza della terra secondo Paolo del Pozzo Toscanelli*, Roma, 1873, 8vo.

¹⁷ "La carte de marear que le inviò, yo, que esta historia escribo tengo en mi poder." LAS CASAS, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I., pp. 96, 316, and 360.

But if the map itself is irretrievably lost, we still have the letter which Toscanelli sent to Columbus at the same time. It is to be found among the manuscript annotations added by the great Genoese to the few books which he possessed, and are now preserved¹⁸ in the Colombina Library, where they have been an object of curiosity for three centuries,¹⁹ without anyone suspecting until May 8, 1871, that they contain the original Latin text of Toscanelli's important epistle, theretofore supposed to have been originally written in Italian.²⁰

That letter is so inseparable from the geographical data which led to the discovery of the New World; it has played so great a part in the evolution of American cartography in its incipient stage, and it serves in such a high degree to comprehend the lost map of Toscanelli, that we feel constrained to reproduce it in connection with the present chapter.

As the reader is aware, Columbus wrote a letter to Toscanelli, which is lost. We know, however, that it was a request for information concerning the "Land of Spice," which he thought possible to reach direct from Europe by sea. Judging from the Florentine's reply, Columbus desired more particularly to ascertain what route he should take, the distance to sail over, the stations on the way, landfalls and landing places.

Toscanelli replied²¹ by sending him the above-mentioned map, together with a copy of a letter which he had formerly addressed to Fernam Martins, the chaplain of the King of Portugal, in answer to just such a request.

The letter written to Martins was dated from Florence, June 25, 1474, but Columbus only received communication of it years afterwards. In the note accompanying the package, Toscanelli says that the original letter had been written: "antes de las guerras de Castilla:—before the wars in Castile." Consequently the copy was sent after September 24, 1479, when the treaty of peace between Spain and Portugal was signed.²²

That letter was translated into Spanish probably by Fernando Columbus when engaged writing the Life of his father. That translation

¹⁸ It is transcribed in the own handwriting of Christopher COLUMBUS on the fly-leaf of the edition of the *Historia rerum ubique gestarum* of Æneas Silvius (PICCOLOMINI), printed at Venice in 1477 by JOHANN of Cologne and MANTHEN of Gernsheim. See *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, Additions, pp. xv.-xviii.

¹⁹ *Christophe Colomb, son origine, ses voyages, sa famille, et ses descendants*, Vol. I., p. 129.

²⁰ "Mr. H. H. . . . Yo conocia hace años el testo latino de la carta de Toscanelli, pero no le daba importancia, creyendo que el original era el italiano. V. le ha

dado gran interés y nos ha sacado de nuestro error, por lo que le deben estar agradecidos los aficionados. . . .—José M. FERNANDEZ Y VELASCO; Bibliotecario Mayor de la Biblioteca Colombina. Sevilla, dic. 23. 73." Cf. the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, for November 1874, pp. 525-526.

²¹ For an earlier version, in Spanish, of Toscanelli's letter to Columbus, see LAS CASAS, *Historia de las Indias*, lib. i., cap. ii., Vol. I., p. 92.

²² BERNALDEZ, *Historia de los Reyes Catolicos*, chap. xli., Vol. I., p. 119.

has been inserted by Las Casas in his *Historia General de las Indias*, but it is far from being literal. Certain geographical descriptions, borrowed apparently from Toscanelli's map, explanations which are regular commentaries, and personal details, of which we do not know the source, have been intercalated. Several passages are also inserted not in their proper place. It follows, that the critic can no longer remain satisfied with the Italian version first published in the *Historie* in 1571, and which was the only one known, until the Spanish translation from which it had been taken was printed with Las Casas' work in 1875. Nor is the latter version any more satisfactory, as it contains the same defects.

The original Latin text of that letter is as follows :

*"Copia misa christofaro colonbo per paulum
fiscum cum vna carta nauigacionis.*

Ferdinando martini canonico vlixiponensi paulus phisicus salutem. a [de?] 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 nauigacionem 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 vt est mundus tamen determinauit, pro faciliiori intelligencia ac etiam pro faciliiori opera, ostendere, viam illam per quam carte nauigacionis fiunt illud declarare. Mito ergo sue Maiestati cartam manibus meis factam in qua designantur litora vestra et insule ex quibus incipiatis iter facere versus 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 peruenire ad loca fertilissima omnium aromatum et gemarum, et non miremini si voco occidentales partes vbi sunt aromata cum

*"Copy sent to Christopher Colonbo by Paul the
physician, with a nautical chart.*

To Ferdinand Martins, a canon in Lisbon, Paul the physician, greeting :

I have learnt with pleasure that your health is good, and that you are on terms of intimacy with your very generous and very magnificent sovereign. On a previous occasion I have spoken to you of a sea route to the land of spice, shorter than the one which you [*i. e.*, the Portuguese] take by the way of Guinea. That is the reason why the Most Serene King²³ asks of me to-day information on the subject, or, rather, an explanation sufficiently clear to enable men, even but little learned, to understand the existence of such a route. Although I know that it is a consequence of the spherical form of the earth, I have decided, nevertheless, so as to be better understood and to facilitate the enterprise, to demonstrate in constructing a nautical chart that the said route is proved to exist. I therefore send to His Majesty a map which has been drawn with my own hands, and on which are marked your coasts and the islands which may be taken as a starting point, when you undertake the voyage, by steering constantly towards the west.²⁴ You will also find thereon the indi-

²³ AFFONSO V., surnamed "The African," ✠ 1481.

²⁴ LAS CASAS here (Vol. I., p. 93) makes the following interpolation: "en la cual esta pintado todo el fin del

Poniente, tornando desde Irlanda al Austro hasta el fin de Guinea . . . con las islas." These details may be added to his description of the map.

communiter dicantur orientales, quia nauigantibus ad occidentem semper ille partes inueniuntur per subterraneas nauigaciones. Si enim per terram et per superiora itinera, ad orientem semper* reperirentur† linee ergo recte in longitudine carte signate ostendunt distanciam ab orientem ‡ versus occidentem, que autem transuerse 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 uenirent; partim§ autem ut ostendant incolis ipsos habere noticiam aliquam patrie illius, quod debet esse iocundum satis. non considant|| autem in insulis nisi mercatores aserit.¶ ibi enim tanta copia nauigancium est cum mercimoniis ut in toto reliquo orbe non sint sicuti in vno portu nobilissimo vocato zaiton.** aserunt enim centum naues piperis magne in eo portu singulis annis deferri, sine aliis nauibus portantibus alia aromata. patria illa est populatissima ditissima multitudine prouinciarum et regnorum et ciuitatum sine numero, sub vno principe qui dicitur magnus Kan quod nomen significat in latino rex regum, cuius sedes et residencia est ut plurimum in prouincia Katay. antiqui sui desiderabant consorcium christianorum iam sunt .200. anni, †† miscerunt ‡‡ ad papam et postulabant plurimos dotos in fide ut illuminarentur; sed qui missi sunt, inpediti in itinere §§ redierunt. etiam tempore Eugenii²⁵ venit vnus ad eugenium qui de beniuolentia magna erga

uation of the countries which you must fall in with; how much you will have to deviate from the pole, and from the equinoctial line; and finally, the space, that is to say, the number of leagues you have to sail over to reach the country, which is so rich in spice and precious stones of all sorts. Do not be surprised if I call the country of spices a *western* country, whilst it is the custom to call it *eastern*. The reason is that in making the voyage by sea, in the hemisphere which is opposite our own, that country will always be found on the west side. If, on the contrary, the land route is adopted, in crossing the higher hemisphere it will always be found in the east. The longitudinal lines traced on the map show the distance from east to west; the horizontal ones show the distance from south to north. I have also marked, for the use of navigators, several countries where you may touch in case contrary winds or some accident should drive mariners to some other coast than the one intended. I wanted to enable them to show the aborigines that we were not without possessing some knowledge of their country, which must please them. Only merchants, as we are informed, settle in those islands; for there is such a great concourse of navigators with goods that the port of Zaiton alone, which is famous, contains a greater number of them than all the rest of the world together. It is asserted that every year one hundred large vessels, loaded with pepper, arrive in that port; without speaking of the other ships which bring different kinds of spice. That country is very much peopled, and very rich. It is composed of a multitude of provinces, kingdoms, and innumerable cities, all of which are under the sway of a single prince, called "The Grand Khan." That title means, in Latin, "The King of Kings." His residence is mostly in the province of Cathay. His an-

* Legas, Lege, Legito?

† Read *reperientur*.

‡ Oriente.

§ Partim.

|| Considant.

¶ Aseritur?

** MARCO POLO, cap. 105.

†† In the original we read *annis*.

‡‡ *Sic pro miserunt*.

§§ MARCO POLO, prologue.

²⁵ Necessarily Pope EUGENE IV. (1431-1447), and not Pope EUGENE III., mentioned by MARCO POLO, ch. 55.

christianos afirmabat et ego secum longo sermone locutus sum de multis, de magnitudine edificiorum regalium et de magnitudie fluium * in latitudine et longitudine mirabili et de multitudine ciuitatum in ripis fluium,† vt in vno flumine .200. circiter ciuitates siut constitute, et pontes marmorei magne latitudinis et longitudinis vndique colonpnis ornati. hec patria digna est vt per latinis 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 philosophos et astrologos peritos et quibus ingeniis et artibus ita potens et magnifica prouincia gubernentur ‡ ac etiam bella conducant. hec pro aliquantula satisfactione ad suam petitionem, quantum breuitas temporis dedit et occupationes mee conceperunt,|| paratus in futurum regie maiestati quantum volet latius satisfacere. *data florencie 25 iunii 1474.*

A ciuitate vlixiponis per occidentem in directo sunt .26. spacia § in carta signata quorum quadlibet habet miliaria .250. vsque ad nobilissim[am] ex maximam ciuitatem quinsay. circuit²⁶ 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 re ditibus. hoc spacium est fere tercia pars tocius spere, que ciuitas est in prouincia mangi, siue vicina prouincie Katay ¶ in qua residencia terre regia est. Sed ab insula antilia vobis nota ad insu-

* Fluminum.

† Fluminum.

‡ Gubernetur.

§ Concesserunt.

|| It is the interval marked in BEHAIM's globe.

¶ MARCO POLO, cap. 98.

²⁶ Nicolo DI CONTI says only: "Quinsai, ha trenta miglia di circuito," although he adds, "et piu populata dell' altre."—RAMUSIO, Vol. I., f. 340, F.

²⁷ See the relation of N. CONTI in *Poggii Bracciolini*

cestors being desirous to have intercourse with the Christians sent, two hundred years ago, an embassy to the Pope to obtain doctors in theology to teach them the Catholic religion; but the envoys were prevented from continuing their route, and returned home. In the time of Eugene,²⁷ one of them visited the Pope, and assured him that his countrymen entertained very good feelings towards Christians. I have conversed with him a great deal on all topics. He spoke to me of the large size of the royal palaces; of the prodigious extent of rivers in breadth and length; of the multitude of cities built on their banks (nearly two hundred towns were on the banks of a single river): finally, of marble bridges very wide and very long, adorned with a double row of columns. That country deserves to be sought after by the Latins, not only because enormous wealth can be acquired there, in gold, in silver, in precious stones of all kinds, and in certain sorts of spice which never reach our country, but on account of the scholars, philosophers, and learned astrologers (from India), who may teach us by what means a province so powerful and so magnificent is governed, and their manner of waging war.

Let these short details suffice to satisfy, in a measure, the King who asked for information. My occupations, which absorb my entire time, do not allow me to speak more at length. But, later on, I shall be disposed to comply with the desires of His Royal Majesty as extensively as he may wish.

Given at Florence, on the 25th of June, 1474.

From the city of Lisbon, towards the west, in a direct line, there are twenty-six spaces (of 250 miles each) marked on the map as far as the famous and very large city of Quinsay. The circumference of that city is 100 miles. It possesses ten bridges, and its name means

Florent. Historie de varietate fortunæ; Paris, 1723, 4to, lib. iv. Also YULE, *Cathay and the way thither*; London, 1866, p. cxxxviii; and CORDIER, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, Vol. I.

lam nobilissimam cippangu sunt decem spacia.* est enim illa insula fertilissima aur[o] margaritis et gemmis, et auro solido cooperiunt tenpla et domos regias, itaque per ygnota itinera non magna maris spacia transeundum. multa fortasse essent aperitus† declaranda, sed diligens considerator per hec poterit ex se ipso reliqua prospicere. vale dilectissime.

* The *Historie* (f^o. 18) make here the following interpolation: "che fanno due mila et cinquecento miglia, cioè dugento, et venticinque leghi."

† Apertius.

‡ CONTI here says: "Piu oltre di questa provincia di Mangi, se ne troua vn' altra che é la miglior di tutte l'altre del mondo nominata il Cataio, . . . et la pincipal città, et la piu nobil si chiama Cambalu . . . nella quale è posto il palazzo del Re." *Viaggio di Nicolo di Conti, scritto por Messer Poggio*; in RAMUSIO, *ubi supra*.

"The City of the Heavens." They relate marvellous things relative to the multitude of objects [of art?] found there, and the amount of its revenues. That space is about one-third of the entire globe.‡ The city is in the province of Mango, near that of Cathay, in which is the royal residence. From the Antilia island, which you know, to the famous island of Cippango there are ten spaces. That island yields quantities of gold, pearls, and precious stones. The temples and palaces of the King are inlaid with plates of gold. It will not be necessary, therefore, to cross very extensive spaces over the sea on an unknown route. Perhaps I should have given more minute details on many things, but a careful observer can, of himself, supply much of what may be wanting. Good-bye, Dearest."

That important letter must not be considered simply as a familiar communication of which Toscanelli had kept a copy for ten years or more. It was evidently based upon some scientific paper, which embodied notions shared by a certain class of thinkers in quarters where the problems of Cosmography were frequently mooted, and whose writings have not all come down to us. We are even justified in supposing that the idea of the existence of transatlantic lands which could be easily reached by steering westward, had been the subject of conversations in the Italian cities. This is shown by the fact, reported in the first chapter of the present work,²⁸ that the Duke of Ferrara viewed the discovery accomplished by Columbus as a confirmation of the ideas advanced by Toscanelli; and in 1494, requested his ambassador at Florence to institute researches among the papers of the Florentine astronomer, then in the possession of his nephew Ludovico, and to secure any note or writing on the subject. It would certainly be a strange circumstance that Hercules d'Este should have known at such an early date of Toscanelli's geographical theories, if they had not been discussed ever since 1474. It will soon be shown, moreover, that those ideas were not confined to Florence or to Ferrara. We insert in the following pages an elaborate letter from a Nuremberg savant, who, not knowing yet that Columbus had carried the project into execution, proposed it to the King of Portugal;

²⁸ *Supra*, pages 2 and 3.

and precisely with the same reasons which are set forth in the above epistle of Toscanelli. Documents of that kind may yet come to light in the archives of Italy and Germany, showing that the human mind had advanced step by step to that great conception, and was ripe for its accomplishment in 1492; even if mere chance,—as with Cabral's discovery of Brazil seven years later,—did not reserve it for a lucky gust of the east wind.²⁹

No. 5. COLUMBUS' GLOBE.

Globe which Christopher Columbus sent to Toscanelli through Lorenzo Girardi, from Lisbon, together with the letter requesting from the Florentine astronomer information as to the means to reach Cathay by the west: "Acordó de escribir al dicho Marco Paulo [*sic*] fisico, y envióle una esfera, tomando por medio á un Lorenzo Birardo [*sic*]." ³⁰ The *Historie* ³¹ write the latter name correctly, and add that the globe was a small one:

"Col mezo d'un Lorenzo Girardi Fiorentino, che era in Lisbona e gli mandó una picciola sfera:—By the channel of one Lorenzo Girardi, a Florentine, who was in Lisbon and sent him a small sphere."

No. 6. BARTHOLOMEW COLUMBUS.

Maps which, according to the Chancellor Antonio Gallo, Bartholomew Columbus made in Lisbon, as a professional cartographer:

"Sed Bartholomæus minor natus in Lusitania demum Ulyssiponæ constitit, ubi intentus quætsui tabellis pingendis operam dedit, queis ad usum Nauticum justis illineationibus, et proportionibus servatis maria, portus, littora, sinus, insulæ effigiantur:—Bartholomew Columbus, the younger brother of Christopher, having settled in Portugal, and ultimately at Lisbon, devoted himself to making charts for the use of mariners, which depicted with exactness the seas, harbours, coasts, gulfs, and islands."³²

²⁹ The discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Bartholomeu DIAZ in 1486, prompted JOÃO II., the King of Portugal, to send several expeditions to the Indian seas by the new route; and it was for one of those voyages that Vasco DA GAMA prepared sailing directions, in which he warned CABRAL to avoid certain trade winds from the south-east, and the calms which prevailed in the Gulf of Guinea. These instructions led CABRAL to lean further to the west; and the equatorial currents

which he did not suspect, carried him unawares to Brazil, March 22 or 24, 1500.

³⁰ LAS CASAS, *op. cit.*, lib. i., cap. xii., Volume I., page 92.

³¹ *Historie del S. D. Fernando Colombo*, cap. vii., fo. 15, verso. Concerning GIRARDI, see *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. I., pp. 128, 298, 303, 304.

³² GALLO, *De Navigatione Columbi*, in MURATORI, *Ital. Script.*, Vol. XXIII., col. 302.

Las Casas, who possessed many specimens of the cartographical skill of the two brothers, says that, as a map and globe-maker, Bartholomew was superior to Christopher :

“En mi poder están muchas cosas de las manos de ambos . . . en hacer ó pintar cartas de navegar, y esferas . . . presumo que en algunas cosa destas le excedia :³³—I have in my possession many things in the handwriting of both . . . and as regards making or painting nautical charts and spheres . . . I think that in some of these [Bartholomew] was the most skilful of the two.”

We may fairly suppose that some of those maps set forth either his own or his brother's notions about transatlantic lands, considering that, according to Antonio Gallo, already quoted :

“Si quis Æthiopum meridionalibus littoribus relictis in pelagus ad manum dexteram Occidentem versus cursum dirigeret, ut is procul dubio continentem terram aliquando obviam esset habiturus :—He demonstrated to Christopher that by starting from the south coast of Ethiopia, and steering westward on the right in the open sea, a continent would certainly be reached.”³⁴

1488.

No. 7. BARTHOLOMEW COLUMBUS.

Map of the world made in London by Bartholomew Columbus for Henry VII. According to Las Casas,³⁵ who seems to mention it *de visu*, as he speaks of a certain portion of the epigraph as being badly written, incorrectly spelled, and illegible: “de muy mala é corrupta letra y sin ortografia, y parte dellos que no pude leer,” the map contained the following verses :

Terrarum quicumque cupis atque æquoris oras
Noscere: cuncta decens hæc te pictura docebit.
Quan [*sic*] probat et Strabo, Ptholomeus, Plinius atque
Isidorus, non una tamen sententia queis est.

Hic etiam nuper sulcata carinis :
Hispania [*sic*] Zona illa prius incognita genti
Torrída : quæ tandem nunc est notissima multis.

³³ LAS CASAS, *Historia*, lib. i., cap. xxix., Vol. I., p. 224, and cap. ci., Vol. II., p. 80.

³⁴ GALLO, *loc. cit.*

³⁵ LAS CASAS, *Historia*, lib. i., cap. xxix., Vol. I., page 225. We copy literally the poor text of the Madrid edition.

Pro authore seu pictore.

Gennua cui patria est, nomen cui Bartholomeus
Columbus de terra rubea : opus edidit istud
Londonijs : anno domini millesimo quatercentesimo octiesque uno
Atque insuper anno octavo : decimaque die mensis Februarii.
Laudes Christo cantentur abunde.

The version of that piece of indifferent poetry, as given by the *Historie*,³⁶ is somewhat different. It was composed of two parts, the first of which being as follows :

Terrarum quicumque cupis feliciter oras
Noscere, cuncta decens doctè pictura docebit,
Quam Strabo affirmat, Ptolemaeus, Plinius, atque
Isidorus : non vna tamen sententia quisque.
Pingitur hic etiam nuper sulcata carinis.
Hispanis Zona illa, prius incognita genti,
Torrida, quæ tandem nunc est notissima multis.

Then, a little lower :

Pro auctore, siue pictore.

Ianua cui patriæ [*sic*] est nomen, cui Bartholomæus
Columbus de Terra rubra opus edidit istud
Londoniis Anno Domini 1480, atque insuper anno
Octauo, decimaque die cum tertia mensis
Februarij. Laudes Christo cantentur abunde.

“Whomsoever you may be, who desires to know the earth and the seas, this picture will give you the detail thereof in full ; which has already been related by Strabo, Ptolemy, Pliny, and Isidor [of Seville]. Yet their information differs. Here is represented the torrid zone recently navigated by the Spanish [*sic*]³⁷ vessels, until then unknown, and now well known.

“As to the author or painter, Genoa is his native country, his name is Bartholomew Columbus of Terra Rubra ; he has executed this work at London, in the year of our Lord 1480, and, besides, the year 8, and the tenth day, with the 3d of the month of February.”

That is, for those who are not compelled to distort words in order to construct poor verse : “On the 13th day of the month of February, 1488.”

³⁶ *Historie*, cap. xi., f^o 31, verso. We take our text for the second series of verses from the table of *errata* in the edition of 1571.

³⁷ This is evidently an allusion to the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope which Bartholomeu DIAZ had recently accomplished (August, 1486—December, 1487),

after crossing the torrid zone, then supposed to extend throughout the ocean (SANTAREM, *Hist. de la Cosmographie au moyen âge*, Vol. III., p. 212). But DIAZ sailed under the Portuguese flag, and the Spaniards had nothing whatever to do with this or any other similar expedition during the fifteenth century.

The reader will notice that not only the wording of the *Historie* differs somewhat from that of Las Casas,—which should not be the case if both had copied the original document,—but Las Casas assigns the date of February 10th: “decimaque die mensis Februarii,” instead of February 13th: “decimaque die cum tertia mensis Februarii.” Nor are we certain that their 1488 is not 1489, new style.

Neither Las Casas nor the *Historie* give any description of the map, and the above is all that we know concerning it. What is said on the subject, or relative to the presence of Bartholomew Columbus in London, by Hakluyt,³⁸ Bacon,³⁹ Purchas,⁴⁰ and Herrera,⁴¹ was entirely borrowed from the *Historie*.

The offer made to England is confirmed by Christopher Columbus himself,⁴² by Alessandro Geraldini,⁴³ and by Oviedo⁴⁴; but the original English documents, thus far, have yielded no information whatever on that point.

Bartholomew Columbus very probably made maps whilst living in France. He says himself that when his brother returned to Spain in 1493 the latter sent for him, being then living with “Madama de Bourbon,”⁴⁵ who was either Anne de Beaujeu, or Jeanne, the widow of Louis de Bourbon,⁴⁶ the admiral.

1491.

No. 8. ROME MAP.

Map consulted at Rome in 1491 by Martin Alonso Pinzon, and said to have contained indications concerning transatlantic lands.

The assertion rests chiefly on the testimony given by Arias Perez Pinzon, son of Martin Alonso, before the Fiscal at Seville in 1513. It is as follows :

³⁸ HAKLUYT, *The Principall Navigations*, ed. of 1589.

³⁹ BACON, *Historie of the raigne of King Henry the Seventh*, edition of 1622, p. 189.

⁴⁰ PURCHAS, *Pilgrimes*, edition of 1625, Part III.

⁴¹ HERRERA, *Decad. I.*, lib. i., cap. vii., p. 11; lib. ii., cap. xv., p. 58.

⁴² NAVARRETE, *Vol. II.*, page 254.

⁴³ GERALDINI, *Itinerarium ad regiones sub æquinoc-tiali plaga constitutas*, page 203.

⁴⁴ OVIEDO, *Historia General*, lib. i., cap. iv., Vol. I., page 18.

⁴⁵ *Coleccion de documentos ineditos para la Historia de España*, Vol. XVI., 1850, pp. 551, 559.

⁴⁶ *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. II., pp. 194-196.

“Estaba este testigo en Roma con mercaderías de su padre, é que fuè el dicho su padre á Roma aquel dicho su padre estando un día en la librería del Papa, allende de otras muchas veces que había estado por razón de mucho conocimiento que tenía con un familiar, criado del Papa, que era grande cosmógrafo y tenía muchas y largas escrituras, y allí las enseñó, platicando muchas veces el dicho su padre y este testigo con el suso dicho criado del Papa en las cosas con el mappamundo, allí fuè informado el dicho su padre y este testigo de estas tierras que estaban por descubrir, e juntamente con mucha industria é saber en las cosas de la mar él tenía, dijo muchas veces a este testigo como andaba é quería armar dos navíos é ir a descubrir estas tierras . . .”⁴⁷

“Witness and his father were at Rome, with merchandize, the year before the latter sailed on the voyage of discovery. Being one day in the Pope’s library, where his father had often been owing to his intimate acquaintance with one of the attendants of the Pope, that attendant, who was a great cosmographer and owned many extensive manuscripts, conveyed information to them there in the course of numerous conversations and by means of a mappamundi. Thus were they made aware that there existed lands yet to be discovered, and with much skill and science in maritime matters [the said person] told witness frequently how he should equip two vessels, to go and discover those lands.”

In executing the Rogatory Commission sent to Palos nearly twenty years afterwards, November 1, 1532, additional testimonies were elicited on that point, Pedro Alonso Ambrosio declaring that Martin Alonso Pinzon went to Rome at his own cost in his own bark loaded with sardines, and brought back information concerning the navigation to the Indies, which had been derived from the mappamundi of the Pope and from a book:—“Fué á Roma á su costa en su barco cargado de sardina, e trajó sacado del mapa mundo del Papa e de un libro, avisos para saber la navegación de las Indias.”⁴⁸

We place no confidence whatever in those depositions. Yet, the two Pinzons may have visited Rome during the pontificate of Innocent VIII., and seen in the Vatican a mappamundi, exhibiting, like all the old charts, imaginary islands far into the Atlantic Ocean. That of Gracioso Benincasa, perhaps. We have examined all the manuscript maps known (by outsiders) to exist in the Vatican library. As there is no general catalogue, either of that collection of books or of the cartographical documents,⁴⁹ and it is extremely difficult to ascertain where the maps and portolani can be found, we append the necessary rubrics:

⁴⁷ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., pp. 559, 560.

⁴⁸ *Probanzas* of November 1, 1532.

⁴⁹ Since the above was written we have found in the catalogue of manuscripts in the British Museum, under No. 20,752, the following interesting item: “Notes on

early manuscript maps, by John HOLMES, F.S.A. In two volumes. At f. 59, Vol. I., is inserted a catalogue of MS. charts in the Vatican library, communicated by Miss E. SWANN to Captain WASHINGTON, R.N., in 1840. Small 4to.”

| | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| 5360, <i>Vatican.</i> | 1358, <i>Palatino.</i> |
| 1960, „ | 283, <i>Urbino.</i> |
| 2035, „ | 1013, „ |
| 2972, „ | 548, <i>Regin. S.</i> |
| 3236, „ | 340, „ „ |
| 1362, <i>Palatino.</i> | 1770, „ <i>MS.</i> |

See also :

Orbis totius descriptio., 1993—244.

Terra noue Ducis responsio ad Regem Catholici de Monaresia,
5457 (*anté anno 1538?*).

Nowhere did we find in any of the alphabetical catalogues or rubrics, the names: *Columbus*, *Vespuccius*, or *Anglerius*.

In the Secret Archives of the Vatican (*Archivio Segreto della Santa Sede*), now open to the public, on the inside front wall can be read this noble inscription, engraved for the first time in 1880 :

LEO XIII PONT MAX
HISTORIAE STVDIIS CONSVLENS
TABVLARII ARCANA RECLVSIT
ANNO MDCCCLXXX

Unfortunately, the fact that our researches embraced particularly the last seven years of the fifteenth century, prevented us from obtaining any information whatever.⁵⁰ But very extensive promises were made to us.

1492.

No. 9. MAPS OF LORENZO DE MEDICI.

In connection with maps of that period, we may perhaps mention the two mappamundi which figure in the inventory taken after the death of Lorenzo de Medici, in 1492.

“Uno tondo grande dipintovi uno universale chon uno festone di nocie intaglato intorno diametro br. . . . [Valued at 50 florins].”

“Uno colmo di bracia 4½ dipintovi l'universo [Valued also at 50 florins].”

Both of those maps hung in rooms of his palace at Florence.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Those years embrace the greater part of the pontificate of Alexander VI. (Rodrigo BORGIA).

⁵¹ E. MüNTZ, *Les Collections des Medicis*, Paris, 1888, 4to, pp. 62, 64.

1492.

NO. 10. BEHAIM'S GLOBE.

Its diameter measures 530 mm. The globe is pasted over with vellum, and the configurations exhibit flags, figures of kings, and inscriptions, in gold and colours. It is mounted on an iron stand, with brass meridian and horizon, on the edge of which is inscribed the date *Anno Domini 1510 die 5 Novembris*, which refers to these two metallic additions.

There are numerous legends, in old German language, which have been reproduced by De Murr, at a time when they were yet perfectly legible; although the vellum had already turned nearly black. Parts of these are omitted or imperfectly rendered in Ghillany's facsimile of the western hemisphere.

The globe was repaired in 1825, and it is after having been thus put in order, that Jomard obtained in 1847 from Baron Frederic Carl von Behaim "senior familiæ," that it should be temporarily removed from that gentleman's mansion to the School of Arts of Nuremberg, to be fac-similed entirely at the expense of the French government, for the Geographical Department of the Paris National Library. That facsimile is now on exhibition in the latter place, but very difficult to decipher, on account of the fading away of the colouring. As to the original globe, it is still preserved in the archives of the Behaim family, in Nuremberg, Egydienplatz, No. 15.

The following legend, which is inscribed in German on the globe, gives the history of that important geographical monument:

"At the request of the wise and venerable magistrates of the noble imperial city of Nuremberg, who govern it at present, viz.: Gabriel Nutzel, P. Volkamer, and Nicholas Groland, this globe was devised and executed, according to the discoveries and indications of the Knight Martin Behaim, who is well versed in the art of Cosmography, and has navigated around one third of the earth. The whole was borrowed with great care from the works of Ptolemy, Pliny, Strabo, and Marco Polo, and brought together, both lands and seas, according to their configuration and position, in conformity with the order given by the aforesaid magistrates to George Holzschuer, who participated in the making of this globe, in 1492. It was left by the said gentleman, Martin Behaim, to the city of Nuremberg, as a recollection and homage on his part, before returning to meet his wife [Johanna de Macedo, daughter of Job de Huerter, whom he married in 1486], who lives in an island [at Fayal] seven hundred leagues from this place, and where he has his home, and intends to end his days."

Our interpretation of the above quotation is that Martin Behaim furnished the geographical data and legends, but that the globe was constructed, painted, and inscribed by a gentleman⁵² of the name of George Holzschuer.

For a complete geographical description of the globe, we refer the reader to the following works:

De Murr, *Diplomatische Geschichte des Portug. berühmten Ritters Martin Behaims*, Nürnberg, 1779, 8vo.; and in French by Jansen, Paris and Strasburg, 1802, 8vo.

Humboldt, *Examen Critique de l'Histoire de la Géographie du Nouveau Continent et des progrès de l'astronomie nautique dans les XV^e et XV^e siècles*, Vol. I., pp. 257-274.

Breusing, *Zur Geschichte der Geographie, Regiomontanus, Martin Behaim und der Jakobstab*, *Zeitsch. der Gesellsch. f. Erdk. zu Berlin*, 1869, 8vo.

Ghillany, *Geschichte des Seefahrers Ritter Martin Behaim*; Nürnberg, 1853, 4to.

Lelewel, *Epilogue de la Géographie du Moyen Age*; Bruxelles, 1857, pp. 184-191; and

Kohl, *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, pp. 147-150.

There is a good (but not a facsimile) reduced copy of the configurations and legends in Doppelmayer, *Historische Nachricht von den Nürnbergischen Mathematicis und Künstlern*; Nürnberg, 1730, fol.

Johan Muller, the artist who reproduced the globe for the French Government in 1847, also made a lithographed fac-simile for Ghillany in 1853. In Jomard's *Monuments de la Géographie*, it is incomplete, and otherwise imperfect.

Our chief reason for inserting Behaim's globe in our list, is that it exhibits the geographical notions which would have guided him if João II. had listened to the Emperor Maximilian's advice to go in search of Cathay by a maritime route westward, and to Dr. Jerome Münzmeister's suggestion to secure the services of Martin Behaim for that bold and great undertaking.

This fact, which is not generally known, is proved by the following extremely curious letter, viz.:

⁵² The HOLZSCHUERS were Nuremberg patricians; one of that family, Wolf, lived in Portugal, and having rendered services to King MANOEL, received from that

monarch, February 2, 1503, an additional escutcheon. The arms of the Holzschuer family are also painted on Behaim's globe.

"Carta que enuiu Hieronimo mōntaro doutor alemão da cidade de norumberga em Alhemanha ao serenissimo Rey dō Joham segumdo de portugal. Sobre o descobrimento do mar Oceano et prouinçia do Gram Cam de Catay tirada de latim em lingoagem por mestre Aluaro da torre: mestre em theologia da ordem de sam domingos pregador do dito Senhor Rey.

Ao serenissimo e inuictissimo Johãne Rey de portugal e dos algarues e da mauritania maritana, e inuentor primeyro das ylhas fortunadas Canarias, da madeira e dos açores. Hieronimo moñtario doutos alemã muy humildosamente se encomenda. Porque atee que este louuor recebeste dō serenissimo Infante dō Anrique teu tio que nunca perdoaste a trabalho nem despesas pera descobrir a redondeza das terras e pera tua industria fezeste tributarios atee os pouos maritimos da Ethiopia e ho mar de Guine atee ho tropico de Capricorno cō suas mercaduras: assi como Ouro, Grãos de parayso, Pimenta, Escrauos e outras cousas. Com o ho qual ingenho ganhaste pera ti louuor immortalidade e gloria e tambem muy gram proueito, e nam he duuida que em breue tempos os de Ethiopia quasi bestas em semelhança humana, alienados do culto diuino dispã per tua industria sua bestialidade e venham a guardar a religiam catholica. Considerando estas cousas, Maximiliano inuictyssimo Rey de Ramanos quis conuidar tua magestade a buscar a terra oriental de catay muy rica: porque Aristoteles confessa em fim do liuro segundo de celo et mundo. E tambem Seneca qnto [quinto] liuro dos naturaes e Pedro de aliaco cardeal muy letrado na sua ydade e outros muytos varões esclarecidos cōfessam digno ho principio do oriente habitauel: ser achegado assaz ao fim do occidente habitauel, sam sinaes os elefantes que

"A letter which Hieronymus Monetarius,⁵³ a German doctor from the city of Nuremberg in Germany, sent to the Most Serene King Dom João II. of Portugal, concerning the discovery in the Oceanic Sea and province of the Great Khan of Cathay. Translated from Latin in [the Portuguese] language by Master Alvaro da Torre,⁵⁴ a Master of Theology, of the order of Dominicans, Preacher to our lord the said King.

To the Most Serene and Invincible King of Portugal, of the Algarves and of Maritime Mauritania, [who is] the first discoverer of the Fortunate islands, Canaries, Madeira, and Azores, Hieronymus Monetarius, a learned German, most humbly recommends himself.

As you have laudably imitated the Most Serene Infant Dom Henry, your uncle, in sparing neither efforts nor expense to demonstrate the sphericity of the earth, and succeeded in bringing under your sway the people of the coast of Ethiopia and of the sea of Guinea as far as the tropic of Capricorn, with the products thereof, viz.: gold, grains of Paradise,⁵⁵ you have won praises, immortality, and glory, together with very great profits.

It cannot be doubted that within a short time the Ethiopians, who are animals almost, but with the appearance of men, and entirely ignorant of divine worship, will, through your efforts, lose their bestiality, and embrace the Catholic religion.

Maximilian, the Most Invincible King of the Romans, noticing all those things, has requested Your Majesty to search for the very rich coast of Cathay, because Aristotle states at the end of Book II., *De Cælo et Mundo*, and also Seneca, Book V. of *Naturalium Quæstionum*, and Cardinal Peter de Alyaco,⁵⁶ a great savant in his day, and many illustrious persons think, that the inhabitable extreme

⁵³ MÜNZER or MÜNZMEISTER; see *infra*, p. 397.

⁵⁴ ANTONIO, *Bibl. Hisp. Nova*, Vol. I., page 61; Innocencio F. DA SYLVA, *Diccionario Bibliographico Portugues*; Vol. I., page 51.

⁵⁵ *Anomum Melegueta*, also called "Guinea grains," and "Mallaguetta pepper."

⁵⁶ Pierre D'Ailly, the "Eagle of the doctors of France," who died in 1420.

a [ha] muitos aqui nestes dous lugares, e tambem as canas que a tormenta lãça da praya do oriente as prayas das ilhas dos açores sã tambem infindos, porque assy ho diga, muy certos argumentos, pollos qes [quaes] demõstratiuos se proua aquella maar em puocos dias nauegar-se contra Catay oriental e nõ se trouue Alfragano e outros sem speriencia os qes [quaes] diserã soamente huma quarta parte da terra estar descoberta ao mar, e a terra segundo as tres partes estar alagada sob o mar porque nas cousas que pertencem a habitaçam da terra mays se a de creer a esperiencia e as prouaues estorias que as ymaginações fantasticas. Por que certo sabeys que muytos autorizados astronomicos negarom ser alguma habitaçam debayxo dos tropicos e equinocios. A as quaes cousas tu achaste serem vãs e falsas p [por] tua experiencia. Nam seja duuida que a terra nam esta alagada sob ho mar: mays pello contrayro ho maar esta immerso. E ainda a redondeza orbicular della. Abondam tambem a ty as abastãças e riquezas, e sam a ty marinheyros muy sabios os qes [quaes] assy mesmo desejã gaynhar immortalidade e gl'ia [gloria]. O quanta gloria alcançaras se fezeras ho oriente habitauel ser conhecido ao teu occidente, e tambem quanto proueyto os comercios te daram: O.ue [oure] mays faras as ilhas do oriente tributarias, e muytas vezes os Reys marauilhados se sogigarã muy leuemente ao teu senhorio. Ja te louuam por grande principe os Alemãos e ytalicos e os Rutanos, Apolonios scitos os que moram debayxo da Seca estrella do pollo artico. Com ho grande duque de Moscauia, que nã ha muytos annos que debayxo da sequeidade da dita estrella foy nouamente sabida a grande Ilha de Grulanda, bue corre por costa trezentas leguoas, na qual a grandissima habitaçam de gente do dito senhorio do dito senhor duque. Mays se esta

East is very near the West, as is shown by the numerous elephants found in both, and by the bamboo stalks which are driven by storms to the shores of the Azore islands.

Numberless arguments, so to speak, prove that after sailing but a few days the east coast of Cathay could be reached. No notice must be taken of Alfragano and other inexperienced individuals who affirm that only one-fourth of the earth is above the sea, and that the other three-fourths are under water; as in such matters we should believe experience and trustworthy accounts rather than fantastical suppositions.

You know, doubtless, that several astronomers of great repute have denied the possibility of living under the tropics and in the equinoctial regions, yet you have effectually proved⁵⁷ that those were erroneous and groundless affirmations. No attention should be paid to [the statement] that the greatest part of the earth is submerged, because, on the contrary, it is the sea which is smaller than the earth. Moreover, there is the fact that the earth is round.

You possess ample wealth and very able mariners who are eager to acquire immortality and fame. How glorious it would be for you to disclose the East to your West! How trade [with those new regions] would prove profitable! You should also bear in mind that the eastern islands will become your tributaries, and that the majority of kings, carried away by their admiration, will readily place themselves under your protection.

Already the Germans, Italians, and Rhenishians, and Apollinians of Scythia, who dwell under the dry star of the Arctic pole, all sing your praises, together with those of the Grand Duke of Moscovia,⁵⁸ who, only a few years since, has found under that star the great island of Greenland, three hundred leagues long,

⁵⁷ By the discoveries accomplished in Africa.

⁵⁸ IWAN III., who died in 1505, celebrated for his

great territorial accessions as far as Siberia and Laponia, but who never discovered or conquered Greenland.

espediçam acabares a leuãtarteam em lououres como deos, ou outro Hercules e teeras tambem se te apraz pera este caminho po companheyro deputado do nosso rey Maximiliano ho senhor martinoh boemio singularmente pera esto acabar, e outros muytos marinheyros sabedores que nauegaram ha largura do mar, tomando caminho das ylhas dos açores per sua industria per quadrante chilindro e astrolabio e outros ingenhos onde nem frio nem calma os anojara: e mais nauegaram a praya oriental sob hua temperança muy temperada do aar, e do mar muytos infindos argumentos sam pellos quaes tua magestade pode ser estimada. Mays que aproueyta esporear a quem corre. E tu mesmo es tal que totalas cousas com tua industria atee a vnha examinas. E por tanto escreuer muytas cousas desta cousa he impedir aquem corre que nam achegue ao cabo. Ho todo poderoso conserue a ti em teu proposito e acabado ho caminho do mar d[e] teus caualleyros sejas celebrado cõ immortalidade. Vale de Noruberga villa de alta Alemanha a quatorze de Julho salutis de mil e quatrocentos e nouenta e tres annos."

which, with a numerous population, is [now] under the sway of the said Duke.

If you succeed in that undertaking, you will be praised as a god or as another Hercules. At your bidding you may secure, to accompany the expedition, the envoy of our King Maximilian, [viz.:] His Lordship Martin of Bohemia, who is so well fitted for carrying out the undertaking, and also several other expert mariners, who will cross the broad sea, starting from the Azores, and who by their skill and by means of the quadrant, cylinder, astrolabe, and other instruments, and fearing neither the cold nor the heat, will sail to the East, with a favourable wind and smooth sea.

All those arguments should convince Your Majesty. But why spur on the running courser? And this so much the less as you are yourself able to fathom all things! To expatiate on the subject is to impede the runner in his course. Let the Almighty preserve you in this design; and when the crossing shall have been effected, may your knights [*sic*] confer on you immortality. Farewell. From Nuremberg, a city of Upper-Germany; July 14, A.D. 1493."

Maximilian I. was the son of Leonora of Portugal, and therefore the cousin of João II. He was Emperor of the Romans from February 16, 1486, until August 19 following, when he became Emperor of Germany. He waged war in person against France from 1492 until May 23, 1493. It is consequently prior to the spring of 1492, or between the end of May and the second week in July, 1493, that Maximilian wrote on the subject to João II.

On the other hand, Martin Behaim was at Nuremberg from 1491 until 1493,⁵⁹ and as it was an Imperial residence, whilst his birth and position allowed him to frequent the Court, we may infer that he met Maximilian in that city; and after suggesting a transatlantic voyage of discovery, requested the Emperor to write to his cousin the King of

⁵⁹ November 22, 1491, Wolf BEHAIM speaks of his brother Martin as being then at Nuremberg. Martin states in the globe that he made it at Nuremberg in 1492;

and March 11, 1494, he writes that the year preceding he went to Portugal.—GHILLANY, *op. cit.*, *Urkunde IX.*, pages 105 and 106.

Portugal on the subject, apparently in 1491 or 1492. This seems to imply unsuccessful efforts in that respect on the part of Behaim when he was at Lisbon, previous to 1491.

Another curious coincidence is the fact that the arguments used by Münzmeister to convince Joaõ II., are precisely those which were advanced by Toscanelli, and adduced by Columbus to convince Ferdinand and Isabella, viz.:

1st.—“Aristotle states at the end of Book II, *De Cælo et Mundo*, . . . that the East is very near the West,” alleged Münzmeister.

Columbus said :

“Dal fine occidentale dell’ Africa, et della Spagna potrebbe nauigarsi per l’Occidente al fine orientale dell’ India ; et che non era gran mare quello, che in mezo giaceua, secondo che afferma Aristotele nel fine del secondo libro del Cielo, et del Mondo :—It is possible to sail from the western coast of Africa and Spain westward to the easternmost part of India, because there is no wide sea between the two ; as Aristotle states at the end of Book II. of *The Heavens and Earth*.”⁶⁰

2nd.—“It is not true that the greatest part of the earth is submerged. On the contrary, it is the sea which is smaller than the earth,” pretended Münzmeister.

Columbus said :

“El enjuto del mundo es seis partes, la septima solamente cubierta de agua :—Six parts of the world are dry land ; only the seventh is submerged.”⁶¹

3rd.—“After sailing but a few days the coast of Cathay can be reached,” affirmed Münzmeister.

Columbus said :

“Si aquel espacio fuese mar, seria facil cosa navegarlo en poco dias :—If the intervening space is sea, then it will be easy to cross it in a few days.”⁶²

4th.—“There is also the fact that the earth is round,” remarked Münzmeister.

Columbus said :

“Como todo el agua y la tierra del mundo constituyan una esfera y por consiguiente sea redondo :—As all the seas and lands of the world form a sphere, and the earth consequently is round, it is possible to go from east to west.”⁶³

5th.—“Bamboo stalks are driven by storms to the shores of the Azore islands,” wrote Münzmeister.

⁶⁰ *Historie*, cap. vii., f^o. 14.

⁶¹ NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 300.

⁶² LAS CASAS, lib. i., cap. v., Vol. I., p. 56.

⁶³ LAS CASAS, *loc. cit.*, p. 55 ; *Historie*, cap. vi., f^o. 12.

Columbus, referring to a statement of his brother-in-law, said :

“Pietro Correa . . . gli disse, nell’ Isola di Porto Santo hauer veduto vn’ altro legno, venutoui con gli stessi venti, et che medesimamente v’erano recate canne cosí grosse:—Pedro Correa told him [*i. e.* Columbus] that in the island of Porto Santo he had seen another piece of wood driven by the same [West] wind, and in the same manner thick canes.”⁶⁴

Finally, both the Nuremberg doctor and Columbus, quote in support of their assertions, the same authorities, viz.: Aristotle, Seneca, and the then celebrated Cardinal Pierre d’Ailly.⁶⁵

As to the writer of that curious letter, his name was Jerome Münzer or Münzmeister, in Latin Hieronymus Monetarius, a Nuremberg savant, who is evidently the “Doctor Ieronimus” mentioned by Martin Behaim in the postscript of his letter⁶⁶ of March 11, 1494, and consequently one of his personal friends. He is called “Philosophus et medicinæ doctor,” and is the author of a work on the discoveries of the Portuguese in Africa.⁶⁷ He also wrote an account of his travels during the years 1494-1495 in Germany, France, Spain, and Portugal.⁶⁸ The first of those works has been published by Kunstmann,⁶⁹ who gave only an analysis of the second, and an excellent introduction. Dr. Laubmann, who, at our request, has kindly examined the codex containing all the writings of Münzmeister, preserved in the Royal Library at Munich, with the view of ascertaining whether Münzmeister mentions the discovery of the New World, Columbus, or Behaim, reports negatively. This is unexpected, as Münzmeister met Behaim at Lisbon, as can be seen by the postscript to the latter’s above mentioned letter of March 11, 1494, forwarded necessarily in November or December of that year, considering that Münzmeister left Lisbon for home, December 2nd. He speaks only of the house of Behaim’s father-in-law, Job de Huerter, in that city, and of a handsome black slave from the “Galloff” country in Africa, whom he possessed. It is interesting to learn that Münzmeister, who had been introduced to Joaõ II. by the Sicilian poet and jurisconsult Cataldus Aquila, dined four times with that King, conversing all the while on Cosmography. Münzmeister died August 27, 1508.

⁶⁴ *Historie*, cap. ix., f^o. 20, recto.

⁶⁵ *Historie*, caps. vii. and ix., f^{os}. 14, 15, 28.

⁶⁶ In GHILLANY, *Geschichte des seefahrers Ritter Martin Behaim, Urkunde*, XI., p. 107.

⁶⁷ *De inventione Africæ maritimæ et occidentalis videlicet Genææ per Infantem Henricum Portugallie.*

⁶⁸ *Hieronymi Monetarii Itinerarium sive peregrinatio*

per Hispaniam, Franciam et Alemanniam, 1494-95.

⁶⁹ *Abhandlungen der Histor. Classe der K. Bayerischer Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, Vol. VII. (1854), page 289 seq. See also SCHMELLER, *Ueber Valentim Alemã* page 9; in *Abhandlungen der Philos.-Philologischen Classe der K. Bayerischer Akad. der Wissenschaften*, Vol. IV., 1847.

There is a circumstance concerning this letter which at first sight appears peculiar. It is that so late as July 14, 1493, they should not have heard yet in Nuremberg of the expedition of Columbus, and more especially of his successful return. It may be said that the equipping and sailing out of those three small caravels were then an unimportant event, which, besides, could not well have been heralded beyond Seville or Palos. As to the news of its success, the Franco-German war, which ceased only with the Treaty of Senlis at the end of May, 1493, prevented all intercourse by land between Portugal and Germany. Nor did it produce in Europe the effect which we imagine. So far as our researches extend, the news of the discovery of the New World seems to have been made known north of Spain and Italy, only through the edition made at Rome by Stephanus Plannck, of De Cosco's Latin translation of Columbus' letter, in the spring of 1493; as is seen by the reprints made at Basle, Antwerp, and Paris.⁷⁰ It is also worthy of notice that the famous Chronicle of Hartmann Schedel, although its title states: "Consummatum autem duodecima mensis Julii. Anno salutis nostre. 1493,"⁷¹ and was printed at Nuremberg, does not mention at all the memorable discovery accomplished by Columbus, and known in Europe since April of that year.

As there is only one copy known to exist⁷² of the volume from which we have extracted the above letter of Münzmeister, a bibliographical description may prove interesting to our readers:

Under a woodcut of a sphere, with a king on one side, and a cosmographer on the other, appears the following title:

"*Tractado da Spera do mundo tiraroa de latim em lingoagê portugues Com bua [sic pro uma] carta que huun grãde doutor Alemam mandou a el Rey de Portugall dom Joam ho segundo.*"

Small 8vo., black letter, 36 unnumbered leaves, signat. in fours, *sine anno aut loco*, but on the 19th leaf, in the border of a woodcut serving as title for the *Regimento da declinaçam do sol*, is inscribed the name: *German Galhard*.

⁷⁰ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetust.*, Nos. 1-6. These reprints were all made from the *first* Roman edition.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, No. 13, pp. 37-41.

⁷² That unique copy is preserved in the City Library of Evora, to the chief librarian of which, Mr. Antonio Francisco BARATA, we are indebted for facsimiles and minute bibliographical details. We are also under obliga-

tions to Mr. Annibal Fernandez THOMAZ, for his reprint of Münzmeister's Letter (Coimbra, 1878, 12 pp., privately printed), and to Mr. Ernesto DO CANTO for his edition of the same (Ponta Delgada, 1879, folio, 4 pp.). The *Carta* was reprinted for the first time in the *Folha do Sul* (of Evora, No. 88, March 15, 1865), but with many typographical errors, which are here corrected.

The French printer, Germain Gailhard, exercised his art at Lisbon so early, at least, as March, 1509, as is shown by the missal which he printed in Lisbon at that date.⁷³

The above *Tratado* is a Sacrobusto; and although Germain Gailhard printed, at Lisbon in 1537, a *Tratado da sphaera . . . tirado nouamente de Latim em linguagem*,⁷⁴ which also contains a Sacrobusto, the present is entirely different, and seems to date from the time when Gailhard commenced printing in Lisbon,—we do not know in what year. The fact that his name appears so late as 1557⁷⁵ and 1560⁷⁶ authorises the supposition that there have been two Germain Gailhards, just as at that time there were two Jehan du Prés, two Guillaume Nyverds, two Jehan Trepperels, and two Anthoine Verards.⁷⁷

NO. 11. MARTIN BEHAIM.

Map containing the configurations which are on Behaim's globe:

“Dans le dépôt des archives de la famille de Behaim il y a un dessin assez exact et assez proprement fait de ce globe, sur deux feuilles de velin.”⁷⁸

We have been informed that it is a drawing of the time. If so, it might prove interesting to print the legends, as they are scarcely legible now on the globe itself, and we find differences between the text given by De Murr, and Ghillany's fac-simile.

NO. 12. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

Chart which Christopher Columbus intended to make when he set out on his first transatlantic voyage:

⁷³ *Missale secundum consentidinem Elborensis ecclesie noviter impressum . . . Impressum Vlixipone expensis magistri Antonii Lermet Elborensis civitatis librarii per Germanum gallardum. Ano Salutis nostre millesimo quingentesimo nono. Pridie Kalendas martii.* (Evora Public Library.)

⁷⁴ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 222, and *Additions*, No. 117.

⁷⁵ *Lei de D. Sebastião, 1557*, mentioned by RIBEIRO DOS SANTOS in *Memoria de Litteratura portugueza*, Vol. VIII., p. 119.

⁷⁶ There is a *Reportorio dos tempos* on the colophon of which it is stated that the book was printed by the widow of “German Galharde que santa gloria aja anno 1560.”

This, together with the subscription on the title-page: “Foy impresso em Lisboa em casa de Germaõ Galharde, Anno 1560,” has led us to think that he died in the latter year, whilst the book was in course of publication. This, however, is not a sure test, as the successor of a deceased printer frequently maintained the name or mark of the latter on the title-page, although printing his own in the colophon.

⁷⁷ *Excerpta Colombiana. Bibliographie de quatre cents pièces gothiques françaises, italiennes et latines.*

⁷⁸ C. T. DE MURR, *Histoire diplomatique du chevalier Portugais Martin Behaim*. The third edition of H. J. JANSEN'S translation into French, Strasbourg and Paris, 8vo, p. 12.

“Tengo propósito de hazer carta nueva de navegar, en la qual situaré toda la mar y tierras del mar oceano en sus propios lugares, debaxo su viento; y más, componer vn libro y poner todo por el semejante por pintura, por latitud del equinocial y longitud del occidente:— I intend, said he (in the introduction to his Journal), to make a new sailing chart, in which shall be depicted the entire sea and lands of the ocean, in their proper place and under their own rhumb. Also, a book containing the same, painted, with the equinoctial latitude and western longitude.”⁷⁹

We can realise what was the appearance of that map when Columbus returned to Spain in 1493. It represented, of course, the Atlantic Ocean with its eastern and western seabords, the latter being thereon set forth as the coast of Asia; such as we see it in the early mappamundi. Near the Asiatic continent, there were seven or eight islands bearing names, and placed within a vast archipelago. The two largest islands exhibited probably only their northern coast. These were Hispaniola and Cuba, but the latter, which was by 26° latitude, stretched due west, to about 77° longitude, where the coast was made to trend southward, to connect, probably, with Cipango or with Cathay. The only curious parts of that map were certainly Columbus' tables of distances, or the longitudes which he gave to the newly discovered islands, to make their position, as ascertained then by him, correspond with his preconceived notions concerning the circumference of the earth, which, as is well known, he believed to be a quarter at least smaller than it really is.⁸⁰ The polar regions may have also presented configurations different from those which we notice in the globe of Behaim.

1492 - 1493.

No. 13.—COLUMBUS.

Map which Columbus had on board during his first voyage, and communicated to Martin Alonzo Pinzon on the 22nd of September, 1492. It contained oceanic islands depicted by Christopher Columbus himself:

⁷⁹ NAVARRETE, Vol. I., page 3.

⁸⁰ The notions of COLUMBUS in that respect were borrowed from Pierre D'Ailly, who had taken them from Roger BACON. In D'Ailly's *Imago Mundi* (cap. x., f° 9, or recto of *b*) we read: “gradus circuitus terre habet quinquaginta sex miliaria et duas tercias unius, et sic habet totus circuitus. xx miliaria et cccc miliaria . . .

que valerent quinque milia et centum leucarum.” On the margin of COLUMBUS' own copy of the *Imago Mundi*, preserved in the Biblioteca Colombina at Seville, there is a long manuscript note in his own handwriting containing the following interpretation: “Tucigitur posimus [*sic pro* possumus] dicere quod circulus terræ sub ære eqnocti ali a [*sic pro* est] 20400 miliarum.”

"Iba hablando el Almirante con Martin Alonso Pinzon . . . sobre una carta que le habia enviado tres dias hacia á la carabela, donde segun parece tenia pintadas el Almirante ciertas islas por aquella mar:—The Admiral went to converse with Martin Alonso Pinzon . . . concerning a chart which he had sent him, to his ship, three days ago, in which the Admiral seemed to have painted certain islands in that sea."⁸¹

Las Casas says that it was the original map which Toscanelli had sent to Columbus: "Esta carta es la que le embio Paulo Fisico el Florentin."⁸² But, as Humboldt justly remarks,⁸³ Columbus did not sail by the latter map; else, "he would have kept a more northern course in the parallel of Lisbon. Instead of this, he steered half the way in the latitude of Gomera, one of the Canaries, in the hope of more speedily reaching Zipangu (Japan); and subsequently keeping a less high altitude, he found himself, on the 7th of October, 1492, in the parallel of 25° 30'."

1493.

No. 14. BERGMANN DE OLPE.

Map of the islands discovered by Christopher Columbus during his first voyage. It is a rough woodcut, 80 by 110 mm., engraved at Basle in 1493, and inserted in the illustrated edition of Columbus' *Epistola de Insulis Inventis*, printed in that city by Bergmann de Olpe.⁸⁴

The names are: *hyspana* (la Española), *fernãda* (Fernandina), *Ysabella*, *Saluatorie* (*sic pro* San Salvador), *Conceptois* (Concepcion), *marie* (belongs to the previous name, viz.: *Santa Maria de la Concepcion*).

It is scarcely necessary to add that the map is absolutely fanciful, made by a Swiss engraver from the description of the *Epistola*. The identical woodcut has served for the *Verardus* published by the same printer, also at Basle, in 1494.

No. 15. BERGMANN'S HISPANIOLA.

Map or graphic representation of the *Insula hyspana*. Published also by Bergmann de Olpe, in the same work as the above.

⁸¹ NAVARRETE, Vol. I., page 13.

⁸² LAS CASAS, *Historia*, lib. i., cap. 12, Vol. I., p. 279.

⁸³ HUMBOLDT, *Cosmos*, London, 1849, Vol. II., p. 637.

⁸⁴ *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. II., page 27.

NO. 16. QUEEN ISABELLA'S.

Maps which Queen Isabella requested Columbus to make, very soon after his return, and that he was to give her before starting on his second voyage. She reminded him of it, August 4, 1493, in these words :

“Las cartas de navegar, Nos envid en todo caso que os partais:—The nautical charts, which in any event you will send us before setting out.”⁸⁵

The Queen renewed her request, September 3 following, and stated that the map or maps were to be very complete, and to contain the names of the localities discovered by him :

“La carta que vos rogamos que nos enviádes antes de vuestra partida, nos envid luego muy cumplida, y escritos con ella los nombres :⁸⁶—The map which we asked you to send us before your departure, forward it immediately, well completed, and write the names thereon.”

This request seems to have been prompted by the fact that the relation of his voyage which Columbus remitted to the Queen failed to state the geographical position of the newly-found regions, and the degrees which he traversed to reach those countries :

“Habiamos menester saber los grados del camino por donde fuistes, por servicio nuestro que nos los envieis luego :⁸⁷—It is necessary that we should know the degrees of the route over which you have sailed for our service, and that you should send it to us at once.”

This recommendation implies that Columbus did not communicate to Isabella the map mentioned in the introduction to his Journal. The omission to state the degrees of latitude and longitude was evidently voluntary on the part of Columbus, as the Queen in her request says :

“Y si vos pareciere que no la debemos mostrar nos lo escribid:—If you do not wish that we should show it to anyone, write so.”

 NO. 17. JAUME FERRER.

The mappamundi which Jaume Ferrer, de Blanes, was requested by Cardinal Mendoza, August 26, 1493, to bring with him to Barcelona :

“Y traed con vos el mapa mundi y otros si teneis tocantes a cosmografia:—And bring with you the map of the world, and others if you have any such, on the subject of Cosmography.”⁸⁸

⁸⁵ *Coleccion de documentos ineditos de Indias*, Vol. XXX., page 196.

⁸⁶ NAVARRETE, Vol. II., docs. lxx. and lxxi., pp. 107 and 109.

⁸⁷ *Carta mensagera de la Reina* ; NAV., *ubi supra*.

⁸⁸ *Sentencias catholicas del divi poeta Dant florenti* ; Barcelona, 1545, sm. 8vo, f^o. 45 ; NAVARRETE, Vol. II., p. 98. *Bibliot. Americ. Vetust.*, Additions, No. 154.

1494.

NO. 18. MAPS OF THE ANTILLIES.

Maps which were made, as we suppose, by the master map-makers who accompanied Columbus during his second voyage :

“Todas las personas que vienen en estos navios, entre los cuales hay maestros de cartas de marear :—All the persons who come in those vessels, amongst whom there are masters in chart making.”⁸⁹

Those cartographers must have constructed charts of what had been ascertained then of the island of Cuba, as Columbus refers to their testimony concerning the extent of the region, and its trending southward :

“Y porque ellos viesen como esta tierra es grandísima, y que de aquí adelante va la costa della ai mediodia :—And because they saw how that country is very considerable, and that thence the country trends southwards.”⁹⁰

We must add that in the course of the second voyage, maps of the discovery were constructed with great care, gradually as it progressed, by order of Columbus. In the manuscript letter of Michael de Cuneo, the Savonesian gentleman who accompanied him, we read :

“Videmo molto Isole, le quale tutte il S. Armirante le fece mettere in carta distintamente :—We saw many islands, which His Lordship the Admiral ordered to be inscribed on the map distinctly.”⁹¹

NO. 19. FRANCESCO MANTEGNA.

It was a map of the world made by Francesco Mantegna,⁹² for Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, to whom he wrote as follows :

“Mantue 12 [and] 15 Ottobr. 1494. . . . se degni farmi dar tanto chio possi vivere et servire alla Signoria Vra. per sino a tanto che finito sia el Mapamundo. . . .

Dico che io scripsi alla Signoria Vra. et scrivo solum per le spese del mio vivere per sino a tanto che finito sia il Mapamondo che sere presto. . . . :⁹³—

“Mantua, October 12 and 15, 1494. . . . If you deign to give me what I need to sustain myself and serve Your Highness, until the mappamundi is completed. . . .

I write only to obtain the necessary means to live until the Mappamundi is finished, and it will be achieved.”

⁸⁹ NAVARRETE, Vol. II., doc. lxxvi., p. 144, dated June 12, 1494.

⁹⁰ *Informacion y testimonio* ; NAVARRETE, *ibidem*.

⁹¹ Nov. 20, 1494. *De novitatibus Insul. Oceani Hispanij Repertarum*. MS. in the Library of the

University of Bologna, Cod. 4075. *Supra*, p. 104.

⁹² The son of Andrea MANTEGNA.

⁹³ Giovanni GAYE, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti* ; Firenze, 1839, 8vo, Vol. I., pp. 327, 328, and E. MÜNTZ, *Revue Critique*, March 15, 1880, p. 215.

As Francis II., the Marquis of Mantua, was in possession of an account of Columbus' discovery sent him from Florence by Luca Fancelli, so far back as April 22, 1493, we may infer that Mantegna's mappamundi exhibited some delineation of the New World. If so, it must have represented America as an immense island, with tremendous rivers, and formidable mountains: "una ixola grandisima laquale aveua grandisimi fiumi e teribile montagnie," according to Luca's description.

NO. 20. HOJEDA'S HISPANIOLA.

This map of Alonso de Hojeda is mentioned by Columbus himself, as follows:

"Hojeda, criado del Duque de Medinaceli, muy discreto mozo y de muy gran recabdo, que sin duda y aun sin comparacion, descubrió mucho mas [que Gorbalan], segun el memorial de los rios que él trajo:—Hojeda, who belonged to the household of the Duke de Medina Celi, a young man of very good mind and extremely sedulous, and, who, without any doubt and above all comparison, discovered more [than Gorbalan], judging from the account of rivers which he brought."⁹⁴

According to this, it was a graphic and minute description of the country discovered by Hojeda in Hispaniola.

NO. 21. MAPPAMUNDI OF KING JOAM II.

That map was in the King's palace at Lisbon when Dr. Jerome Münzmeister visited the place in November, 1494. He describes it as follows:

"Similiter cosmographiam in maxima et bene descripta tabula deaurata, cujus dyameter erat 14 palmarum:—On a gilt table a very large and well depicted cosmography, of 14 palms diameter."⁹⁵

We understand this sentence to mean that it was a mappamundi, of 1^m,3369552 diameter,⁹⁶ depicted on a plane, and gilt. Who knows but that it served as a model for the configurations in Behaim's Globe?

⁹⁴ Memorial addressed to Ferdinand and Isabella by Christopher COLUMBUS, from the city of Isabela, January 30, 1494; NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 226.

⁹⁵ *Hieronymi Monetarii Itinerarium sive peregrinatio per Hispaniam, Franciam et Alemanniam, 1494-1495.*

MS., in KUNSTMANN, *Hieronimus Münzer's Bericht über die Entdeckung der Guinea*; in *Abh. d. Hist. Cl. d. Bay. Ak. d. W. VII.* (1855), page 303. See *supra*, p. 397, our account of the Nuremberg savant.

⁹⁶ In Upper Germany the palm was equal to 0^m,954968.

1495.

No. 22. JAUME FERRER.

Plane chart which Jaume Ferrer, de Blanes, sent to Ferdinand and Isabella on the 27th of January, 1495:

“Una forma mundi en figura extensa en que podrán ver los dos Emisferios . . . el nuestro Artico y el opósito Antártico . . . el círculo equinoccial y los dos trópicos de la declinacion del Sol:—A description of the World, on a plane surface, in which can be seen the two hemispheres . . . and our Arctic [pole] and its opposite Antarctic [one]; the equinoctial circle, and the two tropics of the declination of the sun.”

That technical phraseology is curious for the time, particularly the idea of representing the earth on two hemispheres,—eighteen years before the mappamundi of Johannes de Stobnicza.

This map was intended evidently to illustrate the claims of Spain as regards the line of demarcation. See the letters of February 28th, 1495, and of August 5th following, in the *Sentencias Catholicas*.⁹⁷

1496.

No. 23. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

Map made by Christopher Columbus when he returned from his second expedition. “Remeansque, quantum licuit, sinus, promontoria, portus, atque omne litus decursum signavit in tabula,” says Antonio Gallo,⁹⁸ the Chancellor of the Bank of St. George. This learned Genoese may have seen in Italy, some map made by Columbus, as he speaks of letters in the handwriting of the latter concerning his transatlantic voyages, which he declares to have examined himself: “Ipsemet in æpistolis quas vidimus manu propria ipsius subscriptas, prodidit.” Yet, although there were in Seville branches of Genoese firms, several of which equipped the caravels employed by Columbus in his voyages of discovery (Casano Negri, Francesco de Rivarola, Paolo Centurione,

⁹⁷ NAVARRETE, *Coleccion de viages*, Vol. II., pp. 97-105; NAVARRETE, *Disertacion sobre la Historia de la Náutica*, page 120; *B. A. V., Additions*, No. 152;

Maisonneuve Catalogue, 1881, No. 2765.

⁹⁸ GALLO, *De Navigatione Columbi*, in MURATORI, *Ital. Script.*, Vol. XXIII., col. 304.

Pantaleone Italiano, &c.), and which sent home information about the discoveries accomplished by their great countryman,⁹⁹ there is not in the rich archives of Genoa, a single map of that time, or, in fact, any old map of the New World whatever.

No. 24. JOHN CABOT.

The mention is to be found in the first English manuscript which cites the discovery accomplished by John Cabot, viz.:

*"In anno 13 Henr. VII.—This yere the Kyng at the besy request and supplicacion of a Straunger venisian, which by a Cœart made hym self expert in knowyng of the world, caused the Kyng to manne a ship w^t vytaill and other necessaries for to seche an Iland . . ."*¹⁰⁰

That "Straunger venisian" was John Cabot, and the above text is the earliest reference to his voyage known. The Chronicle of Robert Fabyan, as quoted by Stow,¹⁰¹ says that it occurred "In anno 14 Henr. VII.," while Hakluyt gives the date of "In the 13 yere of King Henrie the VII., 1498."¹⁰² All those dates are certainly erroneous, as Henry VII. ascended the throne of England, August 21 or 22, 1485, and the first letters patent granted to John Cabot and his sons are dated March 5, 1496.

ABOUT 1497.

No. 25. VASCO DA GAMA.

Map which is said to have been used by Vasco da Gama, and on which the New Continent was depicted in the form of an island.

That map still existed at Lisbon in 1847, and Viscount Santarem possessed a minute description of it,¹⁰³ which he never published and that we have vainly endeavoured to discover.

⁹⁹ "Perpiú Lettere de'nostri Mercatanti di Spagna;" Allegretto ALLEGRETTI, in MURATORI, *op. cit.*, col. 827, and *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. I., p. 78.

¹⁰⁰ *MS. Cott. vitellius, A xiv* (xvi. ?), f. 173; British Museum, and *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 316.

¹⁰¹ STOW, *Chronicles of England*, London, 1580, 4to, page 862.

¹⁰² HAKLUYT, *Divers voyages. Supra*, p. 40.

¹⁰³ SANTAREM, *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, No. of April, 1847, p. 321.

1497.

No. 26. JOHN CABOT.

Map and globe which John Cabot brought from his first transatlantic voyage :

“Esso messer Zoane ha la descriptione del mondo in una carta, et anche in una sphaera solida che lui ha fatto et dimostra dove é capitato, et andando verso el levante ha passato assai el paese del Tanais :—This Mr. John has the description of the world on a map, and likewise on a solid globe which he has made, and he shows where he landed, and that sailing eastward [*sic pro* westward] he has passed far beyond the country of the Tanais.”¹⁰⁴

The latter expression indicates that his mappamundi, like all plane charts of the time, set forth a well defined coast bordering the eastern seaboard of Asia ; and that the lands discovered in 1497 by John Cabot were not south of, but north-west of the coast of Labrador, which he doubtless believed to continue westward, and then southward, until it reached the Asiatic regions.

1498.

No. 27. JOHN CABOT.

Map of the first expedition of John Cabot, and shown by him, in London, to Pedro de Ayala, one of the two Spanish envoys, before July 25, 1498 :

“Yo he visto la carta que ha fecho el inventor :—I have seen the map which the discoverer has made.”¹⁰⁵

No. 28. JOHN CABOT.

Map describing either the first voyage, or a part of the second expedition of John Cabot. It is mentioned in the aforesaid dispatch of Pedro de Ayala, dated July 25th, 1498, but the language used is ambiguous :

¹⁰⁴ Dispatch of Raimondo DI SONCINO, December 18, 1497 ; in DESIMONI, *Intorno a Giovanni Caboto*, p. 53 ; *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. x., p. 324.

¹⁰⁵ BERGENROTH, *Calendar of Letters, Dispatches, and State Papers, at Simancas*, Vol. I., p. 176, No. 210 ; *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xiii., p. 329.

“Ha venido nueva, la una en que iba un otro Fray Buil aporto en Irlanda con gran tormento rotto el navio. El Ginoves tiro su carmino. Yo, vista la derrota que llevan y la cantidad del camino hallo que es lo que han hallado o buscan lo que Vuestras Altezas poseen, porque es al cabo que a Vuestras Altezas cupo por la convencion con Portugal:—(The fleet was composed of five vessels.) News have been received [to the effect] that the ship in which went one Friar Buil landed in Ireland owing to a leak caused by a great storm. The Genoese has continued his route. I have seen the direction which they took, and the extent of space found; [and] what they have found, or are in search of, is what Your Highnesses already possess, because it is at the extremity of that which was assigned to Your Highnesses by the convention with Portugal.”¹⁰⁶

We think, however, that “derrota” refers to the voyage accomplished in 1497, and not to the portion of the route which the ship of Father Buil had already made, when the storm compelled her to return home. If so, the description was only a continuation of that which is mentioned in the above No. 26. The same consequence applies to the closing paragraph in said dispatch of Ayala:

“Asymismo al carta o mapa mundi que este ha fecho, yo no la enbio agora, que aqui la ay, y a mi ver bien falsa por dar a entender, no son de las islas dichas:—Also as regards the chart or mappamundi that he has brought, I do not send it at present [although] I have it here, as to me I deem it quite false since it conveys the notion that those are not [your] aforesaid islands.”

It is evidently the same alleged spurious map of John Cabot which Ruy Gonzalès de Puebla (the other and leading Spanish ambassador) also states to have seen:

“Vista la derrota que llevan allo que lo que buscan es lo que Vuestras Altezas poseen:—I have seen the route which they brought, and what they are in search of is [the country] which Your Highnesses possess.”¹⁰⁷

No. 29. COLUMBUS' PARIA.

Map of the Gulf of Paria, made by Christopher Columbus during his third voyage, in course of which he sighted, for the first time, the American continent, August 3rd, 1498; landing two days afterwards, on Sunday, August 5th.

“Entretanto yo enviaré á vuestras Altezas esta escriptura y la pintura de la tierra:¹⁰⁸—Meanwhile I shall send to your Highnesses that description and the picture of the country.”

¹⁰⁶ Dispatch of July 25, 1498, BERGENROTH, *Calendar*, Vol. I., p. 176; *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 329.

the above; *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xii., p. 328.

¹⁰⁷ Another dispatch of the same date, apparently, as

¹⁰⁸ NAVARRETE, *Tercer Viage de Cristobal Colon*, Vol. I., p. 264.

The map was actually sent, as Hojeda testified to having seen it :

“Vió la figura que el dicho Almirante al dicho tiempo¹⁰⁹ envió á Castilla al Rey y Reina de lo que habia descubierto :—I have seen the figure which the said Admiral at that time sent to Castille to the King and Queen concerning what he had discovered.”¹¹⁰

Bernardo de Ibarra adds that it was a sailing chart, setting forth the rhumbs and winds which led Columbus to the land of Paria :

“Y le envió señalado con la dicha carta en una carta de marear los rumbos e vientos por donde habia llegado a la Paria :—And he sent it describing with the said letter in a sea chart the rhumbs and winds by means of which he had reached Paria.”¹¹¹

According to the same witness, that map served as a model, or was copied to make others : “e oyó decir como por aquella carta se habian hecho otras,” which were used by Alonso Niño, Hojeda, and other navigators when they visited those parts :

“Por ellas habian venido Pedro Alonso Merino [*sic*] é Hojeda é otros que despues han ido à aquellas partes :—By those [maps] have come Pedro Alonso Merino [*i.e.* Niño], as well as Hojeda and others who went to those parts.”

This assertion was confirmed by Francisco de Morales :

“Vido una carta de marear do el Almirante puso á Pária, y cree que por ella se gobernaron todos :—I have seen a nautical chart, which the Admiral made [?] at Paria ; and I believe that all have sailed by the same.”

It was, doubtless, the map which Columbus sent from Hispaniola, October 18, 1498, together with an account of his third voyage ; and which is mentioned by Las Casas as follows :

“Envió tambien á los Reyes la pintura ó figura de la tierra que dejaba descubierta, con las islas distintas que cerca estaban, y, por escrito, todo su viaje. Por esta pintura ó dibujo que á los Reyes envió de la dicha tierra de Paria . . . vino Alonso de Hojeda :—He sent also to the Kings the picture or representation of the country which he had discovered, with the islands distinctly marked which laid adjacently, and, in writing, his entire voyage. By that picture or delineation of the land of Paria which he sent to the Kings, Alonso de Hojeda went there.”¹¹²

But the map must have been drawn by some one else, as Columbus was then suffering from a kind of ophthalmia.

¹⁰⁹ Soon after August 31, 1498, which is the date of the return of COLUMBUS to Santo Domingo.

¹¹⁰ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 539.

¹¹¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 587, 588.

¹¹² LAS CASAS, *Historia General de las Indias*, lib. i., cap. clvii., Vol. II., p. 353.

It is worthy of notice that, in the opinion of Christopher Columbus, the country described in his said map was the terrestrial paradise: "Creo que allí es el Paraiso terrenal."¹¹³

No. 30. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

Maps mentioned by Columbus in the deed instituting a majorate, February 22, 1498:

"Trescientas é treinta é tres leguas de tierra-firme de la parte del Austro al Poniente, allende de ciento y siete de la parte del Setentrion, que tenia descubierto al primer viage con muchas islas, como mas largo se verá por mis escrituras y memorias y cartas de navegar:— 333 leagues of continental lands [running] from the austral regions to the west, besides 107 at the north, which I discovered during my first voyage, together with many islands, as will be seen more at length in my writings, memorials, and naval charts."¹¹⁴

1499.

No. 31. VELEZ DE MENDOZA.

Map of the portion of Brazil alleged to have been discovered by Francisco Velez (de Mendoza), which map Arias Perez Pinzon is said to have seen: "lo sabe porque tambien le mostró la tierra que traia debujada."¹¹⁵

It depicted Cape St. Augustine, and the coast south of that point. See *supra*, page 339.

BEFORE 1500.

No. 32. VAAZ BISAGUDO'S.

Mappamundi which was in the possession of one Pero Vaaz Bisagudo, at Lisbon, and which Master João, physician and surgeon of King Manoel

¹¹³ NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 259 and 300.

¹¹⁴ *Memorial del Pleyto*, No. 886, and NAVARRETE, Vol. II., p. 227. The following passage is not without interest, although referring to the same matter: "E plugo a nuestro Señor que en el año de 1492 descubrieste la Tierra firme de las Indias, e muchas Islas, entre las quales es la Española, a que los Indios della llaman Feiti [also Xecti, for Haiti] los Monicondos de Zipango

despues bolui a Castilla a sus Altezas, y me tornaron a recibir a la empresa e a poblar y descubrir mas: e así me dio nuestro Señor vitoria, que conquisté y hize tributaria la gente de la Española: laqual boxa 600 leguas, y descubri muchas Islas a los Canibales, e 700. al Poniente de la Española . . . como mas largo se vera por mis escrituras, e memorias, é cartas de naugar."

¹¹⁵ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 555.

of Portugal, advised the latter to consult, in a letter dated from Vera Cruz (Santa Cruz or Brazil), May 1, 1500. That mappamundi described Brazil (according to the writer, who was with the discoverers of that country, as he accompanied Cabral), in the form of one of the four large islands, which in that map, represents the New World :

“Quanto senior al sytyo desta terra mande vosa alteza traer un mapamundy que tiene pero vaaz bisagudo e por ay podra ver vosa alteza el sytyo desta terra enpero a quel mapamundy non certyfica esta terra ser habytada o no es mapamundy antiguo e ally fallera vosa alteza escrita tan byen la mina,¹¹⁶ ayer casy entendymos por asenos que esta era ysla e que eran quatro.”

“As regards the position of this land, let Your Highness order to be brought the mappamundi which is owned by Pero Vaaz Bisagudo, and thereby Your Highness will be able to see the site of this country [Brazil], although that map does not represent the latter as being inhabited. Nor is the said mappamundi an old one, as Your Highness will see depicted thereon La Mina.”¹¹⁷

It is a question with us whether Dr. João does not refer to a map relating to the prototype of the Cantino mappamundi. The Corte-Real region not yet figuring, on account of the date of its discovery, there would remain the tall north-western country, besides Cuba, Hispaniola, and the southern regions, represented as four separate entities. The reader should also recollect that Cantino sets forth in his Africa, and prominently, the “Castello damina.”

¹¹⁶ The fort of St. George of the Mine was constructed in 1484. DAPPER, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrik. gemesten*. Amsterdam, 1668, fol., p. 439.

¹¹⁷ *Carta de Mestre João Physico d'el Rei. De Vera Cruz ao 1º de Maio de 1500*. In the *Revista trimensal*, Vol. V. (1843), p. 342.

Cartography.

SECTION SECOND.—SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

1500.

No. 33. JUAN DE LA COSA.

MAP of the world constructed by La Cosa, who had been Columbus' pilot, at the Puerto de Santa Maria, near Cadiz, between July and the end of December, 1500.

It is on parchment, 1800 by 960 mm. Under a miniature representing Christ carried on the shoulders of St. Christopher, there is the following inscription :

“Juan de la cosa la fizo en el puerto de S: mj^a en año de. 1500:—John de la Cosa made it at the Port of Santa Maria in the year 1500.”

That most important map was discovered in a bric-a-brac shop in Paris,¹ during the cholera epidemic of 1832, by Baron Walckenaer. After his death, it was purchased at public sale, April 21, 1853,² by the Spanish government for 4,020 francs. It is now framed, and on exhibition in the Naval Museum at Madrid.

Notwithstanding several large holes, the map may be said to be in a good state of preservation. There is, however, a regrettable gap on the northern coast of Brazil, where a piece two inches wide, containing names, has been torn off and thrown away.

The planisphere does not extend eastward beyond the northern border of the Arabian sea, omitting, therefore, Hindostan, the Malay Peninsula, and China. Yet it depicts the “Rio Ganges,” but where we place the Indus. All that portion of the map is extremely inferior, particularly when compared with the Cantino chart, although there is only a difference of eighteen months between the two. Withal, it should not be inferred

¹ LA ROQUETTE, *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, No. of May, 1862, p. 298.

² Catalogue of the Walckenaer sale, Paris, POTIER, 1853, 8vo., No. 2,904.

from such an important omission that La Cosa considered the continent, depicted by him west of Cuba, as identical with the east coast of Asia, and, consequently, could not have added the latter to his eastern configurations without repeating what he had already marked in the same map. Had such been his geographical conception of the world, he would not have omitted the India *intra* and *extra Gangem*, and especially the Molucca regions, nor to name Cathay, Mangi, and all the cities or provinces rendered famous by Marco Polo, and which, on that account, figure in all the mappamundi of the fifteenth century.

The lack of degrees of latitude and longitude, and the style of the projection do not permit us to determine adequately for the New World the various positions. It has been attempted, however, by several savants, but with different results. Where, for instance, Humboldt sees³ the northern shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Kohl recognises the south coast of Newfoundland. For the former, the "Cavo de Yngleterra" is a cape near Belle Isle; for the latter it is Cape Race.⁴ But as Kohl says:

"Cosa draws the entire east coast of North America, from the neighbourhood of Cuba to the high northern regions, in about 70° N., with a continuous line, uninterrupted by water. He appears to have thought that there was a large continental part of the world, back of the West India Islands discovered by Columbus and his contemporaries."⁵

It must be added that the said line continues southward uninterruptedly, in La Cosa's configuration of the New World, as far as Cape St. Augustine, where he inscribes the following legend:

"Este cauo se descubrio en año de mil y m̄xcix por Castilla syende descubridor vicentiañs:—This cape was discovered in the year 1499 for Castile, Vicente Yañez [Pinzon], being the discoverer."

To the south-west of that cape, the Basque cartographer depicts a fragment of the continent, and, not far from it, some very large island bearing the following inscription:

"Ylla descubierta per [or por] portugal:—Island discovered for Portugal."

It is a reference to the discovery of Brazil by Cabral, the news of which had just been brought to Portugal by Gaspar de Lemos.

^{3,4} HUMBOLDT, in GHILLANY'S *Geschichte des Seefahrers ritter Martin Behaim*, p. 2.

⁵ KOHL, *Documentary History of Maine*, Vol. I., p. 152.

The names which in now existing maps appear here for the first time, are the following.⁶

NORTH-EASTERN CONTINENT :

| | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Y. verde ⁷ | Isla de la trenidat | Iusquei |
| S. grigor | R ^o . longo | Requilia ⁹ |
| Cauo de ynglaterra | Forte (or Fonte) | C ^o . de S. luzia |
| C. sastanatre ⁸ | Argare (or Argair) | Ansro |
| Agron | Menistre | Lagofori |
| Cauo de S. iohan | S. luzia | C ^o . de S. Jorge |
| S. nicolas | C ^o . de lisarte | Cauo descubierto |

On the continent there are two unintelligible and half-effaced words, viz.: "cctra si terra;" but south of the last name on the coast, and alongside :

"Mar descubiera por inglese :—Sea discovered by the English."

NORTH COAST OF THE SOUTHERN CONTINENT :

| | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| M. de S. eufemia ¹⁰ | Gigan | M. tasado ¹⁴ |
| Sato de uerbos ¹¹ | Y. de ge ¹² | 3. echo |
| C. de la bela | M. alto | Canpina |
| Almadabra | C. de la mota | Yllas de sana |
| C. de espera | P. flechado | G. de las perlas |
| Veneçuela | Aldea de turme | Margalada |
| Y. de brasil | Costa parej ¹³ | Tres or ¹⁵ |
| | Boca del drago | |

⁶ We follow for the nomenclature a photograph of the size of the map, made from the original in 1889. But as in 1832 and 1837 the map was more legible than it is at present, we have compared our reading of the names with the nomenclature copied also from the original by REMBIÉLINSKI, HUMBOLDT, and Ramon DE SAGRA (*Histoire physique de l'île de Cuba*, 1838). But as we stated *supra*, p. 374, we omit the nouns which are not followed by an adjective, such as *aguada* (portable water), *lago* (lake), *arcafes* for *arcefes* (shoals or reefs), *plaiã* (beach), &c. In the nomenclature to which in the following descriptions we may have occasion to refer, the names inscribed in any preceding map will be omitted; as otherwise the present work would attain excessive dimensions. But this method will present the advantage of setting forth implicitly, when certain names appear for the first time in cartographical documents. Those names are also printed precisely as we read them on the originals.

⁷ *A priori* this first series of names was borrowed by LA COSA from an English map, as it describes a region which in 1500 had been visited only by British mariners, as is shown besides by the long legend on the coast. We begin with the northernmost name, which is omitted in JOMARD's facsimile. See our facsimile, *supra*, p. 42.

⁸ The long *s* and *f* are so much alike in this map, that the word may have been originally "Cape Finistere."

⁹ Rio ralia, or Rio condia?

¹⁰ We begin with the westernmost name.

¹¹ Sato (the old form for Sembrado) de yerbas :—Strewed with herbs. It is a reference to the fields of sea-weeds (*Sargassum*).

¹² Isla de gigantes.

¹³ Costa pareja :—Similar coast?

¹⁴ Monte tajado :—The cleaved mountain?

¹⁵ Los tres hermanos ;—The three brothers (peaks, islands, or reefs).

BRAZILIAN ELBOW :

| | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| R. de la posesion | El macareo | Costa pareja |
| Mar de agua duce | G. de S. mj ^a 18 | M. negro |
| Rio del obpā 16 | Ysla de S. telmo | R° negro |
| Tres hermanos 17 | Mas alta la mar que la | G. de arrecifes |
| Plaia de cordoba | tierra 19 | R° do se fallo una cruz 21 |
| R° de holganca | Costa plaida | Punta del medano |
| C. de S. d° | anca 20 | C° de St mja 22 |
| Las planosas | plata | Motas arenosas 23 |
| Tierra de S. anbrosio | Costa de arena | R° de bazia bariles 24 |
| Costa anegada | R° de arboledos | Plaia de arena |
| | P. feroso. | |

When we see so many names to which no meaning can be ascribed, although the letters, in a number of instances are legible, and that this imperfect nomenclature is also seen in regions which we know to have been visited by the cartographer whose name figures on the map, it becomes a question whether the manuscript chart preserved in the National Museum at Madrid is really an autograph of Juan de la Cosa, or a mere copy of the time, made by some one else.

The latest geographical datum in the present map is the discovery of Brazil, the first news of which reached Europe in June or July, 1500; Gaspar de Lemos, the bearer, having sailed home from Porto Seguro in May of that year.

A very good facsimile executed by E. Rembiéliniski when the original was still in the Walckenaer collection has been published by Jomard. But before, Ramon de la Sagra had copied all the American names and drawn an outline, which he published 25 in 1837.

For an exact description of the part relating to the New World, see Kohl, in his *Documentary History of Maine*. Humboldt's intended analysis never was printed, and the manuscript is lost.

16 Rio del Obispo :—The river of the Bishop.

17 Los tres hermanos, again?

18 Golfo de Sta Maria?

19 "Here the sea is above the land."

20 *Anca* and *plata* are what is left of the name where there is a hole in the map.

21 "River where there is a cross."

22 Cape of Sta Maria?

23 Sand bars.

24 " *Vasabarris*, s. m. lieu, sur la côte du Brésil, où il y a eu beaucoup de naufrages. *Dar com tudo em Vasabarris* (fig. fam.), tout gâter tout ruiner."—J. I. ROQUETTE *Nouveau Dictionnaire Portugais-Français*. We present

this definition, which was doubtless borrowed from the *Corografia* of DE CAZAL, as a mere suggestion, and without vouching for the etymology. It is evident that in 1500 LA COSA could not have knowledge of shipwrecks on the coast of Brazil. That word is spelled differently in almost every map. Here we are not sure but it must be read *bazra barilas*. Valiza (balise), seems to enter in the original formation of the word.

25 *Parte correspondiente a la America de la carte general de Juan de la Cosa . . . calcada sobre la original por D. Ramon de la Sagra*, in his *Historia fisica . . . de Cuba*, Paris, 1837. The *Geografia* was engraved by L. BOUFFARD.

NO. 34. VICENTE YAÑEZ PINZON.

In reply to the seventh question of the Fiscal, Pedro de Ledesma made the following declaration, which has been omitted by Navarrete.²⁶

“Pedro de Ledesma dize que vydo este testigo partir al dicho vicenty anes y su companya en demanda del viaje contenido en esta pregunta y que lo vido este testigo bolver y traer la figura de todo lo que descubryo y que este puesta su figura en el padron de su alteza:²⁷—Pedro de Ledesma said that he saw Vicente Yañez [Pinzon] and his companions sail for the voyage mentioned in the question [Pinzon’s, in 1499-1500], and that the said witness saw him return and bring a map of all he had discovered; and that this map was inserted in the *Padron* of His Highness.”

NO. 35. DE LEPE’S COMPANIONS.

In reply to the eighth question of the Fiscal, Pedro de Ledesma made the following declaration, which has also been omitted by Navarrete:

“Pedro de Ledesma dize que al tiempo que diego de lepe fue a descubrir vydo este testigo yr las naos y la gente que con el yvan y las vydo boluer a esta çibdad de Seuilla saluo al dicho diego de lepe que non vino y que los que con el fueron traxieron la figura de lo que descubrieron que dezian que hera desde la dicha punta contenyda de suso hasta la costa que buelve al medyo:²⁸—Pedro de Ledesma saith that when Diego de Lepe sailed on his voyage of discovery, he saw the ships and men depart, and return to Seville, except the said Diego de Lepe who did not come; and that those who had been with him brought a map of their discoveries, which marked that it was from the said point [viz. the Cape of St. Augustine], as far as the coast which trends [volver?] southward.”

Ledesma adds that the map was brought as an evidence of truth, and as such, inserted in the model chart: “Lo trujieron por fee, e por este testimonio esta puesto con el padron real.”

This declaration must refer to Lepe’s first voyage (Dec. 1499—Nov. 1500), as when he returned from the second, Ledesma was in the New World, being one of Columbus’ pilots in the latter’s fourth expedition (May 1502—Nov. 1504).

NO. 36. VELEZ DE MENDOZA.

It was a map of Brazil, south of Cape St. Augustine, which Arias Perez Pinzon asserts was shown him by Velez de Mendoza on his return to Spain:

²⁶ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 547.

²⁷ *Probanzas del Fiscal*, MS. Archives of the Indies;

in *Est. 1, Caj. 1, Leg. 5*, doc. 16, f^o. 9.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, f^o. 10.

“E que lo sabe porque tambien le mostró la tierra que traia debujada :—And he knows that it is so, because he showed him the delineation of country which he brought.”²⁹

No. 37. AMERICUS VESPUCCIUS.

The planisphere and the globe, which, July 18, 1500, Americus Vespuccius intended to send to Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici :

“E farà una carta in figura piana, e un Apamundo in corpo sperico, il quale intendo di mandarvi per la via di marè per un Francesco Lotti nostro Fiorentino :³⁰—I shall make a map on a plane surface, and a mappamundi in the spherical form, which I propose to send you by the sea route, to the care of one Francesco Lotti, who is a Florentine countryman of ours.”

Doubts have been expressed concerning the authenticity of the letter containing the above quoted sentence.³¹

1500—1501.

No. 38. AMERICUS VESPUCCIUS.

Portuguese map, said to have been made partly by Americus Vespuccius, and which was owned by Bishop Juan de Fonseca, when Peter Martyr d'Anghiera saw it in 1513.

“Quarum una à Portugalensibus depicta erat, in qua manum dicitur imposuisse Americus Vespuccius In hoc indice latiore esse primam huius terræ frontem reperimus, quàm reguli Vrahenses nostris persuaserint de suis montibus :³²—One [of those shipmans cardes] was drawn by the Portugales, whereunto Americus Vesputius is sayde to haue put to 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 many degrees beyond the Equinoctiall. In this carde we founde the fyrst front of this land to bee brooder then the kynges of Vraba had persuaded oure men of theyr mountaynes.”

That Vespuccius should have had a hand in the making of a Portuguese map, it must have been done when he was in the service of the King of Portugal ; that is, between September 1500 and May 1501, or between September 1502 and May 1503, or between September 1504 and the close of that year. The reference to Uraba implies an early date.

²⁹ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 555.

³⁰ BANDINI, *Vita e Lettere di Amerigo Vespucci*, Firenze, 1745, 4to., page 85.

³¹ CAMUS, *Mémoire sur la collection De Bry*, pages 131, 132 ; VARNHAGEN, *Amerigo Vespucci*, p. 67.

³² ANGHIERA, *Decad. II.*, lib. x., fo 41, D.

1501.

No. 39. GLOBE OF COLUMBUS.

It accompanied a letter which Columbus sent to their Catholic Majesties from Cadiz, or from Sevilla in 1501.

“Con la cual carta les envi6 cierta figura redonda 6 esfera :⁸⁸—With said map, he sent to Their Majesties a certain round representation or sphere.”

 No. 40. COLUMBUS' OWN MAP.

This is the map which Columbus had with him at Granada, when he received the visits of Angelo Trivigiano, in the summer of 1501.

“Qui non ce ne salvo una de ditto Columbo, né è homo che ne sapia far :⁸¹—There is here only one map of Columbus, and nobody in this place is competent to copy it.”

We are unable to ascertain from the context of Trivigiano's letters, whether the map which he caused to be made, was a copy of the one then in the possession of Columbus, and to which he refers, or a copy of a map which the pilots had with them at Palos. We incline to the latter interpretation, as the distance between Granada and Palos is relatively considerable, and it is not likely that Columbus would have parted with such an important document. Besides, owing to his continuous claims and revendications, it is natural that he should always have at hand a map, which was a sort of voucher. Then the fact that Trivigiano intended to have it made of large dimensions, so that it might be finer : “lo fatta far del compasso grande,” may indicate that it was not a servile copy ; unless we interpret the expression as meaning that he would have it executed of “the large original size.”

 No. 41. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

It is the map made at Palos in 1501 for the Venetian Admiral, Domenico Malipiero, with data furnished by Columbus, and which must have embraced the first three voyages.

⁸⁸ LAS CASAS, lib. i., cap. iii., Vol. I., p. 48.

⁸¹ *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. II., p. 119.

“Io ho tenuto tanto mezo che ho preso pratica, e gran amicizia cum el Columbo Per suo mezo ho mandato a far fare a Palos, che é un loco dove non habita salvo che marinari, et homini pratici di quel viazo [*sic*] del Columbo, una carta ad istanza de la M. V., la qual sarà benissimo fata et copiosa, et particular di quanto paese e stato scoperto lo fatta far del compasso grande, perchè la sia più bella.”³⁵

“I have had so much intercourse with Columbus that we are now on a footing of great intimacy . . . Through him I have caused to be executed at Palos, which is a place exclusively inhabited by mariners and men familiar with that voyage of Columbus, a map, at the request of Your Excellency, which map will be extremely well done, ample, and detailed, of the countries already discovered I have ordered it of large size, so that it may be handsomer.”

That map was probably brought to Venice by Angelo Trivigiano himself,³⁶ early in the winter of 1502.

1502.

No. 42. BASTIDAS AND LA COSA.

Map of the discoveries accomplished on the north coast of South America, by Rodrigo de Bastidas and Juan de la Cosa.

“Arias Perez dice que . . . se hallaba en la Española cuando volvió por allí Bastidas con oro y joyas, y le enseñaron el dibujo de la tierra que habian descubierto:”³⁷—Arias Perez [Pinzon] says that he was at Hispaniola when Bastidas arrived there with gold and jewels, and they [La Cosa and Bastidas] showed him a delineation of the country which they had discovered.”

This was shortly before³⁸ July, 1502; and the map must have depicted the coast of South America from Quinquibacoa to Darien, and from the latter point to Puerto del Retrete.³⁹

No. 43. ON COLUMBUS' COAT OF ARMS.

In the letters patent granting arms to Columbus, May 20, 1493, he is authorised to quarter with “gilt islands on sea waves:—en el cuadro bajo a la mano derecha unas islas doradas en ondas de mar.”⁴⁰ But when in 1502, Columbus caused to be made the copies of his privileges which he entrusted for safe keeping to Nicolo Oderigo, the Genoese

³⁵ ZURLA, *Di Marco Polo e degli altri viaggiatori veneziani*, Vol. II., p. 362, note.

³⁶ *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. II., pp. 116-123.

³⁷ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 546.

³⁸ Finalmente, salió desta isla para España, año de 502, por Julio.” LAS CASAS, lib. ii., cap. ii., Vol. II.,

p. 12, who acquired his information from BASTIDAS himself: “tuve mucha conversacion y amistad con Rodrigo de Bastidas” (*ibid.* p. 11).

³⁹ Deposition of Alonso DE HOJEDA, see NAVARRETE, *op. cit.*, page 545.

⁴⁰ NAVARRETE, Vol. II., doc. xx., p. 37.

ambassador to the Court of Spain, he inserted in the volume a coat of arms, where the above mentioned quarter represents, in addition to the islands, a regular continent.⁴¹ Oviedo says that the latter is intended for the mainland of the Indies. His heraldic description, although erroneously represented to be based upon the arms originally conceded to Columbus,—and containing other important errors besides,⁴²—is interesting :

“Y en la parte derecha del escudo una mar en memoria del grande mar Océano: las aguas al natural azules y blancas, e puesta la Tierra-Firme de las Indias, que tome quasi la circunferencia deste quarto; dexando la parte superior é alta dél abierta, de manera que las puntas desta tierra grande muestran ocupar las partes del mediodia é tramontana. E la parte inferior, que significa el Occidente, sea de tierra continuada, que vaya desde la una punta á la otra desta tierra; y entre aquestas puntas lleno el mar de muchas islas grandes e pequeñas de diversas formas; porque esta figura, segund está blasonada en este quarto, es de la manera que se pueden significar estas Indias. La qual tierra é islas han de estar muy verdes é con muchas palmas é arboles, porque nunca en ellas pierden la hoja sino muy pocos; é ha de haber en esta Tierra-firme muchos matiçes è granos de oro, en memoria de las innumerables é riquissimas minas de oro que en estas partes é islas hay.”⁴³

“On the right side of the shield a sea, in remembrance of the great Oceanic sea, the waves, as in nature, blue and white, with the mainland of the Indies covering nearly the circumference of this quarter, and leaving the upper part open so that the capes of that large land are shown to embrace the southern and northern portions. In the lower part, which is intended for the west, a continuous land extending from one point of the same to the other. Between those capes, a sea covered with islands, large and small, of various forms, because in this quarter they are intended to represent the [West] Indies. That country and those islands very verdant, with many palms and trees, because they never lose their leaves, except very little. On the mainland, many golden hues and parcels of gold, in remembrance of the innumerable and most rich mines of gold which are found in those parts and islands.”

No. 44. UNKNOWN MARINERS.

Marine charts consulted by Christopher Columbus while at Puerto del Retrete, November 26, 1502 :

“Fue lo postrero que descubrió una tierra do falló un puerto muy pequeño que puso nombre el Puerto del Retrete y en algunas cartas de navegar de algunos de los marineros juntaba esta tierra con la que habia descubierto Hojeda y Bastidas que es la costa de las perlas: ⁴⁴—The last thing which he [Columbus] discovered was a land where he found a very small port to which he gave the name of Puerto del Retrete, and in marine charts of several mariners, that land was connected with the one which was discovered by Hojeda and Bastidas, and is the Coast of Pearls.”

⁴¹ *Codice Diplomatico Colombo-Americano*, and facsimiles in *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. II.

⁴² *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. II., p. 168.

⁴³ OVIEDO, *Hist. Genrl.*, lib. ii., cap. vii., Vol. I., p. 31.

⁴⁴ *Relacion del viage* (by Diego de PORRAS), in NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 285.

NO. 45. MATEOS' VERAGUA.

Map of Veragua made by the sailor, Pedro Mateos, as an eye-witness of the discovery, and which was taken from him by Christopher Columbus. It depicted all the mountains and rivers :

“ Pedro Mateos fue por marinero, y escribió un libro que tenia todas las sierras é rios que vió en la dicha provincia y el dicho Almirante se lo tomó despues :⁴⁵—Peter Mateos went as a sailor, and wrote a book which contained all the mountains and rivers he had seen in that province and the Admiral took it away from him.”

NO. 46. MORALES AND LEPE.

Map of the discoveries accomplished by Vicente Yañez Pinzon in the year 1500, constructed by the pilot Andres Morales for Bishop Fonseca.

Morales, in reply to the interrogatory of the Fiscal as to his knowledge concerning the aforesaid voyage of Pinzon, and whether the latter did discover from the point of the coast heretofore found, as far as the cape called Santa Cruz and S. Augustine, and thence as far as the mouth of the large river whence flowed fresh water into the sea, answered :

“ Sábelo porque le oyó al mismo Yañez y á Diego de Lepe, descubridor, que murió en Portugal, y por sus informaciones hizo una figura del descubrimiento para el obispo Fonseca :⁴⁶—He saith he knows it because he heard it affirmed by the said Yañez and by Diego de Lepe, [one of] the discoverers, who died in Portugal,⁴⁷ and with their information he constructed a map of the discovery for Bishop Fonseca.”

He further testified as follows :

“ Andres de Morales, piloto, vecino de Triana, habla de una carta marítima que habia formado para el obispo D. Juan de Fonseca, y comprendia el cabo de S. Agustin, segun los informes de los descubridores y navegantes sucesivos y con acuerdo de Diego de Lepe, cuya carta habian examinado Juan Dias de Solis y otros y en ella coloca el cabo en 16° [*sic pro 8°?*] sur distante de las islas de cabo Verde 560 leguas ”

“ Andres de Morales, a pilot, residing at Triana, spoke of a sea chart which he made for Bishop Fonseca, and which contained the Cape of St. Augustine, according to information from subsequent discoverers and navigators, and with the advice of Diego de Lepe, which map was examined by Juan Dias de Solis and others and on it the Cape [St. Augustine] was placed by 16° south, at a distance of 560 leagues from Cape Verde island.”

⁴⁵ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 584.

⁴⁶ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., pp. 319 and 552, in reply to the question addressed p. 547.

⁴⁷ His family continued to live in Spain, and he seems to have been a connexion of the PINZONS. See NAVARRETE, *Real provision* of Sept. 1519, Vol. III., p. 145.

Pinzon returned to Palos⁴⁸ on the 30th of September, 1500; Lepe, before November following. Morales went with the expedition of Bastidas and La Cosa, which sailed from Cadiz apparently in October, 1500. In the absence of more precise dates, it is not impossible that Morales should have obtained the aforesaid information early in October, 1500. But as all three may have met again⁴⁹ at the close of the year 1502, our impression is that the geographical data furnished by Pinzon and Lepe were communicated to Morales more probably during the latter period.

No. 47. CANTINO'S.

It is a planisphere on vellum, coloured and gilt, measuring 2200 by 1005 mm., and bearing, in a different handwriting, the following inscription:

“Carta da nauigar per le Isole nouam⁴⁸ tr [ouate] in le parte de l'India: dono Alberto Cantino Al S. Duca Hercole:—Nautical chart for the islands newly found in the region of India. Gift from Alberto Cantino to His Lordship the Duke Hercules.”

As we have already stated, Alberto Cantino, who was the envoy (orator) of Hercules d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, to the Court of Portugal,⁵⁰ kept his master apprised of the discoveries accomplished beyond the seas under the Portuguese and Spanish flags. The Duke having expressed a desire to obtain a map illustrating those voyages, Cantino ordered it from a cartographer living in Lisbon, and whom we suspect to have been an Italian artist.⁵¹ The latter charged him by contract twelve gold ducats,⁵² and required about ten months, from December 1501, to October 1502, to execute the work. While yet in Lisbon, the probability is that Cantino interviewed Americus Vespuccius, who had just returned to that city from his third voyage, and obtained from him supplementary information, which we assume to be the additional names in a cursive handwriting.

Cantino having occasion to return to Italy, took the map with him, left it in Genoa to be forwarded to Ferrara; and from Rome, wrote to his master the following letter:

⁴⁸ “Pridie cal. Octob.”

⁴⁹ We infer that MORALES returned with BASTIDAS, which return, according to BERNALDEZ, was in September, 1502 (*Reyes Catolicos*, cap. cxvii., Vol. II., p. 253). As to Diego DE LEPE, he sailed on his second expedition only after January, 1502 (*Doc. ineditos*, Vol. XXXI., p. 119). We do not know when he returned, nor the date of his removal to Portugal, and of his death.

⁵⁰ *Document inédit concernant Vasco da Gama. Re-*

lation adressée à Hercule d'Este, duc de Ferrare par son ambassadeur à la cour de Portugal; Paris, 1889, 8vo.

⁵¹ Our opinion is that there were then in Portugal several Italian artists who made maps, not as cartographers, but as copyists and miniaturists. The map of Nicolas DE CANERIO and KUNSTMANN No. 2, are clearly works of that kind.

⁵² About \$29 of the time. See Cornelio DESIMONI, *Tavole dei Valori*, p. 18, No. 45 of the *Moneta d'oro*.

“Ill^{mo} Principi et Ex^{mo} Duci et Domino, Domino Herculi Duci Ferrarie et Domino meo Benefactorique observandissimo. Ferrarie.

Per una de V. Ex. in risposta d'una mia a giorni passati a quella drizata, ho inteso quanto in epsa se contiene, et maxime circha la Charta del navichare: Il che humilmente a V. S. respondendo aviso, che dicta Charta lassai in Genoa a dicto messer Francesco Catanio et da lui hebbi Ducati vinte striti, cioè de libre tre ciascuno. Vero è che dicta Charta in Portogallo a me de pacto facto mi costo Ducati dodice d'oro in oro. Ma astretto dal' bisogno et non havendo ove ricorrere fui sforzato a tuor dicti denari et far quanto a V. S. scrissi: la Charta è di tal sorte, et spero che in tal maniera piacerà a V. Ex. che non gli serà molesto haver per epsa exbursato dicta quantitate perchè di quel piu che sopra spendera V.S. cioè de dodice. Si che V. Ex^{ma} piacendoli mi advisi quanto circha questo ho adoperare, et continuamente fra numero de suoi fideli Servitori mi tenga.

Romæ die 19. novembris 1502. Ill. et Ex. Dub. D. V. Servitor Albertus Cantinus scripsi.”

“Most illustrious and most excellent Duke and Prince, my respected Lord:

I did comprehend what Your Excellency asked of me by the letter sent in reply to the one which I wrote Y. E. some time ago, particularly as regards the nautical chart. By this humble answer I inform Y. E. that I have left said map in Genoa in the hands of Mr. Francesco Catanio,⁵³ who has paid over to me twenty narrow ducats, that is, ducats of three “libre” each. In truth, the map cost me in Portugal, by contract, twelve gold ducats; but being hard pressed, and not knowing whom to ask, I was constrained to accept this sum, and to do what I have said to Y. E. The map has been so successfully executed, and I hope Y. E. will be so much pleased with it, that Y. E. will regret neither the amount expended, nor the sum above the twelve ducats the map cost me, for which I shall be under obligations to Your Excellency.

Rome, November 19th, 1502. Your Highness' servant Alberto Cantino, who wrote this.”⁵⁴

The planisphere duly reached its destination and was lodged in the archives of the House of Este, in Ferrara, where it remained until 1592. In that year the map suffered the fate of the entire ducal library and collections, and was transferred to Modena when Pope Clement VIII. despoiled Cesare d'Este of his duchy.

The last possessor of that most valuable document put it to a very singular use. Wishing to cover a common screen, he had the map pasted on its folds, after cutting off and throwing away the top margin, which doubtless contained a title engrossed in large gothic letters, the tail end of one of which is still visible.

During the popular outbreak of 1859, the palace was invaded by a mob and the map stolen. A few years afterwards, the librarian of the

⁵³ Francesco CATANEO belonged to one of the oldest patrician families of Genoa. He was Genoese ambassador to France, and to Aragon. We have letters addressed by him to Doge FOSCARI, and published in the *Epistole Principum*, Venet, 1571. A member of his family,

Franco CATANEO, was settled in Cadiz, and it is to him that COLUMBUS, May 10, 1502, entrusted a copy of his famous *Codice*, to be sent to Nicoló ODERIGO.

⁵⁴ State archives in Modena, *Dispacci dalla Spagna. Cancelleria Ducale, sub anni 1501-1502.*

Biblioteca Estense, the Signor Boni, happening to pass in the Via Farini, noticed in the shop of a pork butcher, called Giusti, the Cantino chart still put to such ignominious use. He bought the map, removed the vellum from the screen, and presented that all-important geographical monument to the Este Library where it is now preserved.

We have reproduced elsewhere, in facsimile of the size of the original, the portion representing the New World, and, in reduced dimensions, for the present work, that section, and also the Asiatic coast.⁵⁵

The names inscribed on the Cantino Chart, and which appear for the first time in now existing maps, are the following:

NORTH-WESTERN CONTINENT.

| | | |
|---|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| Costa del mar vçiano ⁵⁷ | Rio de los largartos | C: do fim do abril |
| Cabo d. licõtu ⁵⁸ | Cabo Santo | El golfo bavo ⁶⁸ |
| Canju . . . ⁵⁹ | Rio de las almadias | C: lurcar ⁶⁴ |
| Cabo de b . . . a bentura ⁶⁰ | Pûta Roixa | C: do mortinbo ⁶⁵ |
| Costa alta | C: del gato | G: do lurcor ⁶⁶ |
| Lago luncor | Rio de do diego | C: arlear |
| Las cabras ⁶¹ | Cornejo ⁶² | Rio do corno ⁶⁷ |
| | Rio de las palmas. | |

SOUTHERN CONTINENT:

| | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| Tamarique ⁶⁸ | Ylha della Rapossa | Canjbales |
| Ilha Rigua | I° tres testigos | Cabo de Sam jorge (<i>bis</i>) |
| Arcay | Terra de pan° | Anaresma |
| Boacoya | Ilha de los canjbales | San miguel |
| Golfo del unficisno ⁶⁹ | Las gayas | Rio de Sã francisco |
| Costa de gente braua | La pûta de la galera | Abaia de todos sanctos |
| Rio de fonseca | Cabo deseado | Porto seguro |
| Montanbis albissimas ⁷⁰ | Rio grande | Rio de brasil |
| Cabo de las perlas | Golfo fremosso | Cabo de scta Maria ⁷¹ |

⁵⁵ See *supra*, pages 76 and 111.

⁵⁶ For a full and technical description of the map, see *Les Corte-Real et leurs voyages au Nouveau Monde . . . suivi d'une importante carte nautique portugaise*; Paris, 1883. DESIMONI, *Le Carte nautiche italiane del Medio Evo*; Genova, 1888, 8vo, pp. 32-36.

⁵⁷ We commence with the most northerly name.

⁵⁸ Dellincontir (Canerio), for Del Encuentro,—Cape of the meeting, or of the fight?

⁵⁹ Caninor, in Canerio.

⁶⁰ Bona ventura, in Canerio:—The Cape of Good Luck.

⁶¹ La cab . . . in Canerio:—The Goat, or Goats.

⁶² Comello, in Canerio and Waldseemüller.

⁶³ Baxo, in Canerio.

⁶⁴ Cauo luicar, in Canerio.

⁶⁵ Cauo de mertineo, in Canerio.

⁶⁶ Gorffo de lineor, in Canerio.

⁶⁷ Rio de covro, in Canerio.

⁶⁸ Tamarique y arqua. Arqua doubtless belonged originally to Boacoya, and read “Arcaybacoa.”

⁶⁹ Gorffo de linferno, in Cantino.

⁷⁰ Montagna altissimas, [*sic*], in Cantino.

⁷¹ This *Cabo de scta Maria* is different from the *Co de St. mja* of Juan DE LA COSA, as the latter is placed much further north than the “ysla descubierta per portogal,” that is, Brazil, the news of which discovery reached Portugal, as we have said, in June or July, 1500, by the caravel of Gaspar DE LEMOS.

The latest geographical datum in the present map is, at the north, the legend expressing fears that Gaspar Corte-Real had perished: "e crese que he perdido." This can have been inscribed only several months at least after the return to Lisbon, in October 1501, of two of his vessels; and perhaps so late as May 2, 1502, when Miguel Corte Real⁷² sailed from Portugal in search of his brother.

The names north and south of Porto Seguro, on the Atlantic coast, were inscribed, as already stated, after the map had been delivered to Cantino, but very soon afterwards, and at Lisbon.

As to the north-western configuration, we are loth to believe that it appeared in Cantino for the first time. It doubtless originated with other maps, and proceeds from a type on which had been grafted data borrowed from fragmentary surveys brought by mariners of different nations, as we suppose, and who must have visited that coast several times in the course of clandestine expeditions.

See *supra*, Book Fifth, pages 77-133.

AFTER 1502.

No. 48. KUNSTMANN No. 3.

It is a sort of Catalano-Lusitanian map of the world, the American portion of which has been reproduced in facsimile by Dr. Kunstmann,⁷³ who recognised in it the hand which made another chart, also preserved at Munich, and signed: "Salvat[ore] de Pilestrina en Mallorques en lay MDXI."

Peschel believed⁷⁴ that it was constructed between the years 1502 and 1503, whilst Kohl assigns⁷⁵ the date of 1504. In our opinion, that map does not contain sufficient intrinsic elements to enable critics to fix either of those dates.

The names which, for the New World, appear for the first time in this map are the following:

⁷² Damião DE GOES, *Chronica do feleçissimo Rei dom Emanuel*, Lisboa, 1565-67, fol., f^o 65.

⁷³ KUNSTMANN, *Die Entdeckung America's*, page 29, plate iii.; *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, No. 5, page 161.

⁷⁴ Oscar PESCHEL, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*; 1858, page 331.

⁷⁵ KOHL, *Documentary History of Maine*, page 174, plate viii.

GREENLAND AND NEWFOUNDLAND.

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Ca de sã paulo | Baxos do medo | Cabo de san anton |
| C. de Spū scto | Ilha de frey luis | Baya de santa Cyria |
| C. de mirame et lexame ⁷⁶ | Rio de rosa | Cabo de concepcion |

BRAZILIAN COAST.

| | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| Sam Roq | [Mon]te pascual | Rio de Ranie ⁷⁹ |
| Sta m. datalaya | Rio das ostras | Amgra de Reis |
| Môte de St. vicente | Cabo frio da Rame | Cabo de paz |
| Sta m. da Rabeoda ⁷⁷ | G. de Reds ⁷⁸ | Rio de Sam Vicente |
| Cabo de Santo agustinho | Cabo frio | Ilha de goanas ⁸⁰ |
| | Rio de cananea. | |

The map is preserved in the Geographical Department of the Koniglich Bayer'schen Haupt Conservatorium at Munich.

No. 49. KUNSTMANN No. 2.

That map exhibits Greenland in the form of an elongated island; Newfoundland with the eastern profile already noticed in the Cantino chart, and to the south west of it, on a line with its apex, a region named "Terra di Cuba." Then comes the north coast of South America, beginning evidently, with the Cape de la Vela. But before reaching Brazil, the coast presents a wide and intentional break. It starts again with the Brazilian regions, continues around the Cape of St. Augustine, and descends to about 30°. We notice on the Atlantic shores, south of the "Serra de Santhome," configurations which, on account of certain characteristics, seem to have been borrowed from a real exploration, probably of the present Rio de Janeiro.

The map is described, *de visu*, by Kunstmann, as follows :

⁷⁶ Cape look at me and avoid me. This strange designation is also found in the map of Pedro REINEL.

⁷⁷ Santa Maria de la Rabida. That name, which figures on no other map, betrays a Spanish origin for the original denomination, although in old Portuguese there is also such a word (*Rabida*, now *Raiyosa*). It comes doubtless from a famous sanctuary on a mountain near Palos. We see the name still in French manuscript sailing directions of 1540-1545, "Sainte marie darabeda."

⁷⁸ Probably "Golfo de los Reis : " The Gulf of Kings ; although the same map contains also " Amgra de Reis," which is nearly the same thing, and is a reference to the

Magians, or the day of Epiphany. This would indicate two different voyages to the Brazilian coast ; the first, in the course of which one of the points was discovered January 6 ; the second, in which the other point was found on the same day.

⁷⁹ Rio de Ranie :—The River of Frogs.

⁸⁰ Simaõ DE VASCONCELLOS, *Noticias do Brazil*, Lisboa, 1668, 4to, p. 75, mentions an important tribe of Indians in Southern Brazil called "Goayanas." On the other hand, the Portuguese dictionaries cite as the generic and native name of certain beautiful Brazilian birds, represented by nine species, "Gohanhambig."

“Die zweite Karte ist ein getreues Bild der Zeit, in welcher, wie oben S. 72 bemerkt wurde, man sich den Norden Amerikas aus einer Menge grosser und kleiner Inseln bestehend dachte.

Schmeller⁸¹ hat diese Karte (cod. iconogr. 133) gleichfalls. beschrieben, und hinsichtlich des übrigen Inhaltes (S. 250) bemerkt, dass das grosse von den Portugiesen in Jahre 1506 entdeckte und anfangs Insula Sancta Laurentii genannte Eyland Madagascar ihr noch unbekannt sei.”⁸²

The new names in this map are the following :

GREENLAND AND ISLANDS ADJOINING.

| | |
|--------------|-------------------------|
| Terra dauens | da mirla |
| da sontedo | de farlla ⁸³ |

SOUTH AMERICAN CONTINENT.

| | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| De lisleo | Sancta maria de agoodia ⁸⁶ | Rio de S. Helena |
| Terra seccha | Capo de Sancta ✠ | Rio de Cosmes |
| G. de Uenetia | Bafra barill ⁸⁷ | Rio de uirgene |
| Monte retondo | Rio di perera | Rio de San johan |
| G. de inferno | Serra de S. madlana di | Barefres uermege ⁸⁹ |
| Aide venada ⁸¹ | gratia | Rio de sta lucia |
| Cavo frenoso | Rio de caxa | Serra de santhome |
| Rio de arena | Rio de saõ hieronymo | Rio de arefeces |
| C. de pario | Rio do odio | Pinotulo de rentio ⁹⁰ |
| . . . de alegroza | Rio de melo ⁸⁸ | Rio jordan |
| Questo lago e aqua dolce ⁸⁵ | Monte fregoso | Rio de saõ antonio |
| Rio de le aues | Rio de S. jacomio | Punta de San uincenzo |
| | Rio de S. augustino | Rio de cananor ⁹¹ |

The designation: “Questo lago e aqua dolce,” and the names: “A baia de tutti santi, Capo de Sancta ✠, San Michael, Rio di perera,” and “Madlana di gratia,” clearly indicate slips of the pen committed by an Italian cartographer who, copying a Portuguese chart, reverts unconsciously to his mother tongue.

⁸¹ J. A. SCHMELLER, *Ueber einige ältere handschriftliche Seekarten*, in *Abhandlungen der I. Cl. d. Ak. d. Wiss.* IV. Bd. Abth. I.; Munich, 1844, p. 252.

⁸² KUNSTMANN, *Die Entdeckung America's*, p. 127.

⁸³ Apparently a corruption and equivalent of “C. de mirame et lexame,” of Kunstmann No. 3.

⁸⁴ For “Aldea vencida:” The conquered village.

⁸⁵ That legend here is in the Italian language; and the word “lago” is probably intended for “lagone,” which is sometimes taken in the sense of sea, or large extent of water.

⁸⁶ Perhaps the “Isla de Sancta Maria de Agosto,” of the GRANVELLE manuscript copy of the *Islario* of SANTA CRUZ, preserved at Besançon.

⁸⁷ “Baziabariles” in LA COSA.

⁸⁸ Rio do mezo. (?)

⁸⁹ Or “Bareros vermege,” and “Bareras vermeias,” in Canerio:—The Red Bars.

⁹⁰ Or “Pinaculo de tentio.” Probably the Pinaculo de tantacã of the Turin map, which may mean The Summit of the Temptation.

⁹¹ Rio de [la] Cananea, in Kunstmann No. 3.

If in the present map the Brazilian configuration and nomenclature are not anterior to those in Kunstmann No. 3, its representation of Newfoundland certainly belongs to an older type than the outline of this island in the latter map. Instead of an elongated island running from east to west, Kunstmann No. 3 correctly ascribes a peninsular form to Greenland, and in lieu of a nameless isle cast into the broad Atlantic, it represents Newfoundland apparently soldered to the continent, inscribes thereon six names, and delineates the beginning of a coast intended to continue southward. These differences may be due to information brought by the two caravels of Miguel Corte Real, which returned to Lisbon in the autumn of 1502, but too late to be inserted in the Cantino chart, as they left Newfoundland sometime after August 20 of that year.⁹² But as we have shown that the names of capes, rivers, and mountains inscribed on the coast of Brazil in the present, and in Kunstmann No. 3, may have originated with the fourth voyage of Vespuccius (1503-1504), the reasons suggested by those Newfoundland configurations do not allow us to place Kunstmann No. 3 after the present Kunstmann No. 2.

No. 50. NICOLAY DE CANERIO.

That important map, recently discovered⁹³ in the *Archives du Service hydrographique de la Marine* at Paris, represents the entire world as known in 1502-1504, and measures 2250 by 1150 mm.

It is a Portuguese map, undated, but signed as follows :

“Opus Nicolay de Canerio Januensis :⁹⁴—The work of Nicolas de Canerio, Genoese.”

That is, the present mappamundi was constructed (or only copied) by a Genoese cartographer, most probably in Portugal ; as if he had executed his work in Italy, there would have been no reason for inscribing the legends in the Portuguese language, and he would have translated

⁹² *Les Corte-Real*, page 167.

⁹³ L. GALLOIS. *Une Nouvelle Carte marine du XVII^e siècle. Le portulan de Nicolas de Canerio. Extrait du Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, Lyon, 1890, 8vo, 28 pages ; and two fragments of that map, one representing the New World, one half the original size, the other, Africa, full size. We are indebted to Mr. BOUQUET DE LA GRYE for a perfect photograph of the entire map, of the dimensions of the original. This map entered the archives of the State Department in 1669 ; eleven years

before the first collection of papers relating to maritime affairs was ordered by COLBERT and entrusted to Pierre CLAIREMBAULT Junior, in 1680 ; and thirty years before the creation of the archives of the French Navy, in 1699, by PONTCHARTRAIN. See our *Notes sur la Nouvelle France*, page 6.

⁹⁴ Searches have been instituted at our request in the numerous Indices and Abecedarios of the State and Notarial archives in Genoa, for the names of CANERIO and CAUERIO. Neither could be found anywhere.

them into Italian. On this point we must give the precise text of the two leading legends :

OVER THE WEST INDIES.

“Has antilhas del rey de Castella descuberta por collonbo [*sic*] ienoeize almirante que es de las aquales ditas insullas [ilhas] se descobriram per mandado do muyto alto et poderoso principe Rey dom Fernando Rey de castella.”

“The Antillies of the King of Castile, discovered by Collonbo, Genoese [this word is not in Cantino] Admiral, which islands were discovered by command of the very high and very powerful prince the King Dom Fernando, King of Castile.”

ON THE BRAZILIAN COAST.

“Auera crus chamada per nome aquall achou pedaluares cabral fidalgo da cassa del rey de portugall e uelle adescoiero [a descobrio] por capitano [moor] do [de] XIII nauos que rey mandaua a calicut ie nel [i en el] caracho [caminho] induto poi [indo tapou] com esta terra aqual terra secrem [se cree] esser [ser] terra foerme [firme] em aquel [aqual] a muita gente de descriacam [descriacam andam] nuos omes e mulieres [molheres] como quas [suas] mais [*pro* maïs] os pario sum [sam] mais biancos [brancos]”⁹⁵

“The True Cross, so called, which was discovered by Pedro Alvarez Cabral, gentleman of the household of the King of Portugal; and he discovered it in navigating as chief captain of fourteen ships which the said King was sending to Calicut, and, in following his route, he found that land, which is believed to be a continent, where are many men endowed with reason, and men and women who go naked, as brought into the world. They are rather white than dark, with smooth hair. The said land was discovered in the year [one thousand] five hundred.”

The configurations and nomenclature, everywhere in this chart, are those of the Cantino map, but they do not proceed from the latter, as the profiles exhibit differences, and there are additional names indicating another prototype of a later date.

A very important feature in the present map is a regular scale of latitudes. According to that scale, the continental region in the north-west, first delineated in Cantino, extends here from 50° to 20° north latitude; showing a prolongation of that region southward of eighteen degrees, less, however, than in Schöner's first globes, and with new profiles. As on this prolongation the Nuremberg geographer has inscribed the word “Parias,” and as his prototype was certainly very like Canerio's, we are inclined to believe that the prolongation was originally intended to represent the countries discovered by Columbus during his third voyage; the first mention of which appeared in print on the 10th of April, 1504, in the *Libretto de tutta la Nauigatione de Re de Spagna*,⁹⁶ but was known in

⁹⁵ The words between brackets we borrow from the same legends in CANTINO.

⁹⁶ “Comprodeuano che questa terra se chiamasse paria,” *Libretto*, cap. xxii., f° 19.

Italy so early as the autumn of 1501, when Angelo Trivigiano sent his account to Domenico Malipiero.⁹⁷

In the nomenclature on the north-western continent, we see for the first time the name "Lago del ladro," which appears in Ruysch as "Lago del oro," and in Waldseemüller as "larro dellodro;" but was probably inscribed on the prototype, "Lago del ladrõ," for "Lago del ladron," or "The Lake of the thief," and not "Lago del oro," or "The Lake of Gold."

Two other names are spelt differently, but not more intelligibly. Where Cantino writes: "G: do lurcar," and "C. do mortinbo," Canerio inscribes: "Gorffo de lineor," and "Cauo de mertineo." Finally, the preposition "of," which in Cantino is written "do," as in Portuguese, appears in Canerio as "de," in the Spanish form, whilst that north-western continent exhibits in the latter, at both ends, the standard of Castile and Leon; which indicates in the opinion of the cartographer, Spanish possessions, and perhaps also Spanish discoveries or explorations.

The southern continent extends from 12° to 35° south latitude, which is about ten degrees more than in Cantino. The nomenclature for the north coast of Brazil is as in the latter; but on the eastern seaboard, the list comprises, in addition to the names in Cantino, those of Kunstmann Nos. 2 and 3, with the addition of "Porto de Sto Sebastiano," and "Alapago (*pagus*) de Sam Paullo," both of which make here their first appearance.

Newfoundland presents the configuration already seen in Cantino, and is placed in the same erroneous longitude, but bears no inscriptions whatever. Nor is the line of demarcation depicted.

The Portuguese legends concerning the discoveries of the Land of the True Cross and of the Antillies, are as in Cantino, but Canerio takes care to recall the action of his countrymen by adding to the map: "descoberta por collonbo ienoeize;" and the cross of St. George to the Canarian island of "Lansarotto." The latter, however, is a peculiarity already existing, not only in the celebrated Catalan chart of 1375, but also in the recently discovered Majorcan mappamundi, which bears the inscription: "Hoc opus fecit angelino Dulcert ano m^occc^oxxxviii^o de mense augusti in ciuitate maioricarum."

This map constitutes the earliest specimen known of the Fourth Type. See *Supra*, page 305.

⁹⁷ *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. II., p. 122.

No. 51. THE KING CHART.

Map of the world on parchment, 940 by 590 mm., discovered in the papers of an Englishman called Richard King, said to have been a traveller. It was made known and first described, with a reduced facsimile of its American part, by Dr. E. T. Hamy.⁹⁸

As we have already stated, this map presents for the New World only a skeleton of Kunstmann No. 2. The nomenclature is limited to six names, viz.:

“Terra Laboratoris,” given to a narrow insular Greenland;

“Terra Cortereal,” written on Newfoundland, which island is fully identified by the following inscription;

“Capo Raso,” named here for the first time either in accounts or on a map;

“Terra de Cvba,” on an insular region, situate between 35° and 40° north latitude of the scale inscribed on the map;

“Isabella;”

“Terra scte crvcis.”

The map contains no general denomination for the New World.

We believe that the Lusitano-Italian prototype which served for making Kunstmann No. 2, has also inspired the maker of the King chart. Not only the American configurations, gaps, omissions, and geographical errors are the same in both, but the all-important name of “Capo Raso” also betrays either an Italian cartographer, or a model containing Italian words; the “p” in the word “capo,” not being either Spanish or Portuguese. See *supra*, in *The First Type*, page 293.

1502-1504.

No. 52. SAILORS' MAPS.

Those maps are referred to by Diego de Porras, in his official report of November 7, 1504, in these terms:

“En algunas cartas de navegar de algunos de los marineros juntaba esta tierra con la que habia descubierto Hojeda y Bastidas que es la costa de las perlas:— On some of the sailing charts of certain sailors, that land [Veragua] is connected with the land discovered by Hojeda and Bastidas, which is the Coast of Pearls.”⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Dr. E. T. HAMY, *Notice sur une mappemonde portugaise anonyme de 1502, récemment découverte à Londres*; in the *Bulletin de Géographie historique et*

descriptive, Paris, 1887, No. 4.

⁹⁹ Relation of Diego DE PORRAS, in NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 285.

1503.

No. 53. JUAN DE LA COSA.

Two maritime charts of the Indies, made by Juan de la Cosa, and presented by him to Queen Isabella in September, 1503, at Segovia: "Dos cartas de marear de las Indias." This reference was taken by Navarrete¹⁰⁰ from the Muñoz Collection of MSS., the only source of information, almost, used by Spanish savants to this day. The statement seems to have been borrowed from the Book of Accounts of the Casa de Contratacion, *sub anni* 1503-1515, where is inscribed the following very interesting item:

"Que pago a Niculosa Espindola en nombre de Juan de la cossa dos mill y seiscientos y veinte y cinco mrs. por dos cartas de marear que dio a la Reyna nuestra señora é para su satisfacion de los caminos que hizo en Portugal:—Pay to Nicolo Spinola¹⁰¹ in the name of [or for] Juan de la Cosa, 2625 maravedis for two sailing charts which he gave to the Queen, and as [a token of her] satisfaction for the voyages which he made to Portugal."

One of those two maps may be that which we mention in the next item, from the list published by D. Diego Clemencin.

 No. 54. QUEEN ISABELLA'S.

Map which Queen Isabella had in her own library, and is described in the inventory of her property as follows:

"No. 25. Un mapa mundi en pargamino pintado:—A mappamundi on vellum, coloured."¹⁰²

Isabella possessed two collections of books, one of which, numbering 201 volumes, was preserved in the Alcazar of Segovia. The other collection contained only 52 volumes, and was entrusted to her chamberlain Sancho de Parades. The said mappamundi belonged to the latter set, "the broken remains of which," says Prescott,¹⁰³ "have contributed to swell the magnificent library of the Escorial." We have seen in that library several important MSS. concerning Peru, but no maps whatever could be discovered.

¹⁰⁰ NAVARRETE, *Biblioteca Maritima Española*, Vol. II., art. *Juan de la Cosa*.

¹⁰¹ SPINOLA was a Genoese banker settled in Seville.

¹⁰² CLEMENCIN, *Elogio de la Réina católica Doña Isabel*, p. 476.

¹⁰³ *Ferdinand and Isabella*, Vol. II., p. 188.

No. 55. MAPS OF COLUMBUS' CREW.

Those maps were seized by him, about May 1503, on the plea that they proved to be a great impediment to maritime discoveries.

"Los marineros no traían ya carta de navegar que se las había el Almirante tomado á todas: se decían que el yerro que se hizo al principio había causado gran desconcierto en el descubrir:—The sailors did not have with them sailing charts, because the Admiral had seized all those which they had, alleging that the mistake committed at the outset had greatly impeded the work of discoveries."¹⁰⁴

ABOUT 1503.

No. 56. HISPANIOLA.

Manuscript map of the island of Hispaniola which we found inserted in Fernando Columbus' own copy of the Peter Martyr of 1511, preserved in the Biblioteca Colombina at Seville. It is on vellum, measures 410 by 290 mm., and may be only a fragment of a large map of the Antillies.

We noticed a number of names, several of which were given by Christopher Columbus.

On the north coast: "Puerto de Plata, Isabella, Puerto Real."¹⁰⁵

On the west coast: "Manati, Hatiei,¹⁰⁶ Granada, Caralmi."

On the south coast: "Salvatiera, Iagaqye, Isleos blancos, Yucan . . . , Acya."

In the interior: "Lares, Concepcion (de la Vega), Santiago (de los Caballeros), San Juan de la Magyana,¹⁰⁷ Hageyi."

Rivers: Iaqye, Naiba, Lyna, Tireo, Hanu, and Hatiboni."

The great stream, "Rio de Santiago," is nameless; but several of the above mentioned towns set forth edifices.

It is worthy of notice that the following names have been omitted, viz.: Xamana (or Samana),¹⁰⁸ Bohio (or Boio), Albao, Monte-Cristo, Zuruquia (or Xaragua), Navidad (deserted in the year 1493), Cibao,¹⁰⁹ Niti (although the mountains about the place show the explorations attempted by Hojeda), Monte-Juan, Janico, Bonao, Pani, Cabo-Franco, Punta de Brasil, Nueva Isabella (or San Domingo), all of which names are to be found in the map of Juan de la Cosa, or in the descriptions of Dr. Chanca, Oviedo, and Bernaldez.

¹⁰⁴ Official report of Diego DE PORRAS, in NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 287.

¹⁰⁵ "Puerto Real" is in OVIEDO, Vol. I., p. 48.

¹⁰⁶ It is "Hayti," name given to the portion of the island first visited by COLUMBUS (CHANCA). It is spelled "Ayti" by BERNALDEZ.

¹⁰⁷ CAONABO was the cacique of "La Maguana." That town is mentioned by OVIEDO.

¹⁰⁸ "Samana" is to be found in the Cantino chart.

¹⁰⁹ In the country of Cibao there was a fortress named "Santo Thomás." According to BERNALDEZ, "Cibao" means "a rocky place." *Reyes Católicos*, cap. cxxi.

1504.

No. 57. VESCONTE DE MAGGIOLO.

Atlas of Vesconte de Maggiolo or Maiolo, dated 1504, exhibited during the Geographical Congress held at Venice, and bearing No. 433 in its catalogue.¹¹⁰

We have been unable to ascertain the American configurations set forth in that atlas, which has disappeared since the death of its owner. It is the earliest work known of that Genoese cartographer, who exercised his art¹¹¹ until 1549 or 1551.

ABOUT 1504.

No. 58. GREGORIO DIAZ.

They were maps of Paria, Uraba, Darien, and Veragua, made by the pilot Gregorio Diaz, who visited those regions with Columbus :

“Anduvo todo aquello en compañía del Almirante. Ha hecho cartas de todo ello :—He sailed over all those parts in company with the Admiral. He has made maps of all of them.”¹¹²

1505.

No. 59. GLOBE BELONGING TO JULIUS II.

It was apparently a mounted globe which Isabella d'Este, daughter of Hercules I., Duke of Ferrara, and wife of Francesco de Gonzagua, Marquis of Mantua, ordered Floramonto Brognolo, on the 20th of February, 1505, to be made by copying the one in the Vatican, or Pope's library at Rome :

“M. Floramonte.—Non ce aggravara la spesa de quaranta Ducati quando lo exempio del Mapamondo et Zodiaco fia facto bello, et simile aquello che se ritrova in la libreria dil Papa . Si che ordinati pure chel fu facto, ma cum summa diligentia, et misura . Bene Valete . Mantuæ xx Februarij 1505.”

“Mr. Floramont.—As the cost will not exceed 46 ducats to secure a fine copy of the mappamundi with a zodiac, like that which is in the Pope's library, you may order it ; but let it be executed very promptly, and of the exact size. Good-bye. Mantua, February 20, 1505.”

¹¹⁰ DESIMONI, *Allo studio secondo intorno a Giovanni Verrazzano, Appendice III.*, page 95.

¹¹¹ *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 165; *supra*, p. 216;

and *infra*, under the year 1527, for a list of atlases executed by this Vesconte DE MAGGIOLO.

¹¹² NAVARRETE, Vol. III., pp. 582, 591.

This letter of Isabella d'Este, published here for the first time, is preserved in the State archives at Mantua. We have vainly looked in the Vatican Library and Secret Archives for the globe alluded to.

The reader is aware that the princes of the House of Este took a great interest in Geography. Besides Isabella's father, who ordered the Cantino map,¹¹³ and took such pains to secure the geographical notes and writings left by Toscanelli,¹¹⁴ upon hearing of Columbus' discovery, we should not forget that it was to the father of Hercules, Borso d'Este, that Nicholas the German (*alias* Nicholas Donis), dedicated or addressed,¹¹⁵ in 1466, his famous first twenty-seven¹¹⁶ Ptolemaic maps (engraved in 1478).

No. 60. PEDRO REINEL.

This map, which is probably a stray sheet of some important atlas or portolano, is on vellum, undated, but bears in semi-gothic letters the inscription: "Pedro Reinel a fez."

It is preserved in the Royal Library at Munich, and has been partially reproduced in fac-simile by Kunstmann,¹¹⁷ and by Kohl,¹¹⁸ who has added a detailed description of the map.

Barros mentions¹¹⁹ a "Pero Reinel moço d'esporas," who, so far back as 1487, had the reputation of being an experienced navigator: "homem costumado andar naquellas partes," that is, on the African coast. We are unable to say whether he is the author of the present map.

We see a young Reinel established at Seville as a cosmographer, and, in 1519, employed in constructing a sphere ("poma") and a map of the Asiatic archipelago, which his father came to complete, by adding the Molucca islands.¹²⁰ But as we do not possess the christian names of those Reinels, it is impossible to identify either with the Pero Reinel mentioned by Barros, or with another Pero Reinel cited by Herrera.

¹¹³ *Supra*, p. 77, and p. 422, No. 47.

¹¹⁴ *Supra*, Book I., chapter i., p. 2.

¹¹⁵ *Illustrissimo. principi. ac dño. domino. Borsio. Marchioni. Estensi. Rodrigii . . . comiti svvs donnvvs* [for "Dominus," or for "Dom,"—hence the erroneous name "Donis"], *Nicolavs Germanvs.* Paris National Library, MSS., Fonds Latin, No. 4,805. See D'AVEZAC, *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, Vol. V. (1863), page 301.

¹¹⁶ The five modern maps were added several years afterwards.

¹¹⁷ KUNSTMANN, *Atlas zur Entdeckungen-geschichte America's*; plate i.

¹¹⁸ KOHL, *Documentary History of Maine*, plate ix., and page 177.

¹¹⁹ BARROS, *Decad.* I., lib. iii., cap. xii., f^o. 58. "Moço d'esporas," must not be taken literally, we think, in the sense of equerry, but of one belonging to the household of a nobleman.

¹²⁰ *Carta escrita en Sevilla al Rey de Portugal por Sebastian Alvarez*; NAVARRETE, Vol. IV., p. 155; only for a Spanish translation from the Portuguese.

Herrera relates ¹²¹ that in 1522, two Portuguese cosmographers of that name entered the service of Charles V. As they came expressly from Portugal, apparently for the first time in 1522, in company with Simon de Alcazaba, who was a deserter, we are again unable to say whether these Reinels were also pre-named Pero. The Pero Reinel of Herrera was a pilot of much repute: "piloto de mucha fama."

The present map was doubtless made in Portugal, as all its names and legends are in the Portuguese language. Kohl says that it was executed in 1505; Peschel, the year previous.¹²²

The new names are on Greenland and on Newfoundland, as follows:

| | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Baya de Sante Cyria | Cabo de coçepiçion | Ilha emcorporada |
|---------------------|--------------------|------------------|

1505-1506.

No. 61. CHRISTOPHER AND BARTHOLOMEW COLUMBUS.

Map of the New World, which had been commenced by Columbus, and finished by his brother Bartholomew, and was in the possession of Bishop Fonseca when Peter Martyr saw it. This must have been shortly after March 11, 1513, which is the date of the election of Leo X. as Pope, considering that the second decade was written at the latter's request when in the papal chair,¹²³ whilst the said decade bears the date of December, 1514.

"Alteri Colonus vivens, cum ea perlustratet loca, dedit initium: cui et frater eius Bartholomæus Colonus, Hispaniola Adelantus, indicium suum addidis¹²⁴ . . . :—Wherupon I repayred to the byshoppe of Burges beinge the chiefe refuge of this nauigation. As wee were therfore secretly togyther in one chamber, we had many instrumentes perteynyng to these affayres as globes and manye of those mappes which are commonly cauled the shipman's cardes, or cardes of the sea. Of the which, one was drawen by the Portugales . . . To an other, Colonus the Admiral whyle he yet lyued and searched those places had gyuen the beginnyng with his owne handes: Wherunto Bartholomeus Colonus his brother and Lieuetenant had addid his iudgement, for he also, had sayled aboute those coastes."

The purport of the book of the Decade containing the above extract, indicates that the map gave a delineation of the north coast of South America, comprising the lands visited by Christopher Columbus and his

¹²¹ HERRERA, Decad. III., lib. iv., cap. xiii., p. 132.

¹²² PESCHEL, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, page 332.

¹²³ "Ex quo parere statui postulantiibus, ut sanctitatis

tuæ nomine ista redigerem in Latium sermonem . . ." ANGHIERA, Decad. II., lib. x., f^o. 41, c.; and p. 172 of the Paris Hakluyt edition.

¹²⁴ *Ibidem*.

brother Bartholomew during the fourth voyage. It was made, consequently, after the 7th of November, 1504; but as Bartholomew went to Italy in 1506, the map was necessarily completed between those two dates.

BETWEEN 1506 AND 1508.

No. 62. MAP OF VERAGUA.

Pictorial description and map of the Veragua country, made at Rome by Bartholomew Columbus, between 1506 and 1508.

“Del 1505 essendo Bartolamio Colombo fratello di christophoro colombo da poi la sua morte¹²⁵ andato a Romá per haver lettere del pontifice¹²⁶ al Re di Spagna chel volese esser contento di darli caravelle Confesato da uno frate Hieronimo de l'ordine di frati canonici regolari in S. Joanni Laterano li dete di suo mano uno disegno de' litti di tal terre dove eron discripte i lochi la conditione et natura et costumi et abiti di quelli popoli et esendo ditto frate Hieronimo qui in Venetia nel monasterio loro della carità essendo mio amico mi dette el tal disegno et el simile mi dette in scripto la conditione et popoli di tal paesi li quali in breve Io Alex^o . . .¹²⁷ li notero . . . ”¹²⁸

“While at Rome in 1505, Bartholomew Columbus, brother of Christopher, where he had gone after the latter's death, to obtain from the Pope a letter to the King of Spain [praying] to give him ships . . . In his intercourse with one Jerome, a friar of the regular order of St. John of Latran, he gave him a delineation in his own hand of the coast of that country [Veragua] with a description of the region, nature, customs, and dress of the people. And the said monk Jerome, when at Venice, in the monastery of the Charity, and being a friend of mine, gave me that drawing, and also, in writing, the description of the people . . . which I, Alexander . . . shall give in brief . . .”

We assume that the description contained a map; such being the meaning which must be given to “uno disegno de' litti di tal terre,” though it may have represented only the coasts.

¹²⁵ The date of 1505 is erroneous, as Christopher COLUMBUS died in 1506. On the other hand, Bartholomew COLUMBUS had an illegitimate child born to him in Spain, on the 11th of December, 1508, under circumstances showing that he was at Seville in the latter year. *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. II., p. 206 and 466.

¹²⁶ That Pope was JULIUS II. who occupied the papal chair from November 3, 1503, until his death, February 20, or 21, 1513. As he was born, not at Albisola, but at Savona in 1441, and commenced by being a mere boatman, says ERASMUS (*Adagiorum*, chiliad. iii., cent. iv., No. 85), Bartholomew COLUMBUS, whose father

lived in that place from 1470 until 1484, may have met the future Pope when on a visit to his parents.

¹²⁷ We must read: “Alessandro ZORZI,” who was the compiler of a new edition of the *Paesi novamente ritrovati* which never was published. We found among his MSS. (National Library in Florence, *Conti*, STROZZI, 4to, cod. 24, Class XIII., *Alberico*, Class XIII., cod. 81), the above text and a number of other documents, but not that pictorial description.

¹²⁸ *Informatione di Bartolomeo Colombo della navigazione di Ponente et Garbin di Beragua*; in the *Biblioteca Americana Vetustissima*, p. 471.

BEFORE 1507.

No. 63. BEHAIM'S MAPPAMUNDI.

The present is not his famous globe preserved at Nuremberg, nor the mappamundi copied from the latter, which is yet in the archives of the Behaim family. We refer to the map which was preserved in the Treasury of the King of Portugal in 1517. This map is said to have been communicated to Magellan, who noticed the delineation of a strait, which confirmed his belief in the existence of a western passage :

“ Mais le capitaine general [Magellan] dist quil y auoit vng aultre estroict pour saillir, et dist quil le scauoit bien pource quil lauoit veu par vne carte marine du roy de Portugal. La quelle carte vng grand pilot et marinier nomme Martin de boesme auoit faictes :—But the Captain General said there was another strait leading out ; and that he knew well, for having seen it on a naval chart of the King of Portugal. That map was the work of a great pilot and mariner called Martin of Bohemia.”¹²⁹

As Martin Behaim lived at Fayal from the close of 1494 until 1506, and at Lisbon until his death, which occurred July 29, 1507, we may readily believe that he continued to construct globes and nautical charts, which embodied the transatlantic discoveries which he must have been among the first to learn. It is therefore almost certain that King Manoel possessed a planisphere which indicated the transatlantic countries recently discovered, and particularly the south-east coast of the new continent, as the regions found by Cabral (being easterly of the line of demarcation) belonged to Portugal by virtue of the Treaty of Tordesillas. Behaim then doubtless traced, hypothetically, the celebrated Strait which Magellan was destined to discover thirteen years later.

We can guess what was the appearance of that map. East, there were Europe, Africa, and Asia, such as Behaim depicted them on his globe of 1492. West, we suppose that towards the north he designed continental lands which resembled the north-western continent in the Cantino and Canerio planispheres, if they were not precisely alike. The coasts of South America continued unbroken until they formed an apex, which Behaim traced in the form of Africa, by way of analogy. The seaboard was probably made to ascend on the Pacific side as high as

¹²⁹ MSS. of the Paris National Library. *Fonds fran- MS. because it is unquestionable that PIGAFETTA'S çais*, No. 24, 224, verso of the 14th f^o. We quote this account was originally written in the French language.

the equator. So that upon the whole, it must not have been much unlike the first globe of Schöner.

The Italian abridgment of Pigafetta's account¹³⁰ adds that the map was preserved "Nella Thesoraria del Re di Portogallo."

The fact of the communication is also mentioned by Las Casas; but although he had a personal conversation with Magellan on the day when the latter paid his visit to the High Chancellor, Pigafetta is his only authority for the statement.¹³¹

The little we know concerning the map mentioned by Pigafetta is yet sufficient to account for the peninsular form given to the South American continent before the voyage of Magellan in so many of the Lusitano-Germanic maps and globes. And as Behaim continued to correspond with his family and friends at Nuremberg until his death,¹³² we feel inclined to suppose that it was one of his maps which became the prototype used by Schöner.

No. 64. VELDICUS' GLOBE.

This globe was constructed by William Van de Velde, of Veldius in Gelderland; hence his name of Wilhelmius Veldicus Monapius.¹³³ It was purchased from him by Henry de Bunau, who died¹³⁴ between 1506 and 1507.

"Henricum de Bunau diu uita audiui defunctum, sed libros eius et globum cosmographiæ quem olim comparauit ex officina tua, remansisse apud Saxonix principes, quod tu existimas, non audiui:—I have been told that Henry de Bunau¹³⁵ died some time ago, but I have never heard it said that his books and the cosmographical globe which he had bought in your laboratory remained with the princes of Saxony, as you believe."¹³⁶

¹³⁰ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 15, and RAMUSIO, Vol. I., fo. 352.

¹³¹ LAS CASAS, *Historia*, lib. iii., cap. ci., Vol. IV., page 377.

¹³² "En Allemagne le nom de Behaim se trouvait dans toutes les bouches."—LELEWEL, *Géographie du Moyen Age*, Vol. II., p. 137, note 287; and MURR, *loc. cit.*, pages 124, 125.

¹³³ Valerius ANDRÉ, *Bibliot. belgica.*, p. 335, and VAN DER AA, *Biographisch Woordenboek XIX.*

¹³⁴ See the letters of August 12, 1507, and November 6, 1506, in TRITHEMIUS, *Epistolæ familiares*, Hagencæ, 1536, 4to, pp. 197 and 209.

¹³⁵ As regards this Henry DE BUNAU, Dr. GÖLDLIN DE TIEFENAU kindly calls our attention to J. G. RUPRECHT, *Oratio de Societate litteraria Rhenana a Conrado Celte instituta*, Jenæ, 1752, 4to, and the cele-

brated *Codex epistolaris Conradi Celtis*, which, however, contains no geographical information. We regret to have been unable to ascertain the exact date of BUNAU'S death, as it would prove interesting to learn whether it was before May, 1507, which is the date of the first edition of the *Cosmographiæ introductio*. J. BURCKARD (*De linguæ latinæ . . . in Germania fatis*; Wolfenbuttel, 1721, Vol. II., p. 280), says: "Quum Trithemius significarit huic se olim commodasse volumina ista Henrico de Bunau, sequitur, ut hic ante annum CIO IO VI, quo epistola scripta est, diem suum obierit," but his date of 1506 is erroneous; BUNAU being mentioned by TRITHEMIUS only August 10, in the year 1507, and without a reference authorising such a deduction.

¹³⁶ Letter addressed "Vuihelmo Veldico Monapio plebano in Dyrnstein, theologo et mathematico," by TRITHEMIUS, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

No. 65. SMALL ITALIAN MAPS.

Very small maps of "Puerto Reale," the island of "Bunchema" (*sic*), Hispaniola, Jamaica, Cuba, and of the coast of South America, inserted in the Ferrara manuscript of the collection of voyages afterwards printed under the title of *Paesi nouamente ritrovati*.¹³⁷

No. 66. RENÉ OF LORRAINE'S.

Nautical chart possessed by René, Duke of Lorraine, and described as follows :

"Charta autem marina quam Hydrographiam vocant per Admiralem quondam serenissimi Portugalix [*sic*] regis Ferdinandi [*sic*], cæteros denique lustratores verissimis peragrationibus lustrata : ministerio Renati dum vixit, nunc pie mortui¹³⁸ Ducis illustrissimi Lotharingix liberalius prologaphiosii tradita est."

"The marine chart, or Hydrography so called, corrected by means of exact navigations [accomplished] first by a late admiral of the most serene King of Portugal Ferdinand, and lately by other explorers, which [chart] was given to be printed through the instrumentality of the illustrious René, in his lifetime Duke of Lorraine."¹³⁹

This was the map which Martin Waldseemüller must have used as a model, first for the planisphere which accompanied the *Cosmographiæ Introductio*, and then for the two maps of the New World inserted in the *Ptolemy* of 1513.

See *supra*, Part II., chapter v., pages 274-281.

1507.

No. 67. WALDSEEMÜLLER'S GLOBE.

Terrestrial globe of small size constructed by Martin Waldseemüller, at St. Diey, in Lorraine, and which sold with his *Cosmographiæ Introductio*, published in May and September, 1507.

"Propositum in hoc libello quendam Cosmographiæ introductionem scribere : quam nos tam in solido quam plano depinximus. In solido quidem spacio exclusi strictissime :—We

¹³⁷ Those small maps, evidently copied or extracted from some map of the world akin to CANTINO'S, have been reproduced in Professor FERRARO'S very inexact *Relazione delle scoperte fatte da C. Colombo* ; Nos. xxx., xxxvii.-viii., xli., lxxvii.-viii., lxxxii.-iii. The reader is doubtless aware that the above mentioned Ferrara codex presents an earlier text than the one

which was printed at Vicenza for the first time in 1507, and so often reprinted and translated since in German, Latin, and French.

¹³⁸ RENÉ II., born in 1451, and who became Duke of Lorraine in 1473, died on the 10th of December, 1508.

¹³⁹ *Ptolemy* of 1513 (*Bibliot. Americ. Vetust.*, No. 74) verso of the title of the supplement.

have proposed in this small book to write a sort of introduction to the cosmographi [cal configurations] which we have depicted both on a globe and on a plane [chart], but, of course, of smaller dimensions on the globe."¹⁴⁰

If there is very little prospect of ever discovering one of those globes, we may yet hope to find the set of gores which served to make them, printed on a single sheet; as within the last few years several series of that kind have come to light.

We are unable to say positively whether it was a set of gores, or the globe itself, which Waldseemüller promised, on Easter Monday, 1507, to send to Joannes Amerbach, in a curious letter discovered by Mr. Louis Sieber, the learned librarian of the Basle University Library, and published by the venerable Doctor Charles Schmidt.¹⁴¹

That letter contains much interesting information concerning the famous edition of Ptolemy published afterwards at Strasburg, in 1513, with maps which have exercised such a great influence over German cosmographers in their configurations of the New World, that we deem it necessary to republish it in full.

"Insigni viro M. Joanni Amerbachio literarum bonarum instauratori diligentissimo. Basileae.

S. p. d. Non credo te latere nos Ptholomei cosmographiam, recognitis et adiectis quibusdam novis tabulis impressuros in oppido Divi Deodati.

Et cum exemplaria non concordent, obsecro te ut non tam mihi quam etiam dominis meis Gualthero et Nicolao Ludd morem gerere velis.

Id autem facies credo eo libentius quod ea res communi rei litterariæ proderit, pro qua tu et manibus et pedibus sine fine laboras.

Est apud prædicatores vobiscum in bibliotheca Ptholomei liber græcis characteribus scriptus quem ego ut originale arbitror emendatissimum. Itaque rogo te ut quibus mediis id fieri possit procurare velis ut eum ipsum librum sive tuo sive nostro nomine per unius mensis spacium habere valeamus. Quod si opus fuerit vel vade

"To the distinguished man Mr. Johannes Amerbach, the very diligent renovator of polite literature, at Basle, greeting :

I think you know already that I am on the point to print in the town of St. Diey the Cosmography of Ptolemy, after having added to the same some new maps. But as the texts do not agree, I beg of you to aid me just as do [?] the Messrs. Gaultier and Nicholas Ludd [in that respect]. I believe that you will do so with so much the more readiness as it will prove useful to our common literary studies, for which you labour with both hands and feet.

There is in the library of the Dominicans of your place a Greek text [of Ptolemy] which I deem to be as faithful as the original itself. That it the reason why I ask you to endeavour by all means to obtain, either in your name or in my own, that the said book [MS.] be allowed to remain with me during one month. If it be

¹⁴⁰ Verso of the folded leaf inserted in the St. Diey editions of the *Cosmographiæ Introductio* (*Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, Nos. 44-47).

¹⁴¹ C. SCHMIDT, *Mathias Ringmann - Philesius-, Humaniste alsacien et lorrain*, in *Mémoires de la Société d'Archéologie lorraine*, Vol. III., Nancy, 1875, p. 227.

vel recognitione, curabimus ut quodvis istorum actutum fiat. Sollicitassem et alios, nisi crederem te id oneris et libenter subiturum et etiam (namque potes) impetraturum. Solidum quod ad generale Ptholomei paravimus nondum impressum est, erit autem impressum infra mensis spacium.

Et si Ptholomei illud exemplar ad nos venerit, curabo ut solidum tale et alia quædam quæ filiis tuis prodesse poterunt ad te cum ipso Ptholomeo redeant.

Vale et cura ut non frustra te sollicitasse tuamque operam invocasse videamur.

Ex Divi Deodati oppido, ipso lunæ post Paschæ. Anno 1507.

Martinus Wualdsemuller alias Ilacomylus tibi ad vota subiectissimus."

necessary to give a guarantee or a receipt, I shall try that one of the two be given at once. I would have appealed to some one else had I not been sure that you would readily accept the task, and succeed, for you can do so.

The globe [solidum?] ¹⁴² [comprising] Ptolemy in general, which we have prepared, is not yet printed, but will be so in a month. And if the manuscript I have just spoken of is sent to me, I shall see that it be returned to you, together with that globe and some other articles ¹⁴³ which may be useful to your sons. Farewell, and let it not appear that we have appealed to you in vain. From the city of St. Diey, on Easter Monday [April 5th], 1507.

Martin Wualdsemuller, alias Ilacomylus, your humble servant."

That edition of Ptolemy, which was first projected by the brothers Ludd so early as 1505, was to comprise only a Latin version of the original text and maps.¹⁴⁴ It is generally believed that the idea of adding an account of modern discoveries originated not with the savants of the Vosgian Gymnasium, but with Francesco Pico de la Mirandola, who, besides, contributed to the edition in entrusting to Ringmann a Greek manuscript of Ptolemy. Be that as it may, the notion of adding maps of the newly-discovered countries had been conceived a year before, as in Gaultier Ludd's *Speculum Orbis*, written at St. Diey in 1507,¹⁴⁵ the author informs the Duke of Lorraine that His Highness will soon be able to see in the Ptolemy which he and Waldseemüller were preparing for the press, a map of the countries lately found by the King of Portugal (*sic pro* Spain), and up to that time unknown.¹⁴⁶ This map can only be the *Tabula Terre Nove* of the Ptolemy published in 1513.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴² Dr. SCHMIDT when analysing that letter in his most valuable *Histoire littéraire de l'Alsace à la fin du XV^e et au commencement du XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1879, 8vo, Vol. II., p. 114), translates "solidum" by "le dessin du globe," which might be rendered in English by "the depicted gores of the globe." Neither in DU CANGE nor in FORCELLINI have we found that meaning given to *solidum*, and must say that our translating it by "globe" is a mere inference on our part.

¹⁴³ The *Cosmographia Introductio* first published in May following? judiciously asks Dr. SCHMIDT.

¹⁴⁴ D'AVEZAC, *Waltzemüller*, p. 148.

¹⁴⁵ The letter of Francisco PICO referring to the projected Ptolemy is dated "Novi quarto Calendas Septemb. Anno a partu virginis MDVIII." (Ptolemy of 1513, verso of f^o 72.) Gaultier LUDD's *Speculum* bears the date "Ex oppido divi Deodati anno millesimo quingentesimo et septimo."

¹⁴⁶ See *infra*, No. 68, p. 443.

¹⁴⁷ We think that it is the *Tabula* rather than the *Orbis typus universalis*, because LUDD speaks, not of a planisphere, but as we understand from the word "ora:—seaboard," of a special map of the newly discovered regions.

No. 68. LUDD'S.

A rough and hastily made map of the newly-discovered regions, drawn up by Walter or Gaultier Ludd.

“Non tamen imus inficias in extensæ illius Europæ locum congruenter poni posse quem de ignota terra per Lusitaniæ regem pridem et post paratum Orbis Speculum inventa prope paravimus typum :—Yet, we are not disposed to deny that in the place of the development which we have given to Europe, it would not be proper to place the representation which we hastily prepared of the unknown land discovered sometime since by the King of Portugal, but subsequently to the preparation of this Mirror of the World.”¹⁴⁸

We must also call attention to the following sentence :

“De qua ora plura et veriora in Ptolomeo per nos et Martinum Ilacomylum talium rerum scientissimum cum multis additamentis recognito (quem nostris impensis mox Christo favente imprimemus) :—A more exact and more detailed representation of those shores may be seen in the Ptolemy, which, God willing, we will publish at our expense, reviewed and greatly augmented by ourselves and by Martin Ilacomylus [Waldseemüller], who is the most competent man in such matters.”

That sentence well shows that Ludd's map of the New World was not the *Tabula Terre Nove* afterwards published in the Ptolemy of 1513.

Although the St. Diey savant speaks only of the lands discovered “by the King of Portugal,” as the statement is made on account of the voyages of Vespuccius, we must construe it as not referring to the discoveries or voyages accomplished by the Portuguese in Africa and the East Indies, but to the New World.

As to the revolving disk which, in Ludd's *Speculum Orbis*, contains a stereographic mappamundi (of very small dimensions), it omits the transatlantic regions altogether.

No. 69. WALDSEEMÜLLER'S LOST MAP.

It was a map of the world, of large size, constructed by Martin Waldseemüller, at St. Diey, before the month of May, 1507, and probably printed at Strasburg by Schott.

It is, doubtless, the mappamundi which is mentioned in a letter addressed by Waldseemüller to Ringmann (Philesius), in February, 1508, and where the map is represented as being already printed, published, and admired at that date.

¹⁴⁸ *Speculi succintiss. sed neque poenitenda neque inelagans Declaratio et Canon* ; printed at Strasburg by Reinhart of Grünigen, or GRÜNIGER ; and quoted by Mr. D'AVEZAC, *Martin Waltzemüller*, p. 65.

"Cosmographiam universalem tam solidam quam planam non sine gloria et laude per orbem disseminatam nuper composuimus: depinximus: et impressimus."¹⁴⁹

The following sentence from the *Cosmographiæ Introductio* also refers to that map:

"Totius orbis typum tam in solido quam in plano (velut præviam quandam ysagogen) pro communi studiosorum utilitate paraverim. Quem tuæ sacratissimæ majestati, cum terrarum dominus existas, dicare statui."

Waldseemüller again speaks of it in a dedication which he addressed to Anthony, Duke of Lorraine, as follows:

"Neque enim oblitus sumus qua aurium clementia: [He speaks of René II.] . . . generalem orbis descriptionem: ac alia etiam litterarij laboris nostri monimenta sibi oblata a nobis susceperit."¹⁵⁰

Finally, it was the map of the entire world so much admired, and of which Ringmann says, in a letter addressed to Waldseemüller:

"Plurimum tibi devincis Martine studiosorum pectora, qui cum pridem generalem totius orbis typum dedalissime publicaveris."¹⁵¹

If it is ever discovered, geographers will see that its configurations are precisely those of the *Orbis typus universalis iuxta hydrographorum traditionem*, and of the *Tabula Terre Nove* in the Ptolemy of 1513, joined together, and resembling the re-construction devised by Lelewel under the title of *Charta marina Portugalensium*. The two continents will be seen connected, the coast running in a continuous line from about 40° south to about 50° north latitudes, the mainland adorned with the escutcheons of Castile and Portugal.¹⁵² The whole artistically made,¹⁵³ coloured, and setting forth small crosses to mark the shoals or dangerous rocks:

"Denique in quartam terræ partem per inclytos Castiliæ et Lusitaniæ reges repertam: eorundem ipsorum insignia posuimus. Et quod non est ignorandum: vadosa maris littora (vbi naufragia timentur) imaginibus crucis signauimus sed hæc iam missa facientes."¹⁵⁴

It is doubtless the planisphere which Trithemius says was printed at Strasburg¹⁵⁵ a short time before August, 1507.

¹⁴⁹ In the *Margarita Philosophica Nova* of REISCH, printed by GRÜNIGER, Argentoraci, 1508, 4to, quoted by Mr. D'AVEZAC, *Martin Hylacomylus Waltzemüller, ses ouvrages et ses collaborateurs*, p. 110. This edition differs from the one also published in 1508, but at Basle by SCHOTT.

¹⁵⁰ *Instructio manduccionem præstans*, Argentorati, 1511, 4to, preface, f° 2, recto. D'AVEZAC, *loc. cit.*, p. 137; *Bibliotheca Americ. Vetustissima*, p. 128, note.

¹⁵¹ *Ibidem*, f° 5.

¹⁵² "In quartam terræ partem per inclytos Castiliæ et Lusitaniæ reges repertam eorundem ipsorum posuimus (*Cosmographiæ Introductio*, f° 15). Ita orbis terrarum regiones præcipuas dominorum insigniis notare studuimus" (verso of the folded leaf).

¹⁵³ "Quem pulchre depictum," TRITHEMIUS, *op. cit.*

¹⁵⁴ In the description inserted in the verso of the folded leaf mention is made of yellow and red crosses: "crux rubra," &c.

¹⁵⁵ *Infra*, No. 70, page 445.

No. 70. TRITHEMIUS' GLOBE AND PLANISPHERE.

These are mentioned by Johannes Trithemius as follows :

"Orbem terræ marisque et insularum quem pulchre depictum in Vuormotia scribis esse venalem, me quidem consequi posse optarem, sed quadraginta pro illo expendere florenos, neme facile mihi persuadebit . . simul et in magna dispositione globum terræ in plano expansum, cum insulis et regionibus noviter ab Americo Vesputio hispano inventis in mare occidentali ac versus meridiem ad parallelum ferme decimum cum quibusdam aliis ad eam speculationem pertinentibus . . ." ¹⁵⁶

"I wanted to buy the finely painted globe of the earth, seas, and islands which I wrote was for sale at Worms, but I could not be easily induced to give for it such a price as 40 florins. (There has been printed lately at Strasburg) also a globe extensively spread on a plane, with the islands and countries discovered by the Spaniard Americus Vespuccius in the western sea, by about 10° latitude, and other things on the subject."

We are inclined to believe that the "globe extensively spread on a plane," is the large map of Waldseemüller above described. The "finely painted globe," may be Veldicus'.

No. 71. TRITHEMIUS' SMALL GLOBE.

Terrestrial globe of small size, bought cheaply at Worms by the same Johannes Trithemius in 1507.

"Comparavi autem mihi ante paucos dies pro ære modico sphæram orbis." ¹⁵⁷

It is apparently the small printed globe of Waldseemüller, as the purchase is mentioned in a letter of August 12, 1507; and Hylacomylus says that his little sphere was published before May of that year; while St. Diey is at no great distance from Worms. The probability is that it was a globe, made either of wood or of pasteboard, but covered with printed gores. If so, it is evident that it was neither Albert Durer,¹⁵⁸ nor

¹⁵⁶ Letter of TRITHEMIUS. "Ex Herbipoli duodecima die mensis augusti anno christianorum millesimo quingentesimo septimo." The sum was equal to \$72 of the time: "Le fredericus et florin de bauiere de: lxxvij au mark a xx. 3. pat." (*Ordonnance de Charles Quint*; Anvers, Vosterman, 1531, sm. 4to). "Lxxvij au mark, poise ij. estrelins un az fort. Ou ii deniers xi. grains forts, faict xxj patards et demy" (*Ordonnantie ende Placcaete*; Amsterdam, 1559, sm. 8vo.). That is, as the said florin was worth about 9 francs, the map

cost 360 francs=about \$72. By the word "florenos," TRITHEMIUS meant gold florins of his country, for the silver florin first appeared only towards the year 1600.

¹⁵⁷ TRITHEMIUS, *op. cit.*

¹⁵⁸ DURER, *Underweisung der messung mit dem Zirckel* . . . 73rd-79th ll. of the edition of 1538, and pp. 150-151 of lib. iii. of the *Geometry*, in the Latin translation, Lutet., Wechel, 1532. We are unable to say whether the passage is also to be found in the original Nuremberg edition of 1525, folio.

Henry Loritz (*Glareanus*¹⁵⁹), who first taught the process of making spheres of that description, as has been asserted.¹⁶⁰

BEFORE 1508.

No. 72. BARTHOLOMEW COLUMBUS' VERAGUA.

This map was, in 1501, in the possession of one of Nicuesa's pilots :

“Al qual piloto tracto mal de palabra Diego de Nicuesa desde su caravela, diciéndole que no sabia lo que deçia ni podia ser, porque él tenia una carta é relaçion de los puertos de aquella costa y señas dellos hasta llegar al rio de Veragua : la qual relaçion deçia que le avia dado el adelantado don Bartolomé Colom : — Diego de Nicuesa from his ship spoke harshly to that pilot, saying that he did not know what he talked about, and that it could not be so, because he had a map and description of the ports and gulfs of that coast, as far as the Veragua river, which he said had been given to him by the seneschal Bartholomew Columbus.”¹⁶¹

In our *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, pages 471-474, there is a geographical description of Veragua written by Bartholomew Columbus, about the year 1507, and in which mention is made of a map of that country made by him. See *supra*, No. 62.

1508.

No. 73. MORALES' CUBA.

In 1508, Nicolas Ovando ordered Andres de Morales, who was perhaps a greater pilot and cartographer even than La Cosa, if we judge from the authority enjoyed by his maps, to make the periplus of the island of Cuba, and to construct a map embodying the results of his exploration. But, as we have had occasion to show, this undertaking was not the first of the kind which had been accomplished ; as is demonstrated by the delineations of the entire island in the charts of Cantino, Canerio, King, and others. Regarding that map of Morales, Las Casas says :¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ GLAREANUS, *De Geographia liber unus* ; Basil., 1527, 4to, in chapt. xix., *de inducenda papyro in globum*.

¹⁶⁰ *Monatliche Correspondenz . . . von F. von Zach* ; Gotha, Vol. XIII., 1806, p. 157.

¹⁶¹ OVIEDO, *Historia General*, lib. xxviii., cap. i.,

Vol. II., p. 467.

¹⁶² LAS CASAS, lib. ii., cap. xli., Vol. III., page 209. HERRERA, Decad. I., lib. vi., cap. xviii., p. 171, who as usual, copies LAS CASAS, inserts instead of “desta isla,” the word “Hispaniola.”

“En estos días el Comendador Mayor mandó á un piloto llamado Andrés de Morales, que anduviese todos los rincones desta isla y pusiese por escrito cuántos rios, y cuántas sierras, y cuántos montes, y cuántos valles, con la dispusicion de cada uno, que en ellos hallase. No pude ver yo esta descripcion despues que caí en buscarla, puesto que muchos años ántes, si cayera en ello, me la diera el mismo Andres de Morales. Pienso que la tiene Alonso de Sancta Cruz, cosmografo, vecino de Sevilla, porque destas cosas tiene en su poder hartas.”

“At that time the Grand Commander [of Alcantara] ordered a pilot called Andres de Morales to survey all the windings [of the coasts] of this island, and to put down in writing all the rivers, mountains, hills, and valleys, and the position of each. When the thought struck me to see that description I could not procure it. Had I entertained the desire several years before, Morales himself would have given it to me. I think Santa Cruz, a cosmographer residing at Seville, has that description, for he possesses a number of such things.”¹⁶³

No. 74. BORDONE'S FIRST MAPPAMUNDI.

In a privilege granted to Benedetto Bordone, designated therein as a professional miniaturist, “miniator,” on the 19th of September, 1508, by the Senate of Venice, we read the following statement :

“Cum sit che cum gravissima fatica et industria sua et non mediocre spesa se habii in longo tempo ingegnado ad stampar tutta la provincia de Italia¹⁶⁴ et etiam lo Apamondo in forma rotunda de bella cosa et nova et etiam di mirabile utilita a tutti quelli chi de tal vistu fano professione¹⁶⁵.—Who with great labour and industry, and no little expense, applied himself for a long time to imagining and printing the entire country of Italy, and also the mappamundi in spherical form, finely executed, new, and of marvellous use for all those who take an interest in such objects.”

This Benedetto Bordone, or Bordoni, is considered to be the same whose *Islario*¹⁶⁶ was first printed in 1528, at Venice by Nicolo d'Aristotile, *alias* Zoppino.

On the other hand, the fact that the present Bordone was connected with the edition of certain dialogues of Lucian, published so early as 1494, at Venice,¹⁶⁷ prompts the question whether there have not been two or several Benedetto Bordones.

¹⁶³ We still possess the Catalogue of SANTA CRUZ' collection of maps. See *infra*, No. 230.

¹⁶⁴ That map was dedicated to Francesco CORNARO,—evidently the Cardinal born in 1478, and who died in 1543.

¹⁶⁵ State archives at Venice, *Collegio Notarorio, reg. 24. c.* We are indebted for a copy of that privilege to Mr. Charles EPHRUSSI.

¹⁶⁶ *Infra*, No. 180, and *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, pp. 266, 268, 284, 310, 355, &c.

¹⁶⁷ *Luciani de veris narrationibus. Venetiis per Simonem beuilaquam m.cccc.xciii. die xxv. augusti.* Small 4to. (Paris National Library, Z. Reserve.) In the colophon we read: “Collectu hinc illinc: pressaque Bordo, dedit . . . Benedictus miniator p. quum ope et auxilio sublimitatis ur. statuerit imprimere opera.”

No. 75. HONDURAS.

Maps of the coast of Honduras, describing the voyage of Vicente Yañez Pinzon and Juan Diaz de Solis.¹⁶⁸

We mention those lost maps chiefly on account of the cartographical correction set forth in the *Historie*, though it is not perfectly intelligible; but the statement may enable us to ascertain the origin of charts which can yet be brought to light.

“Nauigando verso terra ferma alla volta del Mezodi, giungemmo a certe Isole, benche non vi prendemmo terra se non nella maggiore, che si chiamaua Guanara, dal cui nome poi quelli, che fan le carte nauigatorie, nomarono tutte quelle Isole Isole de' Guanari, le quali son distanti quasi XII leghe dalla terra ferma presso alla prouincia, hor chiamata Capo di Honduras: quatenque allhor l'Ammiraglio la chiamasse punta di Casine. Ma, percioche costoro fanno cotai carte senza andar per lo mondo, sono incorsi in ciò in grandissimo errore; il quale, poi che hor m'occorre il dirne, voglio raccontare, se bene io romperò il filo della mia historia: & é tale. Queste medesime Isole, & la terra é da costoro posta due volte nelle lor carte nauigatorie, come se in effetto fossero terre distinte: &, essendo il capo di Gratie a Dio, & il quale essi chiamano Capo di . . . tutti vna medesima cosa, essi li fanno due.”¹⁶⁹

“Sailing southward for the continent, we [Christopher and Fernando Columbus] reached certain islands, but landed only on the largest, called “Guanara,” whence the name of “Guanara islands” given by chart-makers to all these islands, which are distant at least twelve leagues from the continent, near the province now called Honduras, although the Admiral named it then [July 30, 1502] ‘Punta de Caxinas.’

But, as the said cartographers make their maps without having ever navigated, they commit very great mistakes, which I will here expose, since I have now occasion to speak on the subject.

Those isles and the land adjoining [?] are set down in their charts twice, as if these formed distinct countries; and although Cape Gracias a Dios, and what they call Cape . . . are but one and the same, they make two of it.”

The island “Guanaja” appears only in two of the maps which we still possess. First in the map of Peter Martyr (1511), under the name of “guanasa;” then as “Guanara” in the Turin planisphere (*circa* 1523), whence it disappears altogether, and is not even seen in the Weimar charts. The singular number adopted in the two above mentioned maps, although the island figures therein within a group of islets, shows that these maps were not copied from the charts of Pinzon and Solis, but that they proceed rather from those brought by Columbus,¹⁷⁰ November 7, 1504.

Nor do we possess any map where the coast extending from Cape Gracias à Dios to Cape Honduras, together with that small archipelago, may seem to have been inserted twice. This can be easily ascertained by measuring the longitude of those two capes.

¹⁶⁸ See *supra*, No. 76.

¹⁶⁹ *Historie*, cap. lxxxix., f^o. 198, verso.

¹⁷⁰ Guanaja is the present Bonacco. It may be the “San Francisco” of the Weimar charts.

No. 76. RUYSCH.

Map of the World constructed by a German geographer called Johann Ruysch, and bearing the following title :

“Universalior cogniti orbis Tabvla ex recentibvs confecta observationibvs:—A more universal map of the known world, constructed by means of recent observations.”

It first appeared as an addition to the issue of the Ptolemy originally published at Rome in 1508, together with a commentary written by Marcus Beneventanus, under the title of *Orbis nouo descriptio*.

That treatise is absolutely predicated upon the aforesaid mappamundi of Ruysch. This must be noted, as it constrains us to limit our interpretation of the geographical configurations and legends to the map itself. Marcus adds nothing whatever as regards facts and data; nay, it is less complete, considering that he fails to mention either Cuba or the continental land which the map exhibits between Newfoundland and South America.

It is even doubtful whether the Celestinian monk, or any of the parties engaged in the publication of the Ptolemy of 1507-1508, had ever personal intercourse with Ruysch. Else we would certainly find in the elaborate description which Marcus Beneventanus gives of the transatlantic discoveries of the Spaniards and Portuguese,¹⁷¹ some statement or name which should have been omitted in the map. The few personal details given by the commentator, and by Thomas Aucuparius in the preface, were most probably conveyed by a letter accompanying the map when it was sent in manuscript from Germany to Rome, as we believe. If Ruysch had supervised the engraving in person, the probability is that the nomenclature would have been entirely in Latin, or according to its original Portuguese form, instead of being so frequently Italianised, as is seen in the pronoun *do*, everywhere written *de*, and in the words “Terra secca,” “C. Glaciato,” and “Capo formoso,” which certainly indicate a translation of Portuguese names, made not by a German, but by an Italian, without being slips of the engraver.

The basis of *the entire map*, was a purely Lusitanian planisphere, similar to those of Cantino and Canerio, but constructed after the former and before the latter; that is, between 1502 and 1504, as we have shown

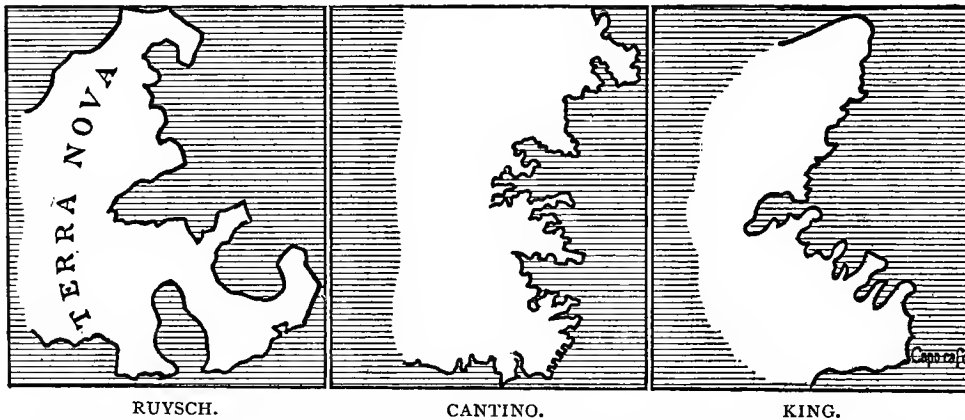
¹⁷¹ Chapter viii., verso of signat. b 3, and Chapter xiiij., verso of b 6 and recto of b 7.

in a comparative description of the continental region which is north of Central America in Portuguese charts.¹⁷²

There are in the section of the map delineating the New World, two very distinct parts, based upon data of similar origin, one of which, however, was modified in a most important respect.¹⁷³

The first part is that which represents Newfoundland. Originally, the region was delineated nearly as we see it in Cantino, and in all the Lusitano-Germanic maps. This can be seen simply by comparing the eastern profile of the "Terra del Rey de portugall" in Cantino and King (which is nothing else than our Newfoundland), with the profile of the "Terra Nova" of Ruysch, which is exactly the same region.

EASTERN PROFILE OF NEWFOUNDLAND.*



But as the German geographer had himself visited the northern part of Newfoundland on board an English vessel, and acquired from experience positive data concerning the situation of that peninsula, as he calls it: "qui peninsulæ Terra Noua uocatæ," without having the same reasons as Gaspar Corte Real to place it in the middle of the Atlantic, within the Portuguese line of demarcation, Ruysch, following the charts used by his English companions, brought Newfoundland close to the western continent.

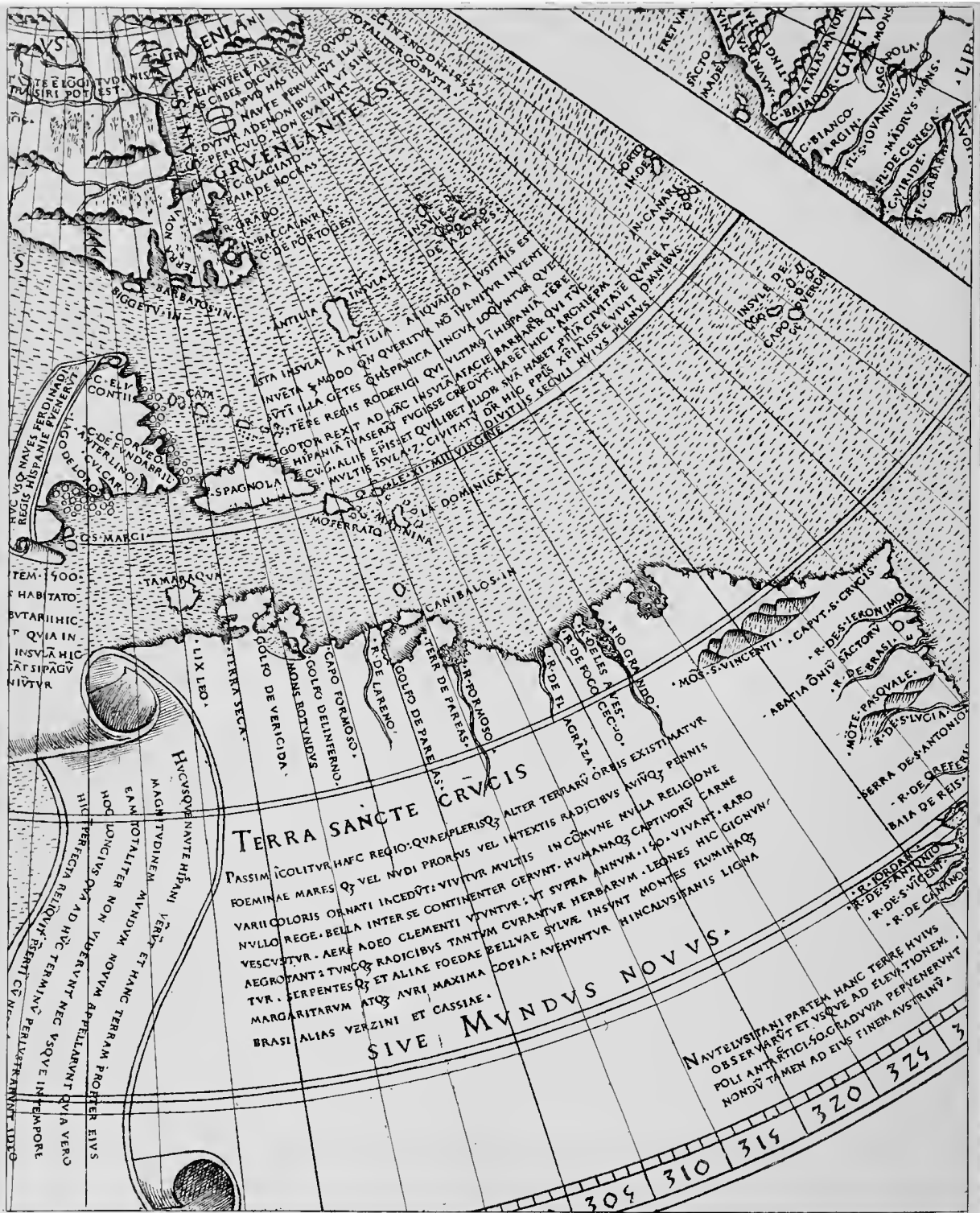
Now what was, in his opinion, the real character of the regions west of and connected with Newfoundland? Nothing else than the east coast of Asia. The configurations of his map leave no doubt whatever on that point. Such likewise was the belief of its commentator:

¹⁷² *Supra*, pp. 283, 298-304, 316-321.

¹⁷³ See the accompanying facsimile.

* We omit the small islands which dot the coast of Newfoundland in Ruysch as well as in the Portuguese and Lusitano-Germanic charts; to show better the idea

which Lusitanian cartographers had of the configuration of the region itself. The reader will have also to take into account, when examining the coast in Ruysch, the distortion resulting from the peculiar projection which he has adopted.



THE NEW WORLD IN THE MAPPAMUNDI OF RUYSCH

(1508)

"Joannes vero Ruschi Germanus Geographorum meo iudicio peritissimus: ac in pingendo orbe diligentissimus cuius adminiculo in hac lucubratiuncula usi sumus: dixit: se navigasse ab albionis australi parte: et tam diu quo ad sub parallelum ab subæquatore ad boream sub gradibus 53. peruenit: et in eo parallelo nauigasse ad ortus littora."

"Johannes Ruysch, who, in my opinion, is the most competent geographer and the one who has best depicted the world, and upon whom we rely in this little work, says he has navigated from the southern part of England to 53° north latitude, and that he has sailed on the latter parallel as far as the eastern coasts."

A fact which must be also noted, is that, although sailing in an English ship, Ruysch used for his nomenclature and configuration of Newfoundland, a map also based upon Portuguese data. This we detect in such words as "R." or "C. Grando," and "C. de Portogesi," which certainly betray a Lusitanian rather than a British origin.

As to the second part of the mappamundi, it represents both the north-western continental land and the portion of South America originally depicted in the early Lusitanian maps. These Ruysch left exactly as he found them on his Portuguese or Lusitano-Germanic prototype, adding only a few explanatory legends.

That is, he considered Newfoundland as the extreme eastern border of Asia, and thought that from Cape Race ("C. de Portogesi"), the coast ran due west nearly 30 degrees, where he believed it joined uninterruptedly the kingdoms of Gog, Magog, and Cathay.

As regards the continental regions south of Newfoundland, and discovered by the Spaniards and Portuguese, Ruysch was clearly of opinion that they were entirely distinct from Newfoundland or the pseudo Asiatic country which he had visited and delineated; and that they constituted a new world, as yet imperfectly known, particularly regarding its west coast. This coast Ruysch could not admit to be connected in any manner with Asia, as he already depicts in detail the eastern Asiatic seaboard, from the point where they merge with his northern regions, to 39° south latitude, which is the termination of the map.

We have stated that the American configurations in Ruysch were borrowed out and out from a map constructed with Portuguese data. This is shown simply by comparing its delineations and nomenclature (as we have already done) with those in Lusitanian maps, such as Cantino, Kunstmann No. 2, and Canerio, also with derivatives of Portuguese charts, like Waldseemüller and Schöner. But its prototype is yet unknown, as Ruysch exhibits a peculiar prolongation of the north-western

continental land, the special dimension of which is not to be found in any other map extant. Now, was the model followed by Ruysch a purely Lusitanian chart, or one made in Germany with Portuguese elements?

Our opinion is that Ruysch has copied merely a Lusitano-Germanic map. Our reasons are based upon the fact that Ruysch inscribes an erroneous name, which was certainly taken from the Latin account of the *Cosmographiæ introductio*, first printed at St. Diey, in Lorraine, in May 1507, viz.: "Omnium Sanctorum abbatiam." As we have frequently proved, none of the Lusitanian charts known commit that extraordinary mistake, which may be considered as the touchstone of Lusitano-Germanic maps. The Portuguese charts all inscribe "*A BAIÁ de todos sanctos*," and even "*a BAIÁ de tutti santi*," or "*BAIE de tutti li santi*," when copied by an Italian cartographer. That is, the *Bay* and not the *Abbey* of All-Saints.

Notwithstanding the high compliment paid by Marcus Beneventanus to Joannes Ruysch, whom he calls: "Geographorum peritissimus ac in pingendo orbi diligentissimus," of all the ancient maps, none have exercised so little influence over the cartography of the New World as his mappamundi. We have never seen its configurations reproduced anywhere; whilst it is only mentioned twice in the first half of the sixteenth century. The first time, it was at the Junta of Badajoz, where one of the cosmographers remarked that "Catigara estaba mucho antes descubierta y puesta en su sitio é lugar por Juan Roxo Aleman, segun parece por el suplemento de Tolomeo hecho por Marco Beneventano impreso en Roma ¹⁷⁴ el año 1508." The second time was when Franciscus Monachus made it the object of elaborate criticisms for having separated Newfoundland from the rest of the American continent.¹⁷⁵ The new names are:

ON NEWFOUNDLAND:

Terra nova ¹⁷⁶
C. de Portogesi

R. Grado ¹⁷⁷
Baia de Rockas ¹⁷⁸

C. Glaciato
Barbatos in[sula] ¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁴ NAVARRETE, Vol. IV., No. xxxvii., p. 355.

¹⁷⁵ *Supra*, p. 283, and *infra*, No. 171, *sub anno* 1526.

¹⁷⁶ Marcus BENEVENTANUS describes it as a peninsula, called Newfoundland, and larger than Peloponnesus: "Peninsulam quam Terram nouam nocat. Joannes [Ruysch] majorem longe satis Peloponneso." It is evident that Ruysch never explored the south coast of Newfoundland, else he could not have failed to see and note the northern apex of Cape Breton; instead of which he delineates a sea seven degrees wide.

¹⁷⁷ Marcus BENEVENTANUS writes: "Caput Grande."

¹⁷⁸ The *k*, in *Rockas*, may be a remnant of an English map, perhaps CABOT'S, who can have inscribed there, the "Bay of Rocks." Neither in Portuguese, Italian, or Spanish is the *k* found in such a word.

¹⁷⁹ In that locality, which, if exactly described, would correspond with our Fortune Bay or with Placentia Bay, MARCUS says that there is a gulf which might be called the "Gulf of Barbatontem," on account of an island of that name: "Que portio terminat ad ortum sinum quemdam quem Barbatontem licebit appellare ob quam insulam istius nominis eius ore sitam."

NORTH-WESTERN CONTINENT :

C. S. Marci¹⁸⁰ Anterlinoi¹⁸¹ Lago del ladro¹⁸²

SOUTHERN CONTINENT :

R. de flagrāza¹⁸³ Terra de pareas¹⁸⁴ R. de foco cecho
R. formoso¹⁸⁵ Abatia omnium sanctorum¹⁸⁶

1508-1509.

No. 77. PINZON AND SOLIS.

Map of the voyage accomplished by Vicente Yañez Pinzon and Juan de Solis jointly to the north coast of the South American continent. As a description of that now lost cartographical document involves the authenticity of the alleged discovery in 1506 of Yucatan by those two navigators, the reader will excuse the length of the present item.

“Alonso de Hojeda visto la figura de la tierra que trajeron de su descubrimiento.¹⁸⁷ Andrés Morales vió una carta de marear que trajeron los descubridores al Comendador Mayor:—Alonso de Hojeda saw the map of the country discovered by them, which they brought. Andres de Morales saw a nautical chart which the discoverers brought to the Grand Commander.”¹⁸⁸

We possess technical details only as regards two points of the map. The first of these is in reference to the unbroken coast line set forth in the chart :

“Anton Garcia, piloto, vió la figura de lo que descubrió Juan Diaz, y que es todo una costa :—Antonio Garcia, pilot, saw the map of the discoveries of Juan Diaz, which [exhibited] a continuous coast.”¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁰ It is the first and only time where “C. S. Marci” is found inscribed on a chart. It may be a remnant of Cabot’s map, which could well have figured in the chart used by the English mariners with whom Ruysch made his voyage; St. MARK being the patron saint of Venice, of which John Cabot was a naturalised citizen.—*Jean et Sebastian Cabot*, docs. i. and ii., p. 309.

¹⁸¹ “Anterlinoi” is another erroneous rendering of the name not less erroneously inscribed in Cantino as “G. do lurcor,” and in Canerio as “G. de lineor,” whatever that may have been and meant originally.

¹⁸² We believe that it is the “Lago del ladro,” of Canerio, which originally had probably an abbreviating sign over the o, for “ladron.”

¹⁸³ Very probably the “R. de alegroza” of the map

which we call Kunstmann No. 2.

¹⁸⁴ “Pareas,” for “Paria,” we think.

¹⁸⁵ Here Canerio inscribes “Gorffo fremoso.”

¹⁸⁶ It is here that the famous erroneous inscription appears for the first time; but the lost mappamundi of 1507 made by WALDSEEMÜLLER must have contained it.

¹⁸⁷ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 558.

¹⁸⁸ NAVARRETE, *op. cit.*, p. 559, who, however, omits the last sentence, which is in the original *Probanza*. The personage called simply, first “el Comendador,” and afterwards “el Comendador Mayor,” is always, with Spanish historians, “Don fray Nicolás de OVANDO, de la orden de Alcántara.”—LAS CASAS, lib. ii., cap. iii., Vol. IV., p. 17.

¹⁸⁹ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 558.

The other point concerns the Guanaja island or islands, which when brought in connection with a map already described,¹⁹⁰ is not without interest. Speaking as an eye-witness of the discovery accomplished by his father, July 30, 1502, Fernando Columbus says :

“Quindi poscia nauigando verso terra ferma alla volta del Mezodi, giungemmo a certe Isole; benché non vi prendemmo terra, se non nella maggiore, che si chiamaua Guanara, dal cui nome poi quelli, che fan le carte nauigatorie, nomarono tutte quelle Isole Isole de' Guanari, le quali son distanti quasi XII leghe dalla terra ferma presso alla prouincia, hor chiamata Capo di Honduras; . . . Queste medesime Isole, et, la terra è da costoro posta due volte nelle lor carte nauigatorie, come se in effetto fossero terre distinte; et, essendo il Capo di Gratie a Dio, et il quale esse chiamano Capo di . . . tutti una medesima cosa, essi li fanno due . . . Ma la regione, et il disegno delle carte ciò chiaro dimostrano; percióche vi si mette due volte vn' istessa cosa, et l'Isola di vn' istessa forma, et in vn' istessa distanza; per hauer, quando essi tornarono, portato quel paese dipinto, com' egli è veramente: ma diceuano, ch'ei giacea piu oltra quello, che l'Amiraglio hauena scoperto. Di modo che due volte giace situata nella carta una medesima terra . . .”¹⁹¹

“Then, sailing [from Jamaica] southward towards the mainland, we fell in with certain islands; but landed only on the largest, called Guanaja. Whence it came that makers of nautical charts named all those islands the Guanaja Islands, which are at a distance of about 12 leagues from the continent, near the province now called Cape of Honduras. Those islands and the country are twice set down in their nautical charts, as if in reality they were distinct regions. And although Cape Gracias a Dios, and what they call Cape of . . .¹⁹² are one and the same thing, they make of it two separate ones . . . But reason and the configuration in the map clearly show this, as the same thing is twice set forth thereon, and the island is of the same form and at the same distance; for they brought, when they returned home, a delineation of the country as it is in reality, with the simple remark that it lay beyond the country which had been discovered by the Admiral.

Consequently the same country is described twice on the map.”

We infer from the above that Pinzon and Solis' map represented the north coast of Honduras; followed however by an exact repetition of the same westward; with duplicate delineations of the point of land depicted on our charts by 15° N. latitude, and about 83° W. longitude. The first of those points was named therein “Cape Gracias a Dios; and the second it is not now known how.

We possess no map presenting such a configuration, unless it be, perhaps, the woodcut inserted in the second issue of the 1511 edition of Peter Martyr's works. This rough map, which was certainly engraved before knowledge could be obtained in Spain of the wreck of the *regidor*

¹⁹⁰ *Supra*, No. 62, p.

¹⁹¹ *Historie*, cap. lxxxix., fo. 198, 199.

¹⁹² The name is left blank in the original, and no other document of the time attempts to supply the omission.

Valdivia on the coast of Yucatan (1512), continues the seaboard, after passing "c. grã. de dios" and "guanosa," westward, to an anonymous and much larger cape, carrying the coast northwardly, even beyond the latitude of Cuba. Such a configuration, at that early date, is certainly deserving of notice; but we are not prepared to say that it is based upon geographical data borrowed from the map of Pinzon and Solis. First, because the fact would doubtless be mentioned in the description printed on the verso of the woodcut; and second, because it contradicts Peter Martyr's own statements, as we propose to show in the following pages.

The voyage depicted on the map which was seen by Hojeda and Garcia, is described by the leader of the expedition, Vincente Yañez Pinzon, as follows:

"Vicente Yañez Pinzon dice que este testigo é Juan de Solis fueron por mandado de S.S.A.A., e descubrieron toda la tierra que hasta hoy está descubierta desde la isla de Guanaja fasta la provincia de Camarona, yendo la costa de luengo hacia el oriente hasta la provincia que se llama Chabaca é Pintigron, que descubrió este testigo é Juan de Solis; é que asimismo descubrieron, yendo la costa adelante, una gran bahia, que la pusieron la gran bahia de la Navidad, é qué de allí descubrió este testigo las sierras de Caria é otras tierras de mas adelante."

"Vicente Yañez Pinzon says that with Juan de Solis they were sent by the order of Their Highnesses, and that they discovered the entire land which thus far has been found between the Guanaja island and the province of Camarona, in coasting, without stopping, eastwards as far as the province called Chabaca and Pintigron, which he discovered with Juan de Solis; and that they also discovered, in following the coast beyond, a large bay, to which they gave the name of the Great Bay of the Nativity, and that thence he discovered the mountains of Caria, and other lands still further."¹⁹³

The purport of that description is a voyage entirely eastward from the Guanaja island to the great bay "De la Navidad," and beyond. Withal, the language is somewhat vague, owing doubtless to the abridged form in which Pinzon's deposition has been transmitted to us. We must therefore endeavour to elucidate it by means of the other testimonies gathered by the Fiscal in executing the Rogatory Commission at Seville, on the 12th of February, 1513, when he collected the deposition of Vicente Yañez above given.

The witnesses interrogated on that point were Rodrigo de Bastidas and Nicolas Perez, both of whom, however, gave only hearsay evidence, or such information as they gathered from the sight of the map. There

¹⁹³ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 558.

was also Pedro de Ledesma, evidently a prejudiced witness, and of doubtful veracity,¹⁹⁴ but who accompanied Pinzon and Solis in that voyage.

Bastidas deposed as follows :

“Rodrigo de Bastidas [dice] que Yañez y Juan Diaz de Solis fueron a descubrir abajo de Veragua, que no sabe qué tanto descubrieron, pero que es todo una costa con lo que el Almirante descubrió primero :—Rodrigo de Bastidas says that Yañez and Juan Diaz de Solis went to make discoveries below Veragua, but he does not know the extent of their discovery, except that it forms part of the coast which the Admiral [Columbus] first discovered.”¹⁹⁵

This language is also ambiguous, as the word “abajo” is not sufficiently precise to enable us to ascertain therefrom whether Pinzon and Solis’ coasting was west or east of Veragua ; nor do the words “es toda una costa,” mean positively that their discovery embraced the region first found by Columbus, or that it was a coast *connected* with the same.

The deposition of Nicolas Perez is clearer on this point :

“Nicolas Perez dice que el Almirante descubrió en aquel viaje que fue á Veragua, hasta el cabo de Gracias á Dios, e que de allí adelante todo lo que esta descubierta descubrieron Yañez e Juan Diaz de Solis ; que esto lo sabe por la carta de marear que trajeron estos, y que por ella se rigen agora todos los que van á aquellas partes :—Nicolas Perez says that the Admiral [Columbus] discovered in that Veragua expedition as far as the Cape Gracias a Dios, and that all that which there is of discovered lands beyond was found by Vincente Yañez and Juan Diaz de Solis ; and that his knowledge is derived from the nautical chart which they brought with them, and by which all mariners who frequent those parts at present guide themselves.”¹⁹⁶

We now come to the deposition of Pedro de Ledesma. His assertions are at variance with Pinzon’s own testimony ; for the latter describes the voyage as being *eastward* from the Guanaja islands. Here, on the contrary, we have a voyage from Veragua *westward*, locating Chabaca and Pentigron west of the Guanaja islands, and continuing the discoveries in a western and north-western track.

¹⁹⁴ Pedro de LEDESMA had accompanied COLUMBUS in his first and last voyage, but was his enemy, having been one of the mutineers in the rebellion of PORRAS. Nor was he a truthful man, as NAVARRETE has shown in his *Observacion II. sobre la declaracion del piloto Pedro de Ledesma a la pregunta sexta del Fiscal*, in Vol. III., page 593, of the *Coleccion de los viages*. A striking example of Ledesma’s disregard for truth is the following, reported by NAVARRETE : “El Almirante Colon salió de Cádiz para su quarto viage, en que iba Ledesma, el dia 11 de Mayo del año 1502, y llegó á Santo Domingo

el 29 de Junio siguiente : salió de allá el 14 de Julio, y no llegó al cabo de Gracias á Dios hasta el 14 de Setiembre. ¿ Como, pues pudo *ver* Ledesma desde los navios del Almirante, hallándose segun dice atras del golfo de Uraba, á Bastidas y la Cosa que venian de descubrir cuando él y el Almirante no habian aun salido de Castilla ?” Besides, here LEDESMA appeared as PINZON’S witness, in opposition to the heir of COLUMBUS.

¹⁹⁵ NAVARRETE, *op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 558.

¹⁹⁶ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 559.

“Pedro de Ledesma, piloto, dice que fué en compañía de Vicente Yañez é Juan Solis por mandado de S. A., e vido quel dicho Vicente Yañez é Juan de Solis descubrieron adelante de la tierra de Veragua, á una parte á la via del Norte, todo lo que hasta hoy esta ganada desde la isla de Guanaja hacia el norte, é que estas tierras se llaman Chabaca é Pintigrón, é que llegaron por la via del norte fasta 23 grados é medio, é que en esto no andubo el dicho D. Cristobal Colon, ni lo descubrió ni lo vido.”

“Pedro de Ledesma, a pilot, says that he accompanied Vicente Yañez and Juan de Solis by order of His Highness, and saw the said Vicente Yañez and Juan de Solis make discoveries beyond the Veragua country, in a north-western part, [and these constitute] all that which has been acquired to this day, from the Guanaja islands northwards. Those regions are called Chabaca and Pintigrón, and they reach by the northern track, as far as 23° 30'. Columbus never sailed over, or discovered, or saw that country.”¹⁹⁷

According to that description Pinzon and Solis, after reaching Veragua (necessarily from the east), commenced, by about 82° west longitude, to coast westward, and then northward, until they attained the tropic of Cancer.

That traject is somewhat unexpected; yet, its direction westward, instead of eastward, is also given by the *Historie*:¹⁹⁸

“Un certo Gioan Diaz di Solis . . . et un Vincenzo Agnez . . . andarono insieme a scoprire l'anno MDVIII., con intentione di seguir la terra, che hauea l'Ammiraglio scoperta nel viaggio di Beragua verso Occidente; et, seguendo essi quasi quello istesso camino, capitatarono nella Costa di Cariai, et passarono presso al capo die Gratie a Dio fino alla punta di Casine, che essi chiamarono di Honduras; et le dette Isole chiamarono i Guanagi, prendendo il nome di tutte da quel della principale.”

“One Juan Diaz de Solis and one Vincente Yañez set out together to discover in the year 1508, intending to range the coast which the Admiral had discovered in his voyage to Veragua westward; and, following nearly the same route, they reached the coast of Cariai, passed by Cape Gracias a Dios, as far as Cape Caxinas, which they called Honduras, and the said islands which they named Guanajas, giving the name of the largest to the entire archipelago.”

This conformity, however, ceases to surprise us, when we find that the authority for the statement is doubtless Pedro de Ledesma himself:

“Non ostante che vn Piloto loro, detto Pietro di Ledesma, il quale era andato prima con l'Ammiraglio in quel viaggio di Beragua, dicesse loro, che egli conosceua quelle regioni, e che erano di quelle, ch' ei con l'Ammiraglio hauea aiutato a scoprire; da cui io intesi poi questo:—Pedro de Ledesma, one of the pilots of Pinzon and Solis, who had accompanied the Admiral in his voyage to Veragua, told them that he knew the country, and had been there with the Admiral when the latter discovered it. I learned this afterwards from himself.”¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 558.

¹⁹⁸ *Historie Del S. D. Fernando Colombo*, edition of

1571; cap. lxxxix., f^o. 199.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibidem*.

Those testimonies show that no map was exhibited before the Fiscal, and that the alleged ranging of the coast west and north-west of the Guanaja islands rests exclusively upon the assertions of Pedro de Ledesma, and a map now, and then already lost.

There is much to be said on the evidence furnished by that pilot. In the first place, it is very strange, to all readers who have studied the character of the Pinzons, especially when opposed to Columbus, to find Vicente Yañez so modest, and to see him forego his claim to the discovery of a country extending seven degrees of latitude beyond the point where he himself locates the beginning of his discoveries.

Then, according to his own deposition, the declaration was from *west to east*, whilst Ledesma, on the contrary, makes it from *east to west*.

But we possess a description of that voyage of Pinzon and Solis,²⁰⁰ written by Peter Martyr, at the time when those commissions were being executed, and who, on account of his position as a member of the Council of the Indies,²⁰¹ was in a position to be correctly informed.

The celebrated chronicler first states that the exploration of the mainland undertaken by Pinzon and Solis, commenced after they had ranged the south-west coast of Cuba. It was initiated therefore in about our 85° west longitude :

“Hic Vincentius Annez meridionale Cubæ latus uniuersum ab oriente perlustrauit ad occidentem . . . Vincentius Annez cognito iam experimento patenti Cubam esse insulam, processit ulterius, et terras alias ad occidentem Cubæ offendit: sed tactas prius ab Almiranto. Quare implicitus noua terra, in læuam conuersus.”²⁰²

“Vincentius Annez therefore, knowing nowe by experience that Cuba was an Ilande, sayled on further, and found other landes westward from Cuba, but such as the Admirall had fyrst touched . . . Wherefore, beinge in maner encompassed with this newe lande, [he turned] his course towarde the lefte hande.”²⁰³

²⁰⁰ ANGHIERA does not mention the name of SOLIS in connection with this voyage; but the date which he assigns to it: “Anno priore a dicessu ducum Nicuesæ et Fogedæ:—The year preceding the departure of the captains Nicuesa and Hojeda,” shows that it is the expedition of PINZON and SOLIS. See *infra*, p. 463, note 205. The localities mentioned in Peter MARTYR’s account: “Chiaconus Pintiguanus,” and “Baia Natiuitatis,” complete the identification. Besides, in his first description of the region extending from Guanaja island to Paria, he says: “Percurrissè quoque feruntur ea littora occidentalia Vincentius Agnes et Ioannes quidam Diaz Solisius Nebrissensis.” (Decad. I., lib. x., f^o 25.)

²⁰¹ We know of the statements of LAS CASAS on the

subject of ANGHIERA’s appointment, which he dates of the year 1518, only (*Historia General*, Vol. IV., p. 214); but in the privilege granted by Queen JUANA, January 6, 1511, for printing the first edition of the Decades, he is already named: “El protonotario Pedro Martyr *del mi consejo*.” This implies that he received the appointment at the time of the creation of the Council, which RIOL says: “Instituyóle el señor rey Dn. Fernando el Catholico en el año de 1511” (*Informe*, 1726, MS.). ANGHIERA was appointed secretary of the Council upon its re-organisation in 1520 (*Epist.* DCCC., p. 474).

²⁰² ANGHIERA, Decad. II., lib. vii., f^o 38, A.

²⁰³ That is, upon the larboard when sailing south from Cuba.

Peter Martyr then proceeds to describe the course which Pinzon followed from that point of the mainland, in these words :

“ Vincentius Annez . . . illius terræ littora per orientem abradens, Beraguæ, Vrabæ et Cuchibacoæ sinuum fauces transgrediens, ad regionem, quam diximus in decade Parium appellari et Os Draconis, nauim suam qua uehebatur applicuit : ingressusque est nastum sinum, a Colono tactum, dulcium aquarum.”²⁰⁴

“ Vincent Yanez . . . rasing the coastes of that lande by the east, ouerpassinge also the mouthes of the goulfes of Beragua, Vraha, and Cuchibachoa, he arryued at the Region which in the [fyrst] Decade we cauled Paria and Os Draconis: And entered into the greate goulfe of fresshe water, which Colonus discouered.”²⁰⁵

And as modern authors pretend²⁰⁶ that the exact locality of the Bay of the Nativity mentioned by Peter Martyr is the Gulf of Uraba, also called “Mar Dulce,” it is well to give that chronicler’s own notion on the subject. It is to be found in the continuation of the above account, and description of the Paria country: “His iam omissis ad Paria regulos redeamus . Hos reperit Vincentius Annez esse apud Parienses . . . &c.”

“Sinum eum ab Almiranto Colono primo repertum uocant Baiam natiuitatis, quia natalis Christi die fuerit eum ingressus²⁰⁷:—The goulfe beinge fyrste founde of the admirall *Colonus*, they caule, *Baia Natiuitatis*, bycause he entered into the same in the day of the natiuitie of Christe.”

As to the designations “Chabaca” and “Pintigron,” they are the title and name²⁰⁸ of one of the caciques of the province of Paria :

“Ad nostros cum muneribus uenisse é regulis quinque referunt : quorum nomina hic inserere statui ad tantæ rei memoriam, Chiaconum Chiauccham (Chiaconos nanque suos optimates uno nomine appellant), Chiaconum Pintignanum, Chiaconum Chamailaba, Chiaconum Polomum, Chiaconum Pot:—Fyue of theyr princes came to owre men wyth theyr presentes, whose names I thought worthy to bee put in this historie in remembrance of soo notable a thinge Chiaconus Chiauccha (that is the prince of Chiauccha, for they caule princes of kinges Chiaconos),²⁰⁹ Chiaconus Pintiguanus, Chiaconus Chamailaba, Chiaconus Polomus, and Chiaconus Potto.”

In other words, Pinzon and Solis, after having explored the south coast of Cuba, sailed from some south-western point of that island, crossed the Caribbean sea, reached the continent on the coast of Honduras by about 86° west longitude, and thence ranged the entire coast *eastward* as far as the Gulf of Paria.

²⁰⁴ ANGHIERA, *Oceanæ decadis secundæ; Liber septimus*, f^o. 38, verso.

²⁰⁵ EDEN’S version, f^o. 78.

²⁰⁶ D’AVEZAC, *Les Voyages d’Amérique Vespuce*, p. 49.

²⁰⁷ ANGHIERA, *op. cit.*, f^o. 38, c.

²⁰⁸ The first explorers almost always gave to the new regions the name of their cacique. We see that custom in nearly every page of Peter MARTYR and of OVIEDO.

²⁰⁹ That word “Chiaconus” is probably the origin of our term “cacique.”

What course did Solis and Pinzon then follow? Did they retrace their steps, range the same coast again, but this time westward, even beyond Honduras, as Pedro de Ledesma asserts?

Here is the reply, once more in the words of Peter Martyr:

"Icto fœdere cum illis Chiaconis, Vincentius Annez institutum iter suum prosequens, ad orientem regiones inuenit aquarum creba illuue desertas, et stagnantia magnis tractibus loca. Nec destitit à proposito, donec terræ illius longissimæ cuspidem attingit: si cuspidem appellare licet cuneos ad aut frontes acutas, uel promontaria marinas terras terminantia."²¹⁰

"When Vincentius had thus made a league with these Princes, folowinge his appoynted course, he founde many regions *towarde the East*, desolate by reason of diuers fluddes and ouerflowynges of waters: also many standynge pooles in dyuers places of excedynge largenes. He ceased not to folowe this tracte vntyll he came to the poynte or cape of that longe lande."

According to that description, Pinzon and Solis, from the Gulf of Paria, continued their exploration eastward, notwithstanding the deltas of the Orinoco and of the Amazona, and went as far as Cape St. Roque,—which must have been the case, considering that they were bound to follow that coast on their homeward voyage. As to their having rounded the cape, and ranged the coast of Brazil to 40° south latitude, as Herrera says, we doubt it. The voyage lasted only a year; Solis and Pinzon did not commence their exploration of the continental coast until they had already surveyed the entire southern sea-board of Cuba; and such an alleged voyage southward, after ranging the entire north coast of the southern continent, would have required more time than they actually took on that occasion. Besides, had Solis and Pinzon made such an exploration of the Brazilian regions, there would have been no necessity for the expedition entrusted to Solis expressly for such a purpose a few years later: "para ir á descubrir desde el cabo de Sant Agustin, que agora llaman la costa del Brasil los portugueses, adelante hácia el Mediodia," as Las Casas relates.²¹¹

We have expatiated upon this expedition, and endeavoured to ascertain its positive character, because, as already stated, it involves a question of importance, which all modern historians erroneously consider as being absolutely solved.

²¹⁰ ANGHIERA, *op. cit.*, f^o. 38, c.

²¹¹ LAS CASAS, lib. iii., cap. lxxxii., Vol. IV., p. 270. OVIEDO's statement concerning the Gulf de Higuera, which is our Gulf of Honduras, and more than 2° west of the Guanajas, may be an implicit reference to such a discovery; but it is given in very vague terms: "El

golpho de Higuera lo descubrieron los pilotos Vicente Yañez Pinzon é Johan Diaz de Solis é Pedro de Ledesma con tres caravelas, antes que el Viçente Yañez descubriessse el Marañon, ni que el Solis descubriessse el rio de la Plata."—*Historia General*, lib. xxi., cap. viii., Vol. II., p. 140, and Vol. III., p. 187.

We allude to the voyage alleged to have been accomplished by Solis and Pinzon in 1506, and in course of which they are said to have discovered and ranged the entire east coast of Yucatan.

Now, we propose to show that the pretended voyage of 1506, is only the voyage which we have just analysed; that it was not accomplished in 1506; and, as the reader can easily see from the above extracts, that Solis and Pinzon did not discover Yucatan or any part thereof.

The belief in that expedition and discovery, which plays such an important part in the Histories of America published in the last two hundred years, is derived exclusively from the account given by Herrera; and Herrera, as usual, has only plagiarised Las Casas; adding arbitrarily, however, a date and positive assertions of his own.

The following exhibits the texts of those historians, which are identical, almost word for word.

LAS CASAS :

“Acordaron luégo, un Juan Diaz de Solis y Vicente Yanez Pinzon . . . de ir a descubrir é proseguir el camino . . . fueron á tomar el hilo desde la isla ó islas de los Guanajes . . . y dellas tornarse hacia el Oriente . . . navegaron hacia el Poniente, desde los Guanajes, y debieron llegar en paraje del golfo Dulce, aunque no lo vieron porque está escondido, sino que vieron la entrada que hace la mar entre la tierra que contiene el golfo Dulce y la de Yucatan, que es como una gran ensenada o bahia grande . . . Asi que como vieron aquel rincon grande que hace la mar entre las dos tierras, la una que està á la mano izquierda, teniendo las espaldas al Oriente, y esta es la costa que contiene el puerto de Caballos, y adelante dél el golfo Dulce, y la otra de la mano derecha que es la costa del reino de Yucatán, parecioles grande bahia, y por . . . pusieron nombre la gran bahia de la Navidad, y que de allí descubrieron la sierras de Caria . . . volvieron al Norte. Y por todo esto parece que sin duda descubrieron entonces mucha parte del reino de Yucatan.”²¹²

HERRERA :

“Juan Diaz de Solis, i Vicente Yañez Pinzon determinaron de ir a próseguir el camino, i fueron a tomar el hilo desde las Islas de los Guanajos, i bolver de ellas al Levante . . . desde las dichas islas hacia 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 Iucatan, que es como vna grande Ensenada, ò Bahia . . . Y como vieron aquel rincon grande, que hace la Mar entre dos Tierras: la vna, que està à la mano izquierda, reniendo las espaldas al Oriente, que es la Costa, que contiene el Puerto de Caballos, i de adelante de èl el Golfo Dulce; i la otra de mano derecha, la Costa del Reino de Iucatan, parecioles gran Baia, i por esto la llamaron, la gran Baia de Navidad, desde donde descubrieron las Sierras de Caria, i bolvieron al Norte, i descubrieron mucha parte de el Reino de Iucatan.”²¹³

“Then one Juan Diaz de Solis and Vicente Yañez Pinzon decided to go in search of and continue the route [*i. e.* the route initiated by Columbus] . . . They commenced following up the same from the Guanaja island or islands . . . and thence turning against [?] the

²¹² LAS CASAS, lib. ii., cap. xxxix., Vol. III., p. 201.

²¹³ HERRERA, Decad. I., lib. vi., cap. xvii., p. 170.

East, they navigated westwards, starting [?] from the Guanajas, and must have reached the vicinity of The Gulf of Fresh Waters, but they did not see it, owing to its being hidden from view. They only sighted the entrance of the sea into the land where the Fresh Water Gulf and that of Yucatan are, which is like a large estuary or great bay. Thus noticing the considerable recess which the sea forms between those two lands, the one on the left having its back eastwardly, and is the coast where the Harbour of Horses is, beyond the Gulf of Fresh Waters; whilst the land on the right is the coast of the kingdom of Yucatan, that recess seemed to them to be a large bay, and for that reason they named it the Great Bay of the Nativity; and thence they discovered the Mountains of Caria . . . They returned to the North. From all that they seem beyond doubt to have discovered then a great part of the kingdom of Yucatan."

The reader will see at a glance that the above extract from Las Casas is only his own interpretation of the testimonies of Vincente Yañez Pinzon, and of Pedro de Ledesma given before the Fiscal at Seville, in 1513, and which we have reproduced in the preceding pages. Besides, he says so himself:

"Y por eso el Vicente Yañez en la deposicion que con juramento hizo en el dicho proceso, presentado por testigo por el Fiscal, dijo.—Thus, Vicente Yanez, in the deposition which he made under oath, in the said law suit, as a witness before the Fiscal, said . . ." ²¹⁴

It follows that the Bishop of Chiapas was not better informed on the subject than we are ourselves, and possessed no other elements for his analysis. These he simply examined by the light of a map of the middle of the sixteenth century, from which he drew his statements and inferences. We leave it now to the reader to decide whether the evidence above given authorises the conclusion of Las Casas and of Herrera, in preference to our own.

But it must be said on behalf of Las Casas, that he only gives as a supposition: "Y por todo esto parece que sin duda," what Herrera sets forth as a fact: "reconocieron" . . . "vieron;" the latter winding up with the positive assurance that: "returning north they discovered a great portion of Yucatan:—volvieron al Norte, i descubrieron mucha parte de el Reino de Iucatan;" where Las Casas contents himself with stating "segun los otros testigos dicen:—according to what the other witnesses said." Now, the depositions of those witnesses, as we have shown, convey no assurance of the sort, and, naturally enough, ignore altogether the name of Yucatan.

There remains to fix the year of the voyage of Solis and Pinzon, described in all those depositions.

²¹⁴ LAS CASAS, *ubi supra*.

Herrera inserts his account *sub anno* 1506; and that is evidently the origin of the date reported by all modern historical writers without exception. But that is a pure supposition on his part. Las Casas, who is the sole authority which he could invoke, only says that Pinzon and Solis undertook their expedition after Columbus had returned to Spain from his last voyage: "Despues que el Almirante sali6 del aislamiento y trabajos que padeci6 en Jamaica, y fu6 a Castilla," that is, after the 7th of November, 1504. That vague date is, at least, as erroneous as the one given by Herrera;²¹⁵ but it had to be mentioned to show that the latter possessed no documentary proof whatever for his *sub anno* 1506.

Fernando Columbus, in describing the voyage of Pinzon and Solis which we have just analysed, and is, so far as authentic documents go, the first and only one in which those two mariners were engaged conjointly, says that it took place in 1508: "Andarono insieme a scoprire l'anno MDVIII;—They set out together to discover, in the year 1508."²¹⁶ Navarrete is more precise:

"Salieron de Sanlúcar el día 29 de Junio de 1508, día de S. Pedro y S. Pablo:—They sailed from Sanlúcar on the 29th day of June, 1508, the day of St. Peter and St. Paul."²¹⁷

Navarrete does not cite his authority for the statement; but the precision with which it is presented, compels the critic to accept that date.

As to the return of Pinzon and Solis, he only says:

"Lo cierto es que regresaron a Castilla a fines de Octubre de 1509:—It is certain that they returned to Castile at the close of the month of October, 1509."

There, Navarrete's positive assertion is erroneous, for we find in the Muñoz transcripts the following entry:

"En 14 Nov. 1509 . . . ha venido de su viage Vicente Yañez i Juan Diaz de Solis:—On the 14th of November Vicente Yañez and Juan Diaz de Solis returned from their voyage."²¹⁸

To sum up. The genesis of the legendary voyage of 1506, in course of which Pinzon and Solis are represented to have discovered Yucatan, may be established as follows:

²¹⁵ ANGHIERA only says: "Anno priore a dicessu ducum Nicuesæ et Fogedæ," but it amounts also to 1508, as NICUESA and HOJEDA sailed out from Spain in 1509. See *supra*, p. 458, note 200.

²¹⁶ *Historie*, cap. lxxxix., f^o 198, verso.

²¹⁷ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 474. HERRERA, Decad. I., lib. vii., cap. i., p. 177-178, under the year 1507, speaks of the preparations which were being made for that expedition, and gives the instructions addressed to PINZON and SOLIS, apparently from an original document.

The latter was the naval leader, and carried the light: "i que llevase el Farol Juan Diaz de Solis." Cap. ix., p. 188, under the year 1509, HERRERA says: "Partieron de Sevilla, el Año pasado, Juan Diaz de Solis i Vicente Yañez Pinçon, con las dos caravelas," not knowing that he had already described this voyage under the year 1506. We also find in that new description the origin of the error which makes SOLIS and PINZON range the coast of Brazil in 1508, to 40° south latitude.

²¹⁸ MUÑOZ MSS., Vol. LXXV.: f^{os} 239, 319.

Peter Martyr, in mentioning the voyage accomplished by Columbus in 1502-1504, and in which he had ranged the coast of Honduras, from the longitude of the Guanaja islands to Cape Gracias a Dios, and thence to near the Gulf of Darien, first advanced the following hypothetical statement :

“Percurrisse quoque feruntur ea littora occidentalia Vincentius Agnes et Ioannes quidam Diaz Solisius Nebrissensis, multique alij : quorum res nondum bene didici : modò uiuam, aliquando illa uidere licebit²¹⁹ :—It is sayd also that Vicentius Agnes and one Ioannes Diaz of Lebrixa (with dyuers other of whose vyages I have as yet no certeyne knowleage) haue ouer runne those western coastes . . .”

This prompted Gomara to repeat the statement, but with the addition of an arbitrary date :

“Dicen algunos que tres años antes, lo habian andado Vicente Yañez Pinzon y Juan Diaz de Solis :—Some say that three years before (*i. e.* three years before 1502, or in 1499) Vicente Yañez Pinzon and Juan Diaz de Solis ranged that coast.”²²⁰

Las Casas then, adopting the assertion, and seeing that the depositions before the Fiscal described a voyage to Honduras accomplished by Pinzon and Solis, but to which no date was given in the records, assumed that this voyage and the voyage mentioned by Peter Martyr, or by Gomara, were one and the same. Noticing also that the testimonies indicated a continuation of the exploration towards the north-west, he followed the alleged route on some Sevillan map, like that of Chaves, and identified its “Mare Dulce,” which therein is the Gulf of Uraba,²²¹ with the Great Bay of the Nativity referred to in Pinzon’s deposition. Following up on the map the statement of the witness Ledesma, which carries the traject northward to 23° 30′, he naturally came to the conclusion that Solis and Pinzon “seem, doubtless, to have discovered then a great part of Yucatan.”

Finally, Herrera, fixing upon the statements and inferences of Las Casas, and noticing that they are inserted in the pages which come immediately after the chapter where the death of Columbus is described under the year 1506, simply followed, as he had done throughout, the example and chronology of Las Casas.

Thus did it come to pass that, from the year 1601 to this day, all historians of maritime discovery have erroneously believed, stated, and repeated, that Yucatan has been discovered by Vicente Yañez Pinzon and Juan Diaz de Solis even so far back as 1506.

²¹⁹ ANGHIERA, Decad. I., lib. x., f^o. 25, B.

²²⁰ GOMARA, *Historia de las Indias*, p. 187.

²²¹ OVIEDO, *Historia General de las Indias*, Madrid edition, Vol. II., p. 134.

1509.

No. 78. THE "BÜCHLIN" GLOBE.

In the colophon of the German translation of Vespuccius' voyages, printed at Strasburg in 1509,²²² we read :

"Wie die aber dye Kugel vü beschreibung der gantzenn welt versten soltt wüerst die hernach finden unnd lesen:—But how you shall understand the globe and the description of the whole world, is that which you will hereafter find out and read."

This implies, in our opinion, that a real globe accompanied and was sold with the "*Büchlin*."

No. 79. THE "GLOBUS MUNDI" GLOBE.

Under the title of *Globus Mundi* there was published at Strasburg, in 1509, a tract²²³ claiming to be an "Exposition or description of the world, and of the terrestrial sphere constructed as a round globe similar to a solid sphere, whereby every man, even of moderate learning, can see with his own eyes that there are antipodes, whose feet are opposite ours."²²⁴ This title conveys the impression that the pamphlet was written to accompany a real globe. Nor do we know who was the author of the tract. Panzer believed that it was Henry Loritz (Glareanus).²²⁵ Others have named Waldseemüller; but without producing any evidence in support of either supposition.

The connection between this work and Waldseemüller's *Cosmographiæ introductio* would, if proved to be direct, tend to fasten the authorship of the *Globus Mundi* on that geographer,²²⁶ but it has not yet been demonstrated. The references in the latter to a "præsenti libro digno," and to the new discoveries: "quemadmodum liber iste edocet," apply either to the edition of the *Cosmographiæ introductio* printed at Strasburg by Grüninger in 1509,²²⁷ or to the German translation of the Four voyages

²²² *Diss büchlin saget wie die zwê durchlüchtigstê herren her Fernandus . . . Gedruckt zu Strassburg durch Johannes Grüninger . . . MCCCC. IX.* See the *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 62.

²²³ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 61.

²²⁴ *Globus Mundi. Declaratio siue descriptio mundi et totius orbis terrarum. globulo rotundo comparati et spera solida. Qua cuius etiam mediocriter docto ad oculum videre licet antipodes esse, quorum pedes nostris*

oppositi sunt. . . . Argentina, Grüninger, 1509.

²²⁵ PANZER, *Annales Typogr.*, Vol. VI., page 44; HUMBOLDT, *Examen Critique*, Vol. IV., page 142.

²²⁶ D'AVEZAC, *Martin Waltzemüller*, p. 115.

²²⁷ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 60. The Strasburg *Cosmographiæ Introductio* and the *Globus Mundi* are not unfrequently found bound together in a binding of the time (Mazarine and Genoa University Libraries).

of Vespuccius, which he also published in that city in the same year, together with the *Globus Mundi*. Now, Waldseemüller's instrumentality as regards those publications of Grüninger had not yet been shown, although the latter's edition of the *Cosmographiæ introductio* is a mere reprint of the St. Diey original. At all events, the only scholar named in connection with the publications of Grüninger just mentioned is Johannes Adelfus of Mühligen: "Joanne Adelpho Mulicho Argentinen. Castigatore (*Cosm. Introductio*); "Adelpho castigatore (*Globus Mundi*);" "Uff ostern Johanne Adelpho castigatore (*Welt Kugel*)."

NO. 80. THE GERMAN "GLOBUS MUNDI" GLOBE.

Johannes Grüninger also published at Strasburg, in 1509, a German translation of his Latin edition of the *Globus Mundi*.²²⁸ And as the title too says: "Beschrybung der welt vnd dess gantze Erttreichs hie angezogen vn vergleicht einer rotunden Kuglen . . .," we infer that it was likewise sold with a real globe. Although that globe is lost, we may perhaps get an inkling of its appearance from the small woodcut of a globe which is on the title-page of the German tract, as well as on that of the Latin edition. It exhibits on the south-west of Africa a land with the inscription "Nüw welt," which probably existed also on the globe.

The same globe sold, possibly, with both editions; but as there may have been one with legends and names in German, and the other with inscriptions in Latin, we make separate items of the two publications.

NO. 81. GEOFFROY TORY.

It is an oval Ptolemæan mappamundi, engraved on wood, measuring 300 by 280 mm. South of "Tabrobana" and of the "Mare Indicum" we read, in an abbreviated form:

"Hic non terra sed mare e[st]; in quo mir[æ] magnitudi[n] is i[n]sulæ sed Phtolomeo fuerunt incognitæ:—Here, there is no continent, but a sea containing marvellously large islands, unknown of Ptolemy."

The above belongs to the edition of the *Cosmographia* of Æneas Sylvius, published at Paris by Henry Estienne in 1509, 4to,²²⁹ and was apparently engraved by Geoffroy Tory, the celebrated engraver and printer.

²²⁸ *Der Welt Kugel*, in the *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, *Additamenta*, No. 32.

²²⁹ Mazarine Library, *Recueil* 16, 150; 40; three

copies, two with the map. See also A. BERNARD, *Geoffroy Tory, peintre et graveur, premier imprimeur royal*; Paris, 1857, 8vo, pages 3 and 86.

Although it contains no American configurations, we insert the map in our Cartography, as the quotation is the first reference to the discoveries of the Spaniards and of the Portuguese to be found in a French map. That legend already figures in the mappamundi which accompanies some of the early editions of the *Margarita philosophica*.²³⁰ The fact is that Geoffroy Tory has borrowed both the nomenclature and configurations from the latter work, making changes only in the surrounding ornaments, which are less elaborate in his plate, especially as regards the heads of winds.

ABOUT 1509.

NO. 82. HAUSLAB GLOBE NO. 1.

It is a set of gores, printed from a rough woodcut, intended to be pasted on a globe, measuring 120 mm. in diameter. The only specimen known was formerly in the collection of General Von Hauslab, and is now in that of Prince Liechtenstein, at Vienna, who caused it to be reproduced in facsimile for private distribution. A title has been added to the effect that it is probably the globe of Waldseemüller, made to accompany the tract entitled *Globus Mundi*, printed in 1509.²³¹ But let it be said that several years before the publication of the facsimile, the present supposition had assumed the form of a fact in the opinion of several savants.²³²

We do not share such a belief. As it has been already stated, there is no evidence that Waldseemüller is the author of the *Globus Mundi*. Nor has it been shown that there is any connection between the latter work and the present Hauslab gores.

The little we know or can guess concerning the globe which accompanied the *Globus Mundi* is that, judging from the woodcut of a terrestrial sphere printed on the title page, the American continent bore the name of "Neüw Welt," which is not to be seen on the Hauslab globe, wherein we find inscribed instead, AMERICA, and apparently for the first time on a globe.

²³⁰ Particularly GRÜNINGER's editions of 1504 and 1508. See NORDENSKIÖLD, plate xxxi.

²³¹ *Erster gedruckter Globus. Martin Hylocomylus (Waltzemüller). Gehört wahrscheinlich zu seinem 1509 herausgegebenen buche Globus Mundi.* Phot. lith. im. K. k. t. u. s. Militär-Comité (Vienna), 1879.

²³² "Un exemplaire nouvellement retrouvé et jusqu'à présent unique, de la projection imprimée en fuseaux, du Globe terrestre, à la date de 1509, avec l'inscription du

mot AMERICA, sur la grande terre ainsi dénommée par Waltzemüller."—D'AVEZAC, *Allocution à la Société de Géographie de Paris*, No. of January, 1872, of the *Bulletin*. VARNHAGEN also says (*Jo. Schöner e P. Apianus*, Vienna, 1872, 8vo, p. 47): "Comparando a maneira da execução da gravura do dito globo, com a da do frontespicio do opusculo publicado em 1509 sob o titulo de *Globus Mundi Declaratio* . . . reconhece-se toda a identidade no trabalho."

Our knowledge of Waldseemüller's notions concerning the configurations of the New World is based upon his *Tabula Terre Nove* of 1513. In that map, he connects altogether the northern with the southern continent. Here the break between the two continents is absolute, and was borrowed evidently from a prototype similar to that which was used by Schöner in all his early globes. Nor can it be said that the continuous coast line may have been an improvement devised by Waldseemüller in 1513, and after the publication of those gores; as we have shown that the probability is that it existed so far back as the publication of Waldseemüller's large 1507 lost mappamundi.

Another reason is that those gores represent the earliest map known where the southern continent is made to assume the pyramidal form. Had Waldseemüller adopted such a shape in 1509, he would certainly have given it to America in his maps of 1513.

As to the date when these gores were designed, it is impossible to say, beyond the fact that the name AMERICA inscribed on the new continent implies a construction posterior to the year 1507. We place them *circa* 1509 simply because at that time there was great activity in the production of geographical works of that description in Germany, where those gores, judging from the handiwork, were certainly engraved; but they may date of the years 1507-1509, as well as of 1509-1515.

See a facsimile of the American portion of those gores, *supra*, p. 307.

1511.

No. 83. MAGGIOLO.

Atlas of Vesconte de Maiolo, or Maggiolo, constructed at Naples in 1511. It is composed of ten leaves, each measuring 400 by 280 mm., and bears the following inscription:

"Vesconte de maiolo cujus Janue composuy. In neapoly de anno. 1.5.11. die xx January:—Vesconte de Maiolo, from Genoa, composed it. In Naples, in the year 1511, on the 10th day of January."

The configurations in the sixth map are peculiar. They exhibit the polar regions and a frozen sea, the shores of which extend from "Noruega" to "Terra de los Ingres:—Land of the English," and "Terra de Lavorador de rey de portugall." Further south, we notice "Terra de corte reale de rey de portugall," and "terra de pescaria."

As far as we know, it is the earliest Italian portolano which delineates the northernmost regions of the New World, although they were already indicated in the mappamundi of Ruysch published at Rome in 1508, but merely as Asiatic configurations of Ptolemæan origin.

Messrs. Desimoni,²³³ d'Avezac,²³⁴ Uzielli, and Amat di S. Filippo,²³⁵ have described atlases or portolani bearing the name of Vesconte de Maggiolo, and dated respectively, 1504 (?—Private Library, Bologna);²³⁶ Naples, March 10, 1512 (National Library, Parma); June 11, 1512 (Private Library, Venice); Aug. 29, 1513 (Private Library, Vienna);²³⁷ Genoa, 1519 (Munich Royal Library); Aug. 10, 1524 (Ambrosiana); July 8 or 7, 1525 with his son Giovanni, (Parma National Library); Dec. 20, 1527 (Ambrosiana); Sep. 3, 1535 (State Archives, Turin); 1535 (Library of the Cathedral in Toledo?);²³⁸ Feb. 5, 1536 (Pesaro, Bibliotheca Oliveriana); 1537 (Paris, Dépôt Hydrographique); October 29, 1547 (Paris National Library); and Dec. 10, 1549 (Town Library, Treviso).

Documents concerning that cartographer have been published by the Marquis Marcello Staglieno.²³⁹

No. 84. SYLVANO.

Cordiform map of the world in the Ptolemy of Bernardo Sylvano of Eboli, published at Venice in 1511.²⁴⁰

The configurations for the New World were borrowed from a Portuguese map belonging to our first type, but which was not the prototype of Kunstmann No. 2, or of the King chart. It seems to have been more like one of the maps used for making the prototype of Cantino, before the north-western continental region commenced to be inserted by professional cartographers. This is shown by the "Terra cubæ," which, instead of being narrow and elongated, as in the two Portuguese charts above mentioned, assumes precisely the shape of the island of Cuba ("Isabella") in Cantino and all the Lusitano-Germanic maps.

Reproduced in Nordenskiöld's *Facsimile Atlas*, plate xxxiii.

²³³ DESIMONI, *Elenco di Carte*, Nos. 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 33, 34, 35, 37, 47, in the *Giornale Ligustico*, Feb. and March, 1875.

²³⁴ D'AVEZAC, *Atlas hydrographique de 1511*, p. 8.

²³⁵ UZIELLI and A. DI S. FILIPPO, *Studi biografici e bibliografici*, Vol. II. and Appendix, Nos. 159, 161, 166, 167, 181, 182, 191, and 193.

²³⁶ *Ibid.* No. 476, and DESIMONI, *Verrazano*, Append. iii., p. 95.

²³⁷ LUKSCH, *Zwei denkmale alter Kartographie*, p. 370.

²³⁸ HAENEL, *Catal. libr. MSS.*, col. 997.

²³⁹ STAGLIENO, *Giornale Ligustico*, *loc. cit.*

²⁴⁰ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 68, and LELEWELL, *Géographie du Moyen Age*, Vol. II., pp. 151-156. In our opinion the finest Latin manuscript Ptolemy in existence is the one preserved in the Paris National Library, *Lat. 10764*. It is signed: "Ex officina Bernardi Ebolite in anno 1490."

No. 85. THE CASKET MAPPAMUNDI.

Cordiform map of the world engraved on a casket of the Trivulziana Collection at Milan. The configurations were borrowed from Sylvano's map.

"La Cassettina Geografica, veduta presso Meneghetti in Ruga a Rialto, ha di lunghezza pollici 11, di larghezza pollici 7, di altezza pollici 5."

We quote the above from the very interesting work of Daniele Francesconi,²⁴¹ which contains also a facsimile of the map, made by Josefo Mezzani, and engraved on copper by Antonio Sandi, in 1800. Jomard's *Monuments* (plate xviii.), give likewise a copy, but made from the original after it had become the property of the Marquis Trivulzio Rinuccini. The casket has also been reproduced, with an extremely interesting memoir on that kind of engraving by our friend Mr. Henri Lavoix;²⁴² from whom we learn that in the legend "Paulvs. Ageminvs. faciebat," the middle word is not a family name, as certain authors believe. *Algemina* or *Azziminia* means a branch of the art of damasquening.

No. 86. MAP FOR NICUESA.

Sent to Diego de Nicuesa by King Ferdinand of Aragon, July 25, 1511:

"Os ymbiò una Carta Mapa para esos questan en vuestra compañía²⁴³:—We send you a map for those who are in company with you."

We suppose that it was a map of the northern coast of South America, from Cape de la Vela to Cape de Gracias a Dios, including the Castilla del Oro; that being the territory granted to Nicuesa and Hojeda, for their joint expedition of 1509. But Nicuesa did not receive the map, as no one knows what became of him after November, 1510, when he was expelled from Darien by Nuñez de Balboa.²⁴⁴

ABOUT 1511.

No. 87. THE LENOX GLOBE.

Copper globe of only 127 mm. diameter. It was found at Paris in 1855 or 1856, and is now preserved in the Lenox collection at New York.

²⁴¹ FRANCESCONI, *Illustrazione di un' Urnetta lavorata d'oro e die rarj altri metalli all' agemina coll' iscrizione Paulus Ageminus faciebat*; Venezia, sine anno (sed 1800), 8vo.

²⁴² HENRI LAVOIX, *Les Azziministes*, in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Paris, 1862, p. 65.

²⁴³ *Coleccion de Documentos ineditos de Indias*, Vol. XXXII., p. 239.

²⁴⁴ HERRERA, Decad. I., p. 217, disposes of the legend which represents NICUESA as landing safely in Cuba, dying there, and having a monument erected to his memory.

The *Encyclopædia Britannica*²⁴⁵ contains a reduction and description of that curious globe. Its American configurations seem to be derived from the same prototype as the gores erroneously attributed to Leonardo da Vinci. The legend: "c. de bone speranza" may indicate a French cartographer copying an Italian model. In the alleged da Vinci map, the large island west of the "Terra de Brazil" may have been originally "Zipancri," while "Zipancri" of the Lenox globe may have become the "Terra Florida" of the said alleged Da Vinci map.

AFTER 1511.

No. 88. THE INDIAN SEAS.

The archives of the Staff of the Bavarian army at Munich, possess in the same portfolio four maps, three of which are erroneously ascribed to Salvatore de Palestrina,²⁴⁶ who signed only one of them.²⁴⁷

It is a map 1300 by 690 mm., representing the Indian seas, and depicting, thus far for the first time, the Malucca islands, which were discovered by the Portuguese in 1511. Its importance to us, lies in the unexpected fact that east of the Asiatic coast, there is a continental land, running from 4° south to 40° north latitudes. What can that continental region be if it is not the west coast of the New World? And if so, how curious it is to see the Pacific shores so clearly and so extensively depicted at such an early date; nay, previous, apparently, to the great discovery of the Pacific Ocean by Nuñez de Balboa in 1513!

BEFORE 1512.

No. 89. AMERICUS VESPUCCIUS.

It was either a printed mappamundi, or printed gores pasted on a globe, and preserved in the year 1518, as the work of Americus Vespuccius, in the apartments of the Infant Ferdinand, brother of Charles V.

"Hai otro secreto. En el oriente posee Portugal mucho ques de V. M. La misma ciudad de Maluca que tiene 25000 vezinos le toca segun parece por este Mapa-mundi que hizo enpremir Americo que anduvo por aquellas partes, el qual tiene en forma redonda el Sr. Inf^{te}

²⁴⁵ Edition of 1879, Vol. X., p. 681.

²⁴⁶ *Catalog über die in Königlich Bayerischen Haupt Conservatorium der Armee befindlichen Landkarten*

und Plane; Munich, 1832, p. 6, No. 3.

²⁴⁷ Kunstmann No. 3, *supra*, No. 48, p. 425. See also PESCHEL, *Geschichte*, p. 331.

en su camara :—There is another secret. In the East, Portugal possesses much which belongs Your Majesty. The very city of Maluca, which contains 25,000 inhabitants, is held [by Portugal], as appears from the map of the world which Americus, who has travelled in those parts, caused to be printed, and that His Highness the Infant possesses in spherical form in his room.”

We extract the above from a letter written by Alonso Çuaço to the Emperor, from Santo Domingo in the island of Hispaniola,²⁴⁸ Jan. 22, 1518.

No. 90. GARCIA DE TORENO.

Maps made by the celebrated cosmographer Nuño Garcia de Toreno, in the house of Vespuccius, and with his advice :

“Nuño Garcia opina que se debe dar crédito á Amerigo . . . el cual fué al Cabo de San Agustin, y tomó su derrota desde la isla de Santiago, que es al occidente del cabo Verde . . . y me decia muchas veces que podia poner el cabo en 8°, haciendo yo cartas en su casa :—Nuño Garcia was of opinion that credit should be given to Americus . . . who went to Cape St. Augustine, beginning his voyage from the island of Santiago, west of Cape Verde . . . and he [Vespuccius] told me [Nuño Garcia] a number of times that I could place the Cape [S. Augustine] by 8°, while engaged making maps in his own house.”²⁴⁹

1512.

No. 91. MAP OF THE ISTHMUS.

Map which King Ferdinand ordered Pedrarias and Balboa to make:

“La figura de la tierra que mandó V. A. hacer a Pedrarias y Vasco Nuñez de Balboa han hecho este . . . Son lo señalados desde aquel golfo toda la costa al poniente y la tierra adentro hasta el Mar del Sur :—The map of the country which Your Majesty ordered Pedrarias [d’Avila] and Vasco Nunez de Balboa to have made, has been executed. It contains the configuration of the entire coast from that gulf westwards, and the country beyond as far as the Southern Sea [Pacific].”²⁵⁰

No. 92. STOBNICZA.

Mappamundi roughly engraved on wood, measuring 380 by 270 mm. for the two hemispheres, and belonging to the *Introductio in Ptholomei Cosmographiam* of the Polish savant Johannes de Stobnicza, first printed at Cracow²⁵¹ in 1512.

²⁴⁸ Archives of Simancas. Muñoz Collection, Vol. LXXVI., f^o. 32, verso. Imperfectly printed in the *Coleccion de documentos ineditos de Indias*, Vol. I., p. 296.

²⁴⁹ NAVARRETE, *Opusculos*, Vol. I., p. 67.

²⁵⁰ Muñoz Collection of MSS., Vol. LXXV., f^o. 338.

²⁵¹ *Introductio in Ptholomei Cosmographicam cum longitinibus et latitunibus regionum et civitatum celebriorum. Cum carmine Sapphico Rudolphi Agricole ad Episcopum Posnaniensem . . .* Impressum Cracouic p. Florianum Unglerium. Anno M.D.XIJ., 4to.

It is constructed after a partial and subspherical projection truncated at the poles, to use Brevoort's definition; and may be considered as imitating or foreboding the invention of Mercator; but it is not, as certain critics believe, the first map which represents the world on two hemispheres. Jaume Ferrer sent one of that sort to Ferdinand and Isabella, so far back²⁵² as 1495; unfortunately it is lost.

The New World exhibits a continuous coast line from its 50° north to its 40° south latitude, just as in Waldseemüller's later *Tabula Terre Nove*; except that it ascribes the peninsular form to the southern regions, and separates the new continent entirely from Asia. This shape, however, must not be interpreted as if it were a geographical expression altogether, but, in some respects, as a technical necessity in the early construction of globes. From the moment that a complete form had to be imparted to the southern continent, it is natural that cosmographers should have adopted the pyramidal one, as, judging from the representations of Africa and India then current, they were convinced that it was the necessary southern end of every continental region.

The names inscribed on that map proceed evidently from a prototype akin to Waldseemüller's, or belonging to the Lusitano-Germanic cartography altogether.²⁵³ They are:

| | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Cabo de bona ventura | Arcay [Arcaybacoa] | Caput de stado [deseado] |
| Gorffo spemoso [fremoso] | Caput S. crucis | Monte fregoso |
| Abba[tia omnium Sanctorum]. | Allapego [Pagus S. pauli] | |

Those names we have already seen either in Cantino, Canerio, or in the Kunstmann maps. We notice on the western borders "Terra incognita," which shows that Stobnicza, like all the Lusitano-Germanic cartographers, possessed only hypothetical reasons for delineating the Pacific coast.

Simon Starawolski, whose work²⁵⁴ is the fountain head for the little which we know concerning Polish writers of the name of De Stobnicza,

²⁵² *Supra*, First Section, No. 22, p. 405.

²⁵³ The passage (verso of f° vii.) "Non solum aut p. dictæ tres partes nunc sunt lacius lustrate, verum et alia quarta pars ab Amerigo vesputio sagacis ingenii viro inventa est, quam ab ipso Amerigo eius inventore Amerigem quam si americi terram sive americanam appellari volunt," shows on the part of STOBNICZA an acquaintance with the geographical productions of the St. Diey Gymnasium. They may have been communicated to him by Rudolf AGRICOLA junior, who resided then at Cracow,

and who was in correspondence with VADIANUS (*Bibliot. Americ. Vetust.*, No. 112). But the model map which he consulted for making his mappamundi cannot well have been sent him by VADIANUS, as the latter, at so late a period as 1534, still adhered to the configurations which broke up the north-east coast, such as they are represented in RUVSCH and in the early globes of SCHÖNER.

²⁵⁴ SIMON STARAVOLSCIVS, *Scriptorum Polonicorum*, Francoforti, 1644, 4to, No. xxxii., p. 53.

mentions a "Joannes Stobnicensis Medicus," and a "Joannes Stobnicensis Philosophus;" but without enabling us to ascertain which of the two is the author of the *Introductio in Ptholomei Cosmographiam*. The dates lead to the belief that it is the philosopher. If so, Stobnicza was not a savant who made of cosmography a regular study, but a Franciscan friar, who was known by his works on metaphysics. The continuator of Wadding,²⁵⁵ who ought to be well informed on the subject if our Stobnicza was really a Minorite, mentions only philosophical treatises as having come from his pen. So does Wiszniewski, in his more extended notice.²⁵⁶ Let it be said, however, that Stobnicza, being a professor of Philosophy, was probably also entrusted with the chair of Cosmography and the Natural Sciences, according to the custom in those days. The notice of Starawolski may be summed up almost in these words:

"Adolescens prima laurea Philosophica anno 1494 in Acad. Cracov Minimum se in ordine Minorum de Observantia videre voluit et sacrum habitum ipsorum indutus."

For further details, we beg to refer to the *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, and *supra*, page 279, for explanations and facsimile.

No. 93. JAVANO-LUSITANIC MAP.

It was a sailing chart, made by the Portuguese pilot Francisco Rodriguez, and based upon a map constructed by a Javanese pilot, which represented, among several regions, the country of Brazil. The map was ordered by the great Affonso de Albuquerque:

"Tambem vos vay hum pudaço de padram que se tirou de ua gramde carta dum piloto de jaoa, aquall tinha ho cabo de booa esperamça, portugall e a terra de brasyll . . ." ²⁵⁷

AFTER 1512.

No. 94. PETER MARTYR'S.

It is a map of the West Indies and Carribean Sea,²⁵⁸ 290 by 200 mm., roughly engraved on wood, and inserted in a later issue of the first

²⁵⁵ *Scriptor. ordin. Minorum*, Romæ, 1806, fol., p. 463.

²⁵⁶ Michala WISZNIEWSKRIGO, *Historia Literatury Polskiej*; W. Krakowie, 1841, 8vo, Vol. III., pages 200-205. See also in the *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, Nos. 69 and 95, pages 129, 164-166, and *Addit.*, No. 42, page 56. There is an excellent facsimile of the entire map in the atlas of NORDENSKIÖLD, plate xxxiv.

²⁵⁷ *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque seguitas de Documentos que as elucidam . . .*, Lisboa. Typ. da Acad. R. das sciencias, 1884, 4to, Vol. I., p. 64; quoted by Dr. HAMY, *L'oeuvre géographique des Reinel*, Paris, 1891, 8vo. p. 34. The letter is dated April 1, 1512.

²⁵⁸ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 66, and *Additamenta*, No. 41.

edition of the works of Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, published at Seville in the year 1511, by Jacob Corumberger.

On the verso of the map, there is a sort of epistle dedicatory, which is not as interesting as it might have been. We feel constrained nevertheless to insert it, owing to the allusion to discoveries then recently accomplished in the Floridian peninsula, anterior, however, as we believe, to the first expedition of Juan Ponce de Leon.

“Illustrissimo et reuerendissimo diuo [sic] fran. ximenez archiepiscopo toletano Cardinali et primati hispaniarum.

Ut dilucidius queant, reuerendissime purpurate, nostrarum nereidum (libellorum vtpote decadis oceanee) latebras (si que in [sic] sint) lectores intelligere: decadis ipsius calcem hac sculpta statui tabella fulcire. Qui sibi formare horum tractuum speciem nauigationem que in intellectu desiderant: hunc ibi ordinem capiant. In extremo tabelle margine duas promontorias cuspides inspicite: has hispanus vocat strecho de Gibraltar: latina lingua fretum herculeum. In leuam si te inde conuerteris septem veluti scopulos videbis: he sunt canarie insule apud latinis fortunate: licet non desint qui alias sentiant, e fortunatis recta itur ad occidentem et ad hispaniolam de qua pregnantis sunt nostri libelli. Quadrata ea que Hispaniole ab oriente vicina est: sant ioannem appellant [Porto Rico].

De hac late (quia est aurifera) in epilogo perpendiculari, ab insulis autem fortunatis leuorsum tractum discurre illum flexibilem: infinitum: varium.

Is est de quomulta: vbi os draconis: paria: curiana: cauchiet: cuquibachoa: vraua: beragua et relique prouintie amplissime quas continentem putatum indicum diximus ea vero tellus que ad occidentem hispaniole primum occurrit insulis vndique (veluti feta pullis gallina) circumualata: cuba est ingens insula. A leua vtrique adiacet a nobis satis trita iamaica.

“To the most illustrious and most reverend lord Francis Ximenez, Archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal and Primate of the Spains.

In order, Most Reverend empurpled [Lord], that the readers may more easily reach the recesses of our [*i. e.* my] Nereids (I mean our [my] small books, such as the Oceanic Decade), I have decided to add to the end of that decade the map herein engraved. Thus will those who desire to have an idea of the said treatises, and retrace in the mind that navigation, find there the direction. In the lower margin of the map, see two promontories. The Spaniards call them the Strait of Gibraltar; in Latin, the Strait of Hercules. If thence you turn to the left, you will see seven small reefs. Those are the Canaries, named by the Latins the Fortunate islands; although some have a different idea of them. Starting from the Fortunate islands, we go in a direct line towards the west, and to Hispaniola; from which sprung my books. The square island, near Hispaniola, on the east side, they call St. John. From that island, of which I speak at length in the epilogue, because it is auriferous, advance in following a straight line from the Fortunate islands; but on the left, follow with me that meandered, diversified, and infinite traject. It is the one of which much has been said, where are the Dragon's Mouth, Paria, Curiana, Cauchieta, Cuquibachoa, Uraba, Veragua, and the other very large provinces which are said to be the Indian Continent. The land which is first seen to the west of Hispaniola, surrounded on all sides with islands (like a hen with her chickens), is Cuba, the large isle. On the left, near those two islands, is Jamaica, of which we have sufficiently spoken. At the

Ad septentrionem vero miras etiam terras mirosque tractus repeerunt quorum vestigia cerne dextrorsuz sculpta.

Canibalicas autem insulas et archipelagus atque alia multa que adiacent medie pretermisisti [sic]: ne tabellam confunderem. Hec et cetera libelli aperient ergo vale splendidissime purpurate et nos qui excellentiam tuam obseruamus et colimus diligitio."

A point to be noted in the map, is the prolongation of the coast, westward and northwards of the Guanaja islands, at such an early date; for it corresponds to our Honduras. That coast bears only one name, which is not to be found on any other map in that locality, viz.: "Baya d'lagartos;"²⁶⁰ and, strange to say, it is not inscribed on a bay, but across a great promontory, which does not exist in those regions. Had this configuration been borrowed from a map, it would also mark the deep recess which is our Honduras Gulf. True it is, that Oviedo, in describing the latter (under the name of "de Higueras," the Gulf of Figs), states that it was discovered by Vincente Yañez Pinzon, Juan de Solis, and Ledesma; but he is clearly borrowing the erroneous notions about the alleged voyage²⁶¹ of 1506, with a vague and not less mistaken idea concerning the date of that expedition. As Oviedo adds that the discovery was accomplished before Pinzon discovered the Amazona river: "antes que el Viçente Yañez descubriese el rio Marañon," Honduras would have been found and explored by those three navigators so far back as the fifteenth century.

Withal it is not impossible that prior to 1513, those regions were visited by now unknown Spanish mariners. Such discoveries we have shown to be in perfect keeping with their enterprise. At all events, the map of Peter Martyr is the first now existing, which delineates the coast west of Maracaybo. But, so far as the portion beyond our Truxillo is concerned, it can be based only upon general notions derived from indistinct or incomplete reports.

²⁶⁰ There was already and continued to figure on maps a "Rio de Lagartos," but it is the river discovered and named by Christopher COLUMBUS, in Veragua: "a ryuer which Colonus named Largartos, bycause it nooryshethe greate bysardes whiche in the Spanysshche toonge are cauled *Largartos*." Pietro Martire D'ANGHIERA, Decad. II., lib. ii., f^o 28, c.

²⁶¹ *Supra*, No. 77, p. 460, note 211. In the pages 458-460, we have shown that Peter Martyr knows of no other

north, marvellous lands and marvellous countries have been found, of which you can see the engraved representation on the right. I have omitted the Cannibal islands, the archipelago and others which are in the centre of them, so as to avoid confusion in this map. All that, and other things, my small books will explain. Farewell then, Most Splendid empurpled Lord, and love us, who venerate and worship Your Excellency."

voyage undertaken by SOLIS and PINZON jointly than the expedition of 1508, which he located expressly east of our 35° west longitude, and consequently in a contrary direction of the north-west coast depicted in his map. Nor does he refer anywhere in his later Decades, to the discovery of those regions, except in connection with the voyages of Hernandez DE CORDOVA and GRIJALVA (1517-1518). The fact is that neither SOLIS nor PINZON ever visited those shores in 1506.

The new names in this map are the following :

| | | |
|-----------------------|---------------|-------------|
| Isla de beimeni parte | Beragua | Vraba |
| Baya d' lagartos | El marmol | G. de paria |
| C. gra[cias] de dios | La t[ri]nidad | Isla verde |
| Aburema | Taricue [?] | C. de cruz |
| | Bermuda. | |

See *supra*, pages 134-141, the chapter *Bimini, Florida, and the Gulf Shore*; and No. 75, page 448, the exploration to the eastward of Honduras.

1513.

No. 95. THE CACIQUE'S MAP.

Map of the coast of Quito, traced by the Cacique of Thumaco for Vasco Nuñez de Balboa :

"Tumáco dio Nuevas à Vasco Nuñez, como toda aquella Costa adelante corria larguissimamente, sin fin, señalando àcia el Peru . . . i de Tierra hiço vna figura, para que mejor se entendiese²⁶² :—Tumaco informed Vasco Nuñez how the entire coast extended continuously as far as Peru ; and, to make himself better understood, he drew a map of the country."

No. 96. WALDSEEMÜLLER'S "TABULA."

It is the *Tabula Terre Nove* belonging to the Ptolemy published at Strasburg in 1513, by Jacob Aeszler and George Uebelin.²⁶³

This map, which represents the newly discovered transatlantic regions, bears neither name nor monogram of maker ; but it was undoubtedly made by Martin Waldseemüller, otherwise called Hylacomylus.

Besides the fact of the intimacy existing between that geographer and the savants of the Vosgian Gymnasium during all the time when the above mentioned edition was projected, prepared, and finally printed (1505-1513), and his acknowledged collaboration in that important work as being the cosmographer most competent in such matters : "et Martinum Hylacomylum talium rerum scientissimum,"²⁶⁴ we have direct proofs that he was the maker of the new maps, including the present, inserted in the Ptolemy of 1513. This, Waldseemüller says himself in his letter to Amerbach, written from the town of St. Diey, April 5, 1507 :

²⁶² HERRERA, Decad. I., lib. x., cap. il., p. 267.

²⁶³ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 74.

²⁶⁴ LUDD, *Speculi orbis succintiss. sed neque poeni-*

tenda neque inelegans Declaratio et Canon. ; f° 3, quoted by Mr. D'AVEZAC, *Martin Hylacomylus Waldseemüller, ses ouvrages et ses collaborateurs* ; p. 65.

“Non credo te latere nos Ptholomei cosmographiam, recognitis et adiectis quibusdam novis tabulis impressuros in oppido Divi Deodati²⁶⁵;—I think you know already that I am on the point to print, in the town of St. Diey, the Cosmography of Ptolemy, after having added to the same some new maps.”

He was in that undertaking the collaborator of Gaultier Ludd; and the latter, in his *Speculum Orbis*, printed also at St. Diey in 1507, informs René, Duke of Lorraine, that he and Waldseemüller were then engaged in preparing for the press, “a map of the countries lately discovered;” which was to form part of a Ptolemy greatly augmented by the said Waldseemüller or Martin Hylacomylus:

“De qua ora plura et veriora in Ptolomeo per nos et Martinum Ilacomylum talium rerum scientissimum cum multis additamentis recognito.”²⁶⁶

Finally, in the Ptolemy published at Strasburg in 1522, there is a reduction of the present map, bearing also the title of *Tabula Terre Nove*, and to which is added the following frank statement:

“Et ne nobis decor alterius elationem inferre videatur. Has tabulas a novo a Martino Ilacomylo pie defuncto constructas, et in minorem quam prius unquam fuere formam redactas notificamus:—Not wishing to arrogate to himself the merit of others, he declares that those maps were constructed by the late Martin Ilacomylus, though published here of smaller dimensions than the original.”²⁶⁷

The nomenclature is precisely the same as in Canerio, and with identical spelling. The latitudes are also similar in both. For a critical review of those parallels, see Lelewell.²⁶⁸

As to the configurations, they present in Waldseemüller the all-important modification which consists in continuing the north-east coast until it is made to join absolutely with the northern seaboard of South America, by 8° north latitude. This graphical connection does not appear in the present map for the first time, as it is already exhibited in the mappamundi of Stobnicza (*supra* No. 92) printed at least one year before, in Poland. This indicates the existence of a Portuguese, or of a Lusitano-Germanic model, already circulating in the north of Europe prior to the publication of the St. Diey Ptolemy, and exhibiting the last link in the chain of north-western continental configurations which began with Cantino, and was continued in the maps of the Fifth Type.

²⁶⁵ *Supra*, page 441.

²⁶⁶ *Supra*, page 442, note 145.

²⁶⁷ Ptolemy of 1522, verso of f^o 100.

²⁶⁸ LELEWELL, *Géographie du Moyen Age*, Vol. II. page 147, for a comparison with Ptolemy's; and page 158 for a review of the present.

We notice only one new name, viz.: "Porto Real," as Waldseemüller's "Pagus S. pauli," is the "Alapago de Sam Paulo" of Canerio. A designation already given is here somewhat modified, viz.: "La punta de las galeras," in the plural.

The entire map has been reproduced by Nordenskiöld, plate xxxvi. See also our reduced facsimile, limited to the north-east coast of the New World, and description of the *Fifth Type*, pages 310-312.

No. 97. WALDSEEMÜLLER'S SMALL MAPPAMUNDI.

It also belongs to the Ptolemy of 1513, and bears the following title:

"Orbis typvs vniversalis iuxta hydrographorvm traditionem:—Representation of the entire world, according to the teachings of hydrographers."

The present completes the *Tabula Terre Nove*²⁶⁹; that is, whilst the latter does not give configurations beyond 54° north latitude, the present delineates as far as 90°. It follows that we notice thereon an important island or region, by 55° and 65° north latitude. Its erroneous position and eastern profile, when compared with the "Terra Corterealis" of the early Lusitanian maps, such as Cantino, King, and the name "Capo rasso" in the latter, show it to be, undoubtedly, our Newfoundland.

The same map, printed from the original block,²⁷⁰ was inserted in the Ptolemy of 1520. It has been facsimiled by Nordenskiöld, *op. cit.*, plate xxxv., under the title of *Hpdrographia sive Charta Marina*.

1514.

No. 98. A ROME PRINTED MAP.

Alessandro Gabloni, a Mantuan priest, proposes to the Marquis of Mantua, in a letter dated May 21, 1514, to send him a new and much admired map of the world containing a description of the countries lately discovered by the Portuguese, and recently *printed* at Rome:

²⁶⁹ PHILESIUS, in his letter to HYLACOMYLUS, inserted in the *Introductio manuductionem præstans*, printed at Strasburg by GRÜNINGER in 1511, contains the following reference to a map of the world: "Cum cosmographiæ noticia non parum conducibilis esse inveniatur: plurimum tibi devincis Martine studiosorum pectora, qui cum pridem generalem totius orbis typum dedalissime publica-

veris:—As it is granted that the science of cosmography is of no small importance, you, Martin, have commanded the approbation of many studious men, in having already published a general map of the entire world, extremely well executed." RINGMANN doubtless alludes not to the present, but to WALDSEEMÜLLER's large map of 1507.

²⁷⁰ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 58.

“Perche V. Ill^{ma}. S^{ia}. si soleua delectare vidder picture de Cosmografia per tanto essendo novamente stampato in Roma una nova tabula cum la descriptione del mundo vecchio e novo ritrouato dalla navigatione de portugesi et essendo multo laudata me parssio mandarlla alla S. V. Ill^{ma}. la qual supplico si voglia dignar comandarmi perche essendo notissima a lei la fede et devotione che li ho la po esser certa che maggior a piacere non posso hauere che di gratificarla el obedirla a lei baso la mane. . . .

Rome xxj Maij 1514. Humil S^r Alex. gablon. Archidiac. Mantuanus.²⁷¹

“As Your Highness has [always] taken a great pleasure in cosmographical delineations, I inform Y. H. of a new map recently printed at Rome, exhibiting the old world, and the new one which has been discovered by the navigation of the Portuguese, and the same being much praised, I propose to send it to Y. H., whom I beg to command me; for my devotion is so great that there could be no greater pleasure to me; and I kiss the hand of Your Highness.

Rome, May 21, 1514. Your humble servant Alexander Gabloni; Archdeacon of Mantua.”

This map is otherwise entirely unknown. The words: “novamente stampata,” prevent its being Ruysch’s mappamundi, which was published at Rome, but six years before. The reference to the discoveries of the Portuguese seems to imply that the Molucca islands in particular are meant. But as Gabloni’s description mentions both the Old and the New World: “el mundo vecchio e novo,” we may infer that the present was a mappamundi, necessarily exhibiting also America.

BEFORE 1515.

No. 99. ANDRES DE MORALES (?).

Sailing chart to the West Indies, which was approved by Juan Diaz de Solis and other special experts;

“Carta de Marear á las Indias Occidentalis, que aprobaron Juan Diaz de Solis, y otros practicos en esta navegacion.”²⁷²

Juan Diaz de Solis left Spain, October 8, 1515, for La Plata, where he was killed and eaten up by the Indians. The present is probably the map which is said by Barcia²⁷³ to have been made by Morales:

“Carta de marear á las Indias Occidentales, que aprobaron Juan Diaz de Solis y otros prácticos en esta navegacion.”

Withal there is great confusion concerning that class of maps.

²⁷¹ MS. in the State archives at Mantua.

²⁷² HERRERA, Decad. II., lib. i., cap. xii., p. 18.

²⁷³ BARCIA, *Epitome de la Biblioteca Oriental y Occidental*, Madrid, 1737, fol., Vol. II., col. 1109.

No. 100. BENCI'S MAPPAMUNDI.

It is mentioned by Leonardo da Vinci in one of his memoranda,²⁷⁴ twice on the same slip of paper, which shows the importance he attached to that map. The great artist first writes: "El mio mappamondo che à Giovanni Benci:—My mappamundi which Giovanni Benci has." This sentence implies ownership on the part of Leonardo, and possession on that of Benci. But two lines further he says: "Mappamondo di Giovanni Benci:—Mappamundi of Benci." Here, the sentence when brought in connection with the first, seems to indicate that Benci was the maker of the map.

The fact that it was then in the hands of Benci, shows the above quoted memoranda to have been penned in Italy, consequently before December 1515, which is the time when Leonardo da Vinci accompanied Francis I. to France, where he died, May 2, 1519, *not* at Fontainebleau, and still less in the arms of the French King, as people generally believe.

Perhaps this mappamundi is only the set of gores which was found among the manuscripts of Leonardo, preserved in Her Majesty's library at Windsor, and described here below. Yet, it may also be a more important map, which, notwithstanding its date, contained no American configurations whatever; as is the case with the mappamundi of Johannes Stabius, which, although of the year 1515, and constructed by the cosmographer of the Emperor Maximilian I.,²⁷⁵ ignores altogether the transatlantic regions. This is so much the more possible that in the mass of writings, where the earth is the object of so many disquisitions, Leonardo da Vinci never alludes once to the discovery of America.

1515.

No. 101. THE "MARGARITA" MAP.

It is a rough woodcut bearing in capital letters the following title:

"Typvs vniversalis terra ivxta modernorum distinctionem et extentionem per regna et prouincias:—Representation of the entire earth according to modern divisions . . ."

This mappamundi belongs to the edition of the *Margarita Philosophica*

²⁷⁴ J. P. RICHTER, *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci*, London, 1883, imperial 8vo, Vol. II., p. 224, No. 1444.

²⁷⁵ "Maximiliani I. Imper. cosmographus." G. M. KOENIG, *Bibliotheca vetus et nova*, Altdorf., 1678, fol., page 350.

Nova of Gregory Reisch, published at Strasburg by Grüninger in 1515.²⁷⁶

The Vienna Imperial Library possesses²⁷⁷ a manuscript copy of that map, made by Johann Schöner. It is coloured, and presents certain differences in the lettering and abbreviations. These are corrections²⁷⁸ made by the Nuremberg savant. Where the engraved copy calls both the large West India islands "Isabella," he names one "Isabella," and the other "Spagnolla." On the Brazilian mainland we read "Paria sive Brasilia," instead of "Paria seu Prisia;" the scale of latitudes runs from 80° to 60°, instead of 85° to 61°, but it omits the equatorial line and tropics.

The fact that the continuous coast line is the object of no observation on the part of Schöner, leads us to believe that he made this copy after 1523, when he conceived for the first time the idea of connecting North with South America.

In both the woodcut and the copy the New World assumes the form of a continent running from 75° north to 55° south latitudes, bearing on the northern continental land the erroneous and curious inscription, now elucidated,²⁷⁹ of ZOANA MELA.

It is the first map of the kind inserted in the numerous editions of the *Margarita*. In the one which was published by Grüninger, in 1504, there is a mappamundi, but the existence of the New World is only inferred by the legend:

"Hic non terra sed mare est: in quo miræ magnitudinis Insulæ, sed Ptolemæo fuerunt incognitæ:—Here there is no land [continent], and only a sea, in which are wonderfully large islands, which Ptolemy has not known."

In the *Margarita* of 1535, the 1515 engraved map is reproduced, but with the omission of the principal names.

See Nordenskiöld, plate xxxviii., and, *supra*, page 313, *The Fifth Type*, with facsimile of the American portion of Schöner's copy.

No. 102. VELASQUEZ'S CUBA.

Complete map of Cuba, made by order of Governor Diego Velasquez, and which was sent to the King of Spain in 1515:

²⁷⁶ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 82.

²⁷⁷ *E. Cod. Pal. Vindob. 3505*. We are indebted for an excellent copy of this manuscript map and for other valuable favours, to Dr. A. GÖLDLIN DE TIEFENAU, Custodian of the Vienna Imperial Library. It is the map which was first mentioned by Dr. WIESER, *Magalhães-*

Strasse, p. 15, as being "in einem handschriftlichen Notiz-buche Schöner's."

²⁷⁸ We interpret SCHÖNER'S annotation near the West India islands, by "iste est imperfectionem," or, "that stands corrected."

²⁷⁹ WIESER, *Zoana Mela*, in KETTLER'S *Zeitschrift*.

“Havia hecho Diego Valazquez sacar vna figura de la isla de Cuba, con todos los Montes, Rios, Valles, i Puertos de ella, i la havia embiado al Rei, por mano de Passamonte:—Diego Velasquez caused to be made a map of the island of Cuba, with all its mountains, rivers, valleys, and ports, and sent it to the King by Passamonte.”²⁸⁰

No. 103. MORALÉS' HISPANIOLA.

Map of the island of Hispaniola, made by Andres de Moralés :

“ . . . sensi uenisse quendam Andream Moralem, nauium ea littora noua percurrentium nauclerum: qui et crediti continentis oras, et insularum adiacentium tractus, et Hispaniolæ interna omnia diligenter soliciteque scrutatus est. Vestigandæ Hispaniolæ curam uiro huic frater Nicolaus Ouandus demandauit: quod ingenio polleret, essetque ad huiusmodi rem explorandam cæteris aptior. Super his Andreas hic indices et tabellas formauit egregias: quibus præbetur fides à reliquis rem intelligentibus.”²⁸²

“Hic autem Andreas Morales nauclerus, aliter depictam parum tamem ad me tulit: ab utroque quippe angulo, orientali puta et occidentali, magnis sinubus cauatam esse describit, cornuaque protendere longissime. Intraque magnum sinum orientalem portus locat amplos tutosque. Dabimus operam ut aliquando ad sanctitatem tuam is index particularis Hispaniolæ mittatur.”²⁸³

“This man [Andres de Moralés] had dyligently searched the tracte of the supposed continente, and especyally the inner regyons of the ilande of Hispaniola, whereunto he was appointed by his brother [*sic*²⁸¹], Nicolaus Ouandus because he was a witty man and more apte to searche such thynges then any other: So that with his owne handes he drew fair cardes and tables of suche regyons as hee discovered.”

“But the experte shyppe mayster Andreas Moralis broughte me the forme therof from bothe the corners, as from the Easte angle and the West, he described it to be indented and eaten with many great goulfes on the East syde.

But I trust shortly soo to trauayle further herein, that a perfecte carde of the particular description of Hispaniola may bee sente vnto yowre holynesse [Leo X.]”

These extracts from the Third Decade of Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, authorise the supposition that there may be an original map of Hispaniola in the Vatican, but we failed to find any such document.

No. 104. MORALÉS' BRAZIL.

Map of Andres de Moralés, which, when the Spanish government in 1515 called the junta of pilots to examine the claims of Portugal to Cape St. Augustine, was considered the best then extant :

“La carta que hiço el Piloto A. de Moralés, aquella se debia de creer, que era la mejor:—The map made by the pilot A. de Moralés, which had to be received as the best of all.”²⁸⁴

²⁸⁰ HERRERA, Decad. II., lib. ii., cap. xi., p. 17.

²⁸¹ OVANDO was certainly not the brother either of MORALES or of Pedrarias DAVILA. “Frey” is meant.

²⁸² ANGHIERA, Decad. III., lib. vii., f^o 57, D.

²⁸³ ANGHIERA, Decad. III., lib. vii., f^o 58, D.

²⁸⁴ HERRERA, Decad. II., lib. i., cap. xii., p. 18.

No. 105. QUEVEDO'S.

It was a map of the country extending from Cartagena to Gracias a Dios, made by order of the Crown, and sent to Spain by Juan de Quevedo, the first bishop of Darien, January 20, 1515.

"La figura de la terra que mandó V. A. hacer a Pedr^o. [Pedrarias Davila] i V^o. Nuñez [Vasco Nuñez de Balboa] han hecho este i el Obispo porque el Gov^o. siempre ha estado malo. Aora se embia, notados los Caciques que estavan de paz, i agora de guerra, i destruidos. Son los senalados desde aquel golfo toda la costa al poniente i la terra adentro hasta el mar del Sur. El Maestrescuola [Torribio Cintado] que la lleva dara mas razon."

"The map of the country which Your Majesty ordered Pedrarias and Vasco Nuñez to make has been made by them . . . It is sent herewith, and mentions the caciques who are at peace, those who are at war now, and those who have been destroyed. Therein is indicated from that Gulf the whole of the west coast, and the country inland to the Southern sea. The superintendent of education who brings it will give ampler details."²⁸⁵

No. 106. WEIMAR GLOBE, No. 1.

It is the terrestrial globe for which Schöner is believed to have written the tract *Luculentissima quædam Terræ totius Descriptio*,²⁸⁶ printed in 1515, and which could not be copied or counterfeited without incurring a heavy penalty:

"Cum Globis cosmographicis: sub mulcta quinquaginta florenorum Rhen. et amissione omnium exemplarium:—With a cosmographical Globe: under a fine of Five Hundred Rhenish florins, and forfeiting all copies."

Johann Schöner constructed a number of globes, several of which sold with a descriptive tract like the one above mentioned, and from which we know that spheres were executed by him²⁸⁷ in 1515, 1523, and 1533. But it is certain that he made other globes, as there is one in existence dated 1520, bearing his signature and own explanations. The probability is that we possess still others, which must be sought among the anonymous globes which have lately come to light. The only practical mode to classify those cartographical documents and show their

²⁸⁵ Muñoz Transcripts, Vol. LXXV., f^o 338, vo. The map is further described in another letter from QUEVEDO; MUÑOZ, *op. cit.*, f^o 330, vo. A propos of Darien, who was Cristobal DE LA TOVILLA, and what is his history, called *La Barbarica*, which LAS CASAS (*Hist. General*, Vol. III., p. 289; IV., pp. 73, 277, 411) quotes as an authority for his details concerning Alonso DE HOJEDA, Vasco NUÑEZ and the conquest of Darien?

All we know is that he was one of the discoverers of Darien. There is a letter addressed by him to the Emperor CHARLES V., dated Mopox, June 24, 1541; MS. in the archives of the Indies.

²⁸⁶ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 80, pp. 140-142.

²⁸⁷ See *infra*, under the years 1515, 1520, 1523, and 1533, for descriptions of globes ascribed to SCHÖNER.

affinity, is to compare the configurations and nomenclatures, taking as a basis the globe of 1520, which was undoubtedly constructed by Schöner.

Limiting our analysis to the New World, we first notice that it is chiefly represented by two continental lands, separated by a sea, placed between the tropic of Cancer and the equator, in about 10° north latitude. The northern section extends from that parallel to 51°, and the southern, from the latter to 46° south latitude. As to the South American continent, it assumes the form of a triangle, the apex of which constitutes the northern shore of a nameless and narrow passage, which causes the *Occidentis Oceanus* to communicate with the *Oceanus orientalis*. Concerning that strait, it is necessary to call attention to the *Copia der Newen Zeitung auss Presillg Landt*,²⁸⁸ which was first printed at Augsburg,²⁸⁹ and contains this curious statement :

“Item wist das auff den Zwelfften tag des Monadts Octobers Ein Schiff auss Presillg landt hye an ist kummen vmb geprech der Victualia, So dan Nono vn Christoffel de Haro vnd andere gearmirt oder gerüst haben. Der Schiff sein Zway, durch des konigs von Portugal erlaubnuss vmb das Presilglanndt zu beschreiben oder zu erfaren Vnd haben das Lanndt in Sechs oder Syben hundert meyll weyt describiert, dann man das vor wissen hat gehabt. Vnnd da sie kommen sein ad Capo de bona sperantza, das ist ein spitz oder ort so in das meer get gleich der Nort Assril [*sic*], vnd noch ein grad höher oder weyter. Vñ do sie in solche Clina oder gegent kommen sein Nemlich in Viertzig grad

“Learn also that on the twelfth day of the month of October,²⁹⁰ a ship from Brazil has come here,²⁹¹ owing to its being short of provisions.²⁹²

The vessel had been equipped by Nono [*sic pro* Nuño] and Christopher de Haro, in partnership with other [merchants].

Two of those²⁹³ ships were intended to explore and describe the country of Brazil, with the permission of the King of Portugal.

In fact, they have given a description of an extent of coasts, from six to seven hundred leagues, concerning which nothing was known before.

²⁸⁸ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, p. xlix., note 157, and Nos. 99 and 100, pp. 172-176.

²⁸⁹ “Getruckt zü Augspurg durch Erhart Oeglin,” says the colophon, which, however, is *sine anno*.

²⁹⁰ Unfortunately the year is omitted, and nowhere in the tract, or elsewhere, do we find any indication enabling us to supply it. The reference to Christopher DE HARO might serve for that purpose, if we knew when he commenced trading with Portugal. All we know is that after residing in Lisbon, HARO removed to Spain in 1519. “Acaban de llegar juntos a esta Cristobal DE HARO y Juan DE CARTAGENA,” writes Sebastian ALVAREZ from Seville, July 18, 1519 (NAVARRETE, IV., 153). On the other hand, MUÑOZ cites a letter from Antwerp, from which must be inferred that Christoval DE HARO and two namesakes—one pre-named Diego,—supposed to be his brothers, were yet residing at Antwerp in 1517: “Cristoval de Haro con otros dos Haros, quiza hermanos,

eran moradores y comerciantes allí” (quoted by NAVARRETE, IV., p. lxxiv., n.). If so, he must have obtained the privilege of sending ships to Brazil, before coming to reside in Portugal. The HAROS were Spaniards by birth, as we find Christoval qualified in 1538, of “Vecino y regidor de la ciudad de Burgos” (MEDINA, *Coleccion de docs. inedit. para la Hist. de Chile*; Santiago, 1888, 8vo, Vol. II., p. 291).

²⁹¹ That port is not mentioned. HUMBOLDT (*Examen critique*, V., 240) thinks it was Lisbon.

²⁹² If HUMBOLDT’S above-mentioned surmise is correct, we may suppose that Antwerp, where the HAROS had their principal establishment, was the destination of the ship, as her alleged coming into the port of Lisbon is ascribed to the lack of provisions.

²⁹³ That reference and the word “item,” show that the *Carta* is only an extract. Unfortunately the rest of the document has not yet been found.

hoch, Haben sie das Presill mit ainem Capo, das ist die spitz oder ein ort, so in das mer get, funden. Vn haben den selbigen Capo vmbseylet oder vmbfaren, vñ gefunden, das der selb Calfo [*sic pro* Capo] gleich ist gangen wie Europa leynt mit dem Syt ponente leuante, das ist gelegenheyt zwischen dem auffgangk oder Ost, vnd nydergangk oder West, Dann sie haben auff der anndern seyten auch die landt gesehen, Als sie bey Sechtzig meyllen vmb den Capo kommen sein, zu gleicher weyss als weñ ainer in Leuanten fert, vnd die skritta [*sic pro* stritta] de gibilterra passiert, das ist, furfert, oder hyndurch einfarn, vnd das landt von Barbaria sicht. Vnd als sie umb den Capo kummen sein, wie gemelt ist, vnd gegen vns Nordwestwertz geseylet oder gefaren haben. Do ist vngewitter so gross worden, aucht windt gewesen, das sie nicht weyter haben kunnen saylen, oder faren. Do haben sie durch Tramontana, das ist Nort, oder mitternacht, wider her vmb auff die annder seyten vnd Costa, das ist landt, von Pressill, müssen faren.”²⁹⁵

We have reproduced the above statement chiefly because it is the basis of the opinion entertained by several writers, that the great austral passage was known, and had been crossed before Magellan discovered the strait which bears his name. That description must have also prompted Schöner to adopt the pyramidal configuration which he imparted, so far back as 1515, to the termination of the South American continent.

Dr. Wieser, in his very valuable disquisition on this important point of the history of maritime discovery, has shown²⁹⁶ by copious extracts from the *Luculentissima descriptio* and from the *Copia der neuen Zeitung*, that Schöner had read and been influenced by the German tract. But there were doubtless other reasons for depicting the strait, such for instance as sprung from the *a priori* belief that the New World was separated from the Old by the *Oceanus orientalis*, and the cartographical

They reached the Cape of Good Hope, which is a point extending into the ocean, very similar to *Nort Assril* [*i. e.*, very similar to the point of Africa?²⁹¹], and one degree still further.

When they had attained the altitude of the fortieth degree, they found Brazil, which had a point extending into the sea.

They have sailed around that point, and ascertained that the country lay, as in the south of Europe, entirely from east to west.

It is as if one crossed the Strait of Gibraltar to go east in ranging the coast of Barbary.

After they had navigated for nearly sixty leagues to round the Cape, they again sighted the continent on the other side, and steered towards the north-west. But stormy weather [or a storm] prevented them from making any headway.

Driven away by the Tramontane, or north wind, they retraced their course, and returned to the country of Brazil.”

²⁹⁴ Dr. WIESER (*Magalhães-Strasse*, p. 100, note 2), proposes to read “Nort ao Sul,” said to be a nautical term like the “Ponente levante” of Italian seamen. But we do not see how a cape can resemble a wind, and much prefer the suggestion of Mr. VON DER HAGEN (in HUMBOLDT, *Examen critique*, Vol. I., p. 255), who sees in “Nort” and “Assril,” bad readings of “Ort”

and of “Affric;” so that the original text was: “gleich dem ort Affric.” The long *ss* are often taken for *ff*.

²⁹⁵ We borrow our German text from Dr. WIESER’s reprint (*op. cit.*), and we have used HUMBOLDT’S version (*Examen Critique*, Vol. I., (p. 240-245) for making the present translation.

²⁹⁶ WIESER, *Magalhães-Strasse*, pp. 28-32.

necessity arising therefrom. Else, we would have to assume that the Hauslab gores and the mappamundi of Stobnicza, both of which give likewise the pyramidal form to South America, also borrowed the notion from that or a similar account. What is certain, however, is the fact that Schöner has imagined from the *Copia* to call the alleged austral continent "Brasilie Regio," and that he is the originator of the latter erroneous designation, which continued to mar so many maps of the sixteenth century.²⁹⁷

Reverting to the globe itself, it must be noted that the name AMERICA is inscribed across the southern continent. As to the configurations of the northern, they have been borrowed from the north-western continental region in a map akin to Canerio; which modified Cantino by an elongation of the coast southwards, with profiles of a peculiar kind. In Schöner that continuation bears the name of "Parias," which indicates that it was considered as representing the country discovered by Columbus in the course of his third voyage. In the Green globe, which is unquestionably Schönerean, instead of "Parias," we read there and on the southern continent, the name AMERICA. The nomenclature is the same as in Canerio, omitting, however, twenty of the latter's designations. But what proves that Schöner did not work on a prototype absolutely Canerian, is the fact that he has inserted along the American coast, not less than fifteen names which are not in Canerio, although nine of these figure in Ruysch, viz.:

| | | |
|---------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Lixleo | C. de frado | Rio de foroseco |
| Terra sura | Terra de parias | Rio de les Euas |
| Monte rotonda | Curtana | S. Rochij |
| R. de la reno | Rio de flagranza | S. Maria de rabida |
| G. de paxi | P. de Arena | S. Maria |

The West India archipelago, with Cuba, called Isabella, is represented in the form peculiar to all the Portuguese and Lusitano-Germanic maps. In fact, Schöner's American configurations and nomenclature have been copied servilely from one of the latter, which perhaps already imparted the pyramidal form to the southern continent, as can be inferred from the Hauslab globe No. 1. His innovations, thus far, seem to consist of certain legends, and the insertion of the austral continent, which can have originated only with a savant. In fact, his "Brasilia Regio" is the

²⁹⁷ WIESER, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-73.

southern zone, or *Antichthon* of the poet Marcus Manilius, of Pomponius Mela, and of all the cosmographers of the Middle Ages, who believed in the existence of that region, south of the torrid zone, but from which it was separated by a sea.²⁹⁸ At all events, it is in Schöner's globe of 1515, that we, thus far, see an austral land for the first time.

We had entertained the thought that the Nuremberg mathematician always considered America as a mere continuation of Asia. This belief was derived from the opinion which he so forcibly expressed in the *Opusculum* of 1533. And, although unable to account for the contradiction existing between such a theory and his graphic descriptions as exhibited in the globes of 1515 and 1520, the idea did not strike us that we might perhaps solve the problem simply by consulting Schöner's *Luculentissima descriptio*, which, as already stated, he wrote to elucidate the globe of 1515; and it is only a few days since,²⁹⁹ thanks to the kindness of the learned custodians of the Munich Royal Library, that we have been enabled to ascertain the truth.

Now, we were entirely mistaken. Schöner, in 1515 and 1520, was no exception to all the cosmographers of Central Europe in those years; and, like every one of them, he believed that the north-western continental land in the Lusitanian and Lusitano-Germanic maps or globes represented the American regions, and that these regions were absolutely distinct and entirely separated, north and south, from Asia.

Here are Schöner's own words :

"Hunc in modum terra quadripartita cosnoscitur et sunt tres primæ partes continentes i. e. terra firma: sed quarta est insula quia omniquaque mari circumdata conspicitur:—In this way it is ascertained that the earth is divided into four parts, and the first three parts are continents, that is, mainlands; but the fourth [part] is an island, because we see it surrounded on all sides by the sea."³⁰⁰

And that there should be no misunderstanding as to the "Fourth Part," the above quotation is found in the chapter of the *Luculentissima descriptio* entitled: *De America, quarta orbis parte*.

Nor is that all. In examining the configuration meant to represent the New World in the globes of 1515 and 1520 the reader will notice, as we have already stated, that the main part of the northern section

²⁹⁸ SANTAREM, *Hist. de la Cosmographie*, Vol. II., pp. 81, 89, 152, 174, 181 and 278.

²⁹⁹ It is necessary therefore to correct in that respect

what we have written, *supra*, p. 115, from the third to the eighth line.

³⁰⁰ *Luculentissima descriptio*, f° 60.

bears in large letters the name of PARIAS. Schönner describes that region in the above-mentioned work³⁰¹ as follows :

“Parias insula, quæ non est pars vel portio prioris, sed specialis magna portio terræ hujus quartæ partis mundi:—The island of Parias, which is not a part or portion of the said country, but a large special portion of the earth *in that fourth part of the world.*”

Nor do we find anywhere in that tract any reference to a supposed cosmographical connection between Asia and America.

Although the activity of cartographers, particularly in Germany, during the first quarter of the sixteenth century has been much greater than is generally supposed, and there were many map-makers whose names have not reached us, and who doubtless copied, counterfeited, or were inspired by models which met more or less with the favour of the public, we feel constrained, for the present, to qualify as “Schönerean globes” all those which answer the above description. But as Johann Schönner, who was born in 1477, lived until 1547, and therefore may have constructed globes during fifty years, whilst among those which can be ascribed to him only one is dated, we will classify these in taking as a basis the degree of finish and number of names and legends which these globes exhibit. This, we must confess, is not conclusive, as in our opinion the model used by Schönner for the globes which he constructed previous, at least, to the year 1523, was the same for all, whilst the more complete character of the one dated 1520 is due simply to its size and a greater amount of labour which the cartographer was disposed to bestow. But we could devise no better basis for our classification.

The crudest and least complete of those Schönerean globes is the present one, which is preserved in the Grand-Ducal Library at Weimar. It has been facsimiled by Dr. Wieser,³⁰² who has also ably advocated the connection of that globe with the *Luculentissima descriptio*. We have no other reason for ascribing to it the date of 1515. Its diameter is 270 mm.

No. 107. THE PARIS GREEN GLOBE.

It is a wooden mounted globe, the surface of which was covered with a thick layer of paint, originally white, on which the geographical delineations were drawn in aquarel. The configurations and colouring are artistically executed, with the seaboard deeply shaded, so as to give

³⁰¹ *Lucul. descript.*, verso of f° 60.

³⁰² WIESER, *Magalhães-Strasse*, p. 19, plate ii.

the continents and islands the appearance of being raised above the seas, which are painted in very dark green; hence the name given to the globe. The caligraphy is extremely neat, clear, and of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, about the year 1515. Certain parts, especially the tropics, still show traces of gilt. Its diameter measures 240 mm.

This valuable globe was discovered at Venice,³⁰³ and purchased in 1879 by the geographical department of the Paris National Library, where it is numbered 242.

The configurations and nomenclature are entirely Schönerean;³⁰⁴ but the latitudes present differences, as here, the northern section of the American continent is made to extend from 20° to 60°, whilst in Schöner's globe of 1520, it covers only the space between 11° and 51° north latitudes.

That northern region is precisely, in shape and in its details, like the corresponding region in Canerio and the Schönerean globes above described; that is, the coast is prolonged southward, with identical profiles. But where in the earliest of these (*supra*, No. 104) no names of localities are given, here we notice eight, all of which are also inscribed in Canerio and in Waldseemüller, viz.:

| | | | |
|---------------|--------------------|------------|---------------------|
| C. delicontir | C. arlear | Costa alta | Capo doffin d'abril |
| Caninor | C. de bona ventura | C. Santo | Lago dellodro |

Those names, which with seven more, also Cantinean, are likewise on the tall northern continental section in the globe of Schöner dated 1520.

A striking feature is the name AMERICA, inserted four times, whilst in the Weimar and Nuremberg globes we see it inscribed only once. Here, it also appears, for the first time, on the northern section; and across the southern continent, instead of being given in its simplest form, it reads as follows: "America ab inuentore nuncupata." Yet the Antilles bear this legend: "Iste insule per Columbum genuensem almirantem ex mandato regis Castelle invente sunt." The conclusion is that, in the opinion of the cartographer, Columbus only discovered the West India islands; but that the merit of the discovery of the American continent, north and south, belongs to Vespuccius.

³⁰³ "Feu M. le comte Riant avait acheté le globe à Venise, chez un brocanteur, avec un lot assez important de cartes, globes et instruments qui provenaient (disait-on) de la collection d'un patricien, le dernier des QUIRINI, tombé dans une profonde misère."—G. MARCEL, *Un globe manuscrit de l'école de Schöner*, in *Bulletin de*

Géographie historique et descriptive, Paris, 1889, p. 173.

³⁰⁴ It has been stated that the said northern section presented here, north of the tropic of Cancer, a break, dividing it in two or three vast islands; this is a mistake. That section is all of one solid piece, just as in all the Schönerean globes.

The nomenclature presents another peculiarity. Several localities here (which is not the case with the other Schönerean globes), are designated as regions :

| | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| Regio de Cananorino | Regio de S. Anthonio |
| Regio Santi Heronimi | Regio grande |

On the other hand, the vast austral continent, called elsewhere : "Brasilie regio" or "Brasilia inferior," here is nameless. As to the well known denomination : "Papagalli terra," it is recalled by the legend : "Hic reperiuntur rubei psitaci," which indicates that the prototype, like the Cantino and Canerio charts, was adorned with representations of the *Ara Macao*, first brought to Europe, either by Gaspar de Lemos in 1500, or by Pedralvarez Cabral in July, 1501.

The present globe, much as it resembles those made by Schöner, is not in our opinion, the direct work of that geographer.

No. 108. THE FRANKFORT SCHÖNEREAN GLOBE.

This globe, which is preserved at Frankfort-on-the-Main, has been copied imperfectly, and in the form of gores, by Jomard.³⁰⁵ These indicate a diameter of 270 mm.

It is believed by Dr. Wieser³⁰⁶ to be the work of Schöner, and a mere duplicate of the Weimar globe above described. This point can be settled only after the originals of both these globes shall have been compared together, although it is unquestionable that the configurations are identical, particularly for the New World.

No. 109. MOUNTED HAUSLAB GLOBE.

It is 360 mm. diameter, and reproduces the American configurations of the Schöner globe of 1515, except that south of the apex of the southern continent there is not, as in the former, that immense region denominated by Schöner "Brasilie Regio." The northern section bears only the name "par . . . [ias]." The southern section is likewise called AMERICA, but exhibits in addition a number of names belonging to the Lusitanian nomenclature already described in the Kunstmans, and set forth in the 1520 globe of Schöner.

³⁰⁵ E. F. JOMARD, *Les Monuments de la Géographie ; terrestre de la première moitié du XVI^e siècle.*
Paris, 1854, fol., plates xv. and xvi., entitled : *Globe*

³⁰⁶ WIESER, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

The attention of the public was first called to that globe, in 1872, by Adolfo de Varnhagen, who, from the fact that the relatively unimportant town of Brixen is therein inscribed, thought it was made in the latter place, *circa* 1513.³⁰⁷ We place that globe at random, next to Schöner's of 1515. The American portion has been reproduced and very carefully described by Prof. Luksch.³⁰⁸

NO. 110. MAP OF DA SILVA.

It was a Portuguese sailing chart for the navigation to the East Indies; but as the expeditions from Lisbon to the Moluccas at that time touched or could touch at some point of the Brazilian coast, their maps necessarily exhibited the configuration of Brazil:

“Come per la carta del nauigare, che Don Michiele di Selua, Orator del Re, reco a Roma, potra V. S. comprendere:—As by the nautical chart which Don Michael da Silva, the ambassador of the King [of Portugal] brought to Rome, Your Lordship, can understand.”

That sentence is to be found in a letter addressed by Andrea Corsali to Giuliano de Medici.³⁰⁹

1517.

NO. 111. MAGELLAN'S GLOBE.

Globe which Hernando de Magellan had with him when he came from Portugal to offer his services to Spain for the discovery of the Strait:

“Traia Hernando de Magellanes vn Globo bien pintado, adonde se mostraba bien toda la Tierra, i en el èl señalò el camino, que pensaba llevar, i de industria dexò el Estrecho en blanco, porque no se le pudiesen saltar:—Hernando de Magellan had with him a globe well painted, showing the entire earth, and he showed thereby, the route which he thought of taking; but intentionally he had left the strait blank, so that his secret might not be stolen from him.”³¹⁰

Argensola says, we do not know on what authority, that it was a planisphere painted by Pedro Reinel: “Vn Planisferio dibuxado por Pedro Reynel.”³¹¹

³⁰⁷ VARNHAGEN, *Jo. 'Schöner e P. Apianus, (Benewitz)*; Vienna, 1872, 8vo., pp. 51 and 52.

³⁰⁸ J. LUKSCH, *Zwei Denkmale alter Kortographie, in Mittheilungen der K. K. Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien*; Band XXIX., No. 7 and 8, pp. 364-370.

³⁰⁹ RAMUSIO, Vol. I., f^o. 180 (erroneously marked 280), and *Lettera di Andrea Corsali allo ill. sign. Duca Giuliano de Medici*; Firenze, 1516, 4to.

³¹⁰ LAS CASAS, *Historia de las Indias*, lib. iii., cap. ci., Vol. IV., p. 377, and, following him, HERRERA, *Decad. II.*, lib. ii., cap. xix., p. 52. What adds to the statement of LAS CASAS is the fact that he conversed with Hernando de MAGELLAN just after the latter had his interview with the High Chancellor.

³¹¹ B. L. DE ARGENSOLA, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, Madrid, 1609, fol., p. 16.

ABOUT 1518.

NO. 112. PORTOLANO OF FRANCIS I.

In France, the kings and princes of the house of Valois always manifested a very decided taste for literature, history, and the fine arts. They formed important collections, amongst which graphic descriptions of the World occupied a prominent place. John, Duke of Berry, possessed not less than five "bien grandes mappamondes,"³¹² which, like nearly all cartographical documents of that time, have disappeared.

We have found, in the royal inventories, several mentions of maps; unfortunately, they are so succinct that it is impossible to ascertain whether those maps date from after the discovery of the New World, or before. One, coming from the library of the castle of Blois, which was formed at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and figuring in the inventory of 1518,³¹³ was apparently a portolano which, doubtless, contained American configurations :

"Dedans ung coffre carré de boys de sapin. Une Mapemonde pour naviguer, fait en maniere de livre, couvert de vert :—In a square chest of pine wood there is a nautical map of the world, made in the shape of a book, covered with green [velvet or leather]."

In a later inventory, made when the library of Francis I. at Blois was transferred to Fontainebleau, we also read :

"Livre ou sont contenues 7 tables de navigations en feuillets de boys et de cuir . . . Ung sphre a globe de papier qui est tout rompu et effacé et les mouemens et roues toutes rompues³¹⁴.—A book, containing seven nautical charts on boards and leather. A sphere [or] globe made of paper, entirely broken and effaced, with the mechanism and wheels all broken up."

Catherine de Medicis possessed seven large maps. We will cite only the two following, which being anterior to 1589, do not belong to the present list, but deserve to be mentioned, as they are, after Cartier's, the earliest mentioned authentic maps of Canada :

"Une carte figurée à la main de la description de la Nouvelle France . . . Une autre carte figurée à la main de la description des Terres neufves et Canada :—A map drawn by

³¹² They are described in Mr. DELISLE'S admirable work : *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, Paris, 1868, 4to, Vol. III., p. 405, Nos. 191-195. CHARLES VII. possessed also a "quarte de mer." *Inventaire de la Bibliothèque du roi Charles VII., fait en 1423 par ordre du duc de Bedford.*

³¹³ MICHELANI, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de Fran-*

çois Ier., à Blois ; Paris, 1863, 8vo, p. 43. From Blois that library was transferred in 1544 to Fontainebleau, where it remained until 1595, when it was removed to Paris. What was left of that splendid collection is now in the National Library, but we have vainly searched for the present article.

³¹⁴ Paris Nat. Libr., MSS., No. 5600, art. 1734, 1759.

hand of the description of New France . . . Another map, drawn by hand, of the description of the New[ly discovered] Lands and Canada."³¹⁵

No. 113. MAGLIABECHIANA MANUSCRIPT MAPS.

In the collection prepared by Alessandro Zorzi for a new edition of the *Paesi novamente ritrovati*, preserved in the Magliabechiana Library,³¹⁶ and from which we have extracted several important geographical documents,³¹⁷ there is a series of manuscript maps relating to the New World, one of which, larger than the rest, and coloured, is inserted after f^o 57. It was made apparently to accompany the account of Cortés' discoveries, which map bears the date of 1517-1520. Yet this, as well as the other maps in the manuscript are of a somewhat later period, but they were certainly constructed with early data.

No. 114. BOULENGIER'S GORES.

The present is a set of twelve gores, engraved on a copper plate measuring 180 by 390 mm., and bearing neither date nor name of place where made, or of maker. It is encircled with the following inscription:

"Universalis cosmographie descriptio tam in solido quem [sic] plano."³¹⁸

Those gores were found inserted in a copy of Waldseemüller's *Cosmographiæ Introductio*, printed by Jean de la Place, at Lyons, *sine anno*,³¹⁹ but between November 22, 1517, which is the date when Bishop Jacques Robertet, to whom it is dedicated, was installed into the see of Alby, and May 26, 1518, when he died. Even if we suppose that Jacques could assume the episcopal title upon the death of Charles Robertet, who had resigned the bishopric in his favour *in articulo mortis*, this would only yield August 9, 1515,³²⁰ for the date of its publication.

Together with the twelve gores, there were inserted in that copy two copper plates. One is entitled: *Astrolabium phisicum*; the other: *Motus novæ sære et trepidacionis sære MDXIV.*, and signed: "Artificio Ludovici

³¹⁵ The oldest map of the kind now extant is one in our own collection: *Description des costs, pts, rades, îles de la nouvelle france fait selon son vray meridien . . . Avec la déclinaison de lement . . . obserué par le sieur de Champlain* (dated) 1607.—MS. on vellum, 545 by 370 mm.

³¹⁶ *84 Conti. Stroz.* in 4^o; cod. 24, class xiii.

³¹⁷ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, Appendix.

³¹⁸ *Catalogue de livres appartenant à M. H. Tross*; Paris, 1881, No. 4924, with a facsimile of the gores.

³¹⁹ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 63, where the work should have been inserted under the date of 1517-1518, instead of 1510.

³²⁰ *Gallia christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa*; Parisiis, ex typographia regia, 1715, folio; Vol. I., columns 36, 37, and 1002.

Boulengier, Allebie, 1514." And as that edition of the *Cosmographiæ introductio* was prepared for the press by Louis Boulengier of Alby, a somewhat noted astronomer, geometrician, and geographer of the time,³²¹ critics have inferred that he also designed the map, at the same time as the other plates, in 1514.

The three plates have not been found in a book preserving its original binding; there is no evidence that the gores and the other two plates were engraved at the same time, and Boulengier continued to write on scientific subjects until 1535, if not 1565.³²² It follows that the gores may well be of a later period than 1514.

On the other hand, as we have already stated, Louis Boulengier was the editor³²³ of the work in which those gores were found, and a cartographer, if we may judge from the titles of two of his books.³²⁴ It must also be noted that the Lyons *Cosmographiæ Introductio*, just like the St. Diey edition, but in different terms (which shows that in this respect the former is not a servile copy of the latter), reference is made to a globe which the reader is supposed to have before him:

"Habes candidè lector tabellam preinsculptam tibi latitudinem graduum regionum . . . In globo vero diei quantitatem et noctis . . . Sic comprehendere potes omni de regione tam per globum quam per sexagenarium:—You have, Dear Reader, before you, a small plate on which are inscribed the degrees of latitude of the countries . . . On the globe [you see] the duration of the day and night . . . Thereby you will be able to ascertain [the position of] every country, by the globe as well as by the sexennium."³²⁵

These facts authorise the question whether Boulengier did not construct, or cause to be constructed, a globe to sell with his edition of the *Cosmographiæ introductio*, just as Waldseemüller constructed one to accompany the *editio princeps* of that work? And yet, the reference

³²¹ See the works of BOULENGIER described by Mr. G. MARCEL, *Louis Boulengier d'Alby*, in *Bulletin de Géographie historique et descriptive*; Paris, 1890.

³²² LA CROIX DU MAINE, *Bibliothèque française*, 1772-73, Vol. II., p. 45, says of BOULENGIER'S *Description de la quarte gallicane*, that it was printed at Toulouse by Jacques de GRABAM in 1565, and written "par le commandement du roi Charles IX." (who reigned 1560-1572.)

³²³ "Seu eversæ parcendum est: Tum (ut soles) meam gratanter lucubrationem excipe . . ." Epistle dedicatory bearing the following heading: "Reverendo in Christo patri et dno. do. Jacobo Roberto alben. presuli dignissimo ludovicus Boulonger [sic] S. D. P." See, also in the address of Jean DES ECOLES, the sentence: "Venit forte mihi ad manus Cosmographia magistri Ludovici Boulangerii."

³²⁴ *Calculacion, description et géographie vérifiée du royaume de France*, Lyon, 1525; *Description de la quarte Galicane Tant desca que dela les mons. Et autres parties de l'Europe*, Lyon, 1535; 4to, 32 pp. The probability is that the latter accompanied a regular map of France, now lost.

³²⁵ Verso of the folding plate which belongs to chapter viii., signat. c. At that place, in the folding plate of the St. Diey edition, we read, instead of the above quotation: "Propositum in hoc libello quendam Cosmographiæ introductionem scribere: quam nos tam in solido quam plano depinximus." As to the word "sexagenarium," it is apparently a reference to the division and subdivision of the degrees of the circle; and the word "tabella" doubtless refers to a scale containing those degrees.

may also apply to the diagram engraved³²⁶ on the recto of the folded leaf. Withal, it should be noticed that Boulengier in his dedicatory epistle, states having added to his edition "other globes previously published by others:—auctam a ceteris globis ab aliis jamdudum in lucem editis." Was this set of gores originally intended for one of those globes, and is it, consequently, in its present form, a mere copy or reprint? If so, although the configurations are of an older date, as we already see them in Hauslab No. 1, the gores were engraved, like the book, between 1517 and 1518.

The north-western continental land therein is derived from a map akin to Canerio, as is seen by the deep gulf, and the extension of the coast southward as far as 18° north latitude. The southern continent bears this inscription: "America noviter reperta," while the northern exhibits a truncated one of which remains only NOVA. It was originally TERRA NOVA, but without any reference to our Newfoundland. An island to the north-east of Cuba, contains³²⁷ the unintelligible letters c o d.

No. 115. NORDENSKIÖLD GORES.

We ascribe the date of 1518 on account of the legend inscribed on the island of Hispaniola, viz.: "Insula in qua reperitur lignum Guaiacum," which can not be older than the time when Guaiacum wood began to be known in Germany, and to be considered as a panacea for *lues venerea*. Ulrich de Hutten says³²⁸ that it was in 1517, which is corroborated by Leonard Schmaus,³²⁹ who, writing in 1518, states that the substance then was scarcely known in Germany. At all events, Augsburg is the place from which the notion spread in Northern Europe, apparently through the instrumentality of Paulus Ricius,³³⁰ the physician of Charles V., then exercising in that city. It was first made known in print by an anonymous pamphlet published at Augsburg³³¹ on the 1st of December, 1518; and

³²⁶ The Paris Arsenal Library copy which has the recto of that leaf left blank (D'AVEZAC, *Waltzemüller*, page 119) is an exception.

³²⁷ Perhaps it is the "Terra corterealis" displaced, and inserted in the position of Hispaniola, with what was left of the original inscription: "Cort."

³²⁸ HUTTEN, *De Guaiaci medicina et morbo Gallico. Mogetiv* (sic) *in aedibus iohannis Scheffer mense Aprili interregni vero quarto anni MDXIX*; sm. 4to. (quoted by Ed. BÖCKING, *Ulrici Hutteni Opera*, Lipsiæ, 1859-1870, Vol. I., p. 40).

³²⁹ SCHMAUS, *Lucubratinuncula de morbo Gallico et*

cura eius noviter reperta cum ligno Indico. August.—Vindelic. 1518, 17 Decembris; 4to, described in the *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima, Additions*, No. 55.

³³⁰ See RICI'S letters in HUTTEN'S *De Guaiaci medicina*; Petri Vidoue, *sub scuto Basilensi*, fo. 37. HUTTEN, however, says that he acted under the advice of one Dr. STOMER.

³³¹ *Ain receipt von ainem holtz zubrauchen für die Krankheit der frantzosen . . . Augspurg an dem ersten tag des Manadts Decembris funff hundert und achtzehen jare.* 4to, 4 ll., title within an engraved border, used also for SCHMAUS' tract. Paris National Library, $\frac{T\ 23}{e, 3}$

soon afterwards by the *Lucubratincula* of Schmaus, issued apparently from the same press. Ulrich de Hutten's celebrated dissertation, printed the year following, and so often reprinted, rendered the belief universal, and made of *Guaiacum* almost a household word everywhere. It was followed by a number of works on that substance, printed in France and Germany, which have singularly enriched the *Bibliotheca Medicina*.

In this globe there is, as in Canerio, a continental land stretching from about 12° to 60° north latitude, corresponding with the continent of North America, and bearing two inscriptions, viz.: "Terra Cuba" and "Parias." The southern continent assumes a sort of pyramidal form, and bears the following inscriptions: AMERICA, and "Terra Noua Inuenta est Anno 1497." Those configurations, the peculiar date of 1497, and the fact that the only two European cities inscribed are Ingolstadt and St. James of Compostella ("S. Iacobus"), all of which peculiarities, save one, are also noticeable in the cordiform map of Apianus (1520), render it certain that the present globe is either the work of the celebrated Ingolstadt geographer, or that it proceeds from the prototype whence he has borrowed those data.

As to the date of 1497, the probability is that it appeared for the first time in the present gores. It was, doubtless, derived from the accounts of the first voyage of Americus Vespuccius. Be that as it may, the date of 1497 has prevailed for a long time, even where we least expect to find it, as, for instance, in an engraved map bearing the name of a Spanish royal cosmographer of note:³³²

"Americæ, sive quartæ orbis partis, nova et exactissima descriptio. Auct. Diego Gvtiero Philippi regis Hisp. . . . Cosmographo. Hiero. Cock excudæ. 1562."³³³

We read thereon the following inscription:

"Quarta hec orbis pars geographis omnibus usque in annum 1497 incognita permansit, quo tempore iussu Regis Castellæ ab Americo Vespucio inuenta est, a quo tanquam ab inuentore etiam nomen [accepit?]."³³⁴

We now possess three specimens of those gores, issued from the same plate; one (ex-Hauslab) in the collection of Prince Liechtenstein at Vienna, a second in that of Dr. Nordenskiöld, who has facsimiled it,³³⁵ and the third, lately discovered, in the Geographical Department of the Paris National Library.

³³² *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, pp. 231-236.

³³³ *Antverpiæ*, although *sine loco*.

³³⁴ Six sheets, measuring together 930 × 920 mm.,

now preserved in the British Museum, No. ⁶⁹⁸¹⁰/₁₈ ex-Tross.

³³⁵ *Om en märklig Globakarta från början af sextonde seklet*, Stockholm, 1884, 8vo.

1519.

No. 116. THE REINELS.

Globe and maps for the voyage of Magellan, commenced by Reinel junior, and completed by Reinel senior, at Seville, before July 18, 1519. The traject from Spain to America was traced as follows :

“A rrota que se diz que han de levar he dir^{to} ao cabo fryo ficando lhe o brazy a mão dir^{ta} ate pasar a linha da particão e daly navegar ao eloeste e loes noroeste dir^{tos} a maluco a quall terra de maluco Eu vy asentada na poma e carta que ca fez o f^o de Reynell a quall nō era acabada quando caa seu pay veo por ell, e seu pay acabou tudo e pos estas terras de maluco e p. este padram se fazem todallas as quaêes faz di^o Ribeiro e faz as agulhas quadrantes e esperas, porem nō vay narmada nem qr. mais q[ue] ganhar de comeer p. seu engenho.

Desd este cabo frio ate as Ilhas de maluco p. esta navegaçam no ha nehūas trras asentadas nas cartas que levã.”

“(The route is direct from Sanlucar) to Cape Frio, leaving Brazil on the right until the line of demarcation has been passed; and thence, to navigate west and west-north-west straight to Maluco. That country of Maluco I have seen depicted on the globe and map which were constructed here by the son of Reinel, and were not completed when his father came here to finish it, and this was done entirely by the latter, who inscribed thereon the Maluco country. By that model Diego Ribeiro makes all his compasses, quadrants, and globes, but he does not go in the fleet, for his only wish is to gain [enough] to eat by his skill. From Cape Frio to the Maluco islands, throughout their route, no lands are marked on the maps they carry with them.”³³⁶

It is quite curious to notice that the maps exhibited no delineation south of Cape Frio, which Ribeiro locates by 22° south latitude. The coast below was well known in 1519, at least for thirteen degrees further, through the expedition of Solis to La Plata; and if we consider its peculiar form and dangerous approaches, we are at a loss to understand why it was omitted from those maps. Is it that Magellan wanted his pilots to look to him alone when advancing south of the Brazilian elbow?

 No. 117. GARCIA DE TORENO.

Nuño Garcia de Toreno constructed maps at least since 1512, but we only possess one specimen of his skill as a cartographer (*infra, sub anno* 1522, No. 143). The present are the charts which he executed for Magellan's voyage by order of the government :

³³⁶ Lord STANLEY OF ALDERLEY, *The first voyage around the World by Magellan*; London, Hakluyt Society, 1874, Appendix x., for the original Portuguese

text of ALVAREZ' letter. See also *Carta escrita en Sevilla al Rey de Portugal por Sebastian Alvarez*; NAVARRETE, Vol. IV., p. 155.

"1125 maravedis que se dieron a Nuño Garcia para comprar pergaminos para hacer las cartas: 900 por una docena de pieles de pergamino que se dieron al dicho: 864 maravedis que costaron otra docena de pieles que se dieron al dicho Nuño Garcia: 13,125 maravedis por siete cartas de marear que hizo por la orden de Ruy Falero a cinco ducados; 11,250 maravedis que se pagaron á Nuño Garcia de once cartas de marear que hizo por la órden de Fernando de Magallanes: 13,503 maravedis por otras seis cartas de marear que hizo hacer Ruy Falero, con una que envió a S. A."

"1125 maravedis which were given to Nuño Garcia to purchase parchment to make the maps, viz.: 900 for a dozen skins which were delivered to him; 864 maravedis for another dozen skins which were also handed to the same; 13,125 maravedis for seven nautical charts which he made by order of Ruy Falero, at the rate of five ducats; 11,250 maravedis which were paid to Nuño Garcia for eleven sailing charts which he made by order of Fernando de Magellan; 13,500 maravedis for six other sailing charts which were ordered by Ruy Falero, together with one which was sent to His Highness."³³⁷

These twenty-five maps must have contained a configuration of Brazil, as Magellan intended to effect a landing in that region:

"Y hablando yo con el Magallanes, diciéndole qué camino pensaba llevar, respondiome que habia de ir á tomar el cabo de Sancta María, que nombramos el Rio de la Plata, y de allí seguir por la costa arriba³³⁸:—And, conversing with Magellan, I asked him what route he intended to take. He replied that he would touch the Cape Santa Maria, which we call the Rio de la Plata, and thence range the coast above [*sic*]."³³⁹

Sebastian Alvarez says that the landfall was to be Cape Frio; but, judging from the latitude given by Enciso to that point (33° 30'), the difference must not then have been deemed important.

Those maps were distributed among the pilots of the expedition, and Pigafetta relates that Magellan, when he came out of the newly-discovered strait, asked them how they pricked their charts:

"Ció ben sapeva il nostro Capitano generale, e pereio, quando ci trovammo vellegiando in mezzo al mare, egli domando a tutti i piloti, ai quali già indicato aveva il punto a cui doveano tendere, per qual cammino puntassero nelle loro Carte, resposser tutti, che puntavano falso, e che convenia ajutare l'ago calamitato:—When we were in the open sea, the Captain-General indicated to all the pilots the points where they had to steer, and asked them what route they pointed on their maps."³⁴⁰

NO. 118. RIBEIRO'S FIRST MAPS.

Maps made by Diego Ribeiro in 1519 at Seville, from the model chart constructed by the two Reinels, father and son:

³³⁷ J. T. MEDINA, *Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la Historia de Chile*, Santiago de Chile, 8vo, Vol. I., p. 138.

³³⁸ LAS CASAS, *Historia de las Indias*, lib. iii., cap. ci., Vol. IV., p. 377.

³³⁹ There is doubtless a *lapsus*, viz.: "arriba" for "abajo," as his course was southward.

³⁴⁰ Text of the Ambrosiana, in AMORETTI'S *Pigafetta*, p. 47. *sub anno* 1521, January. This passage is not in the Paris MSS.

"Por este padron se hacen todas las cartas que las hace Diego Riveiro:—By that model chart are made all the maps executed by Diego Ribeiro."³⁴¹

Like Garcia de Toreno's these were intended for Magellan's voyage round the World, and must likewise have contained the configurations of Brazil, since "Cabo Frio" was indicated as the proposed landfall in the New World: "La derrota que diz llevan, es de San Lucar derecho á Cabo Frio;"³⁴² that is, the "Baya de Cabo Frio," now Rio de Janeiro,³⁴³ not discovered therefore by Magellan, as is generally said. And, in fact, it was there that he actually landed, December 13, 1519; but he descried land for the first time, more to the north, "altura 19 grados 59 minutos," on the 8th of that month.³⁴⁴

NO. 119. FIGUERORA'S PORTO RICO.

It is a map of Porto Rico, 260 by 160 mm., sent by Rodrigo de Figueroa to Charles V., September 12, 1519, when the question was to transfer the city of Porto Rico to a place nearer the port:

"Embío a V. M. el dibujo del asiento con la informacion i ruego proveo presto."³⁴⁵

The map depicts, at the north, a small island bearing the inscription: "Isleta para el pueblo. Hai en ella una legua fuerte;" and to the east, a peninsula, on which is inscribed: "Otra isleta es mayor que la otra."

It was accompanied by a letter containing a description: "Carta al Rey, con fecha en la ciudad de Sto. Domingo á 12 de setiembre de 1519, haciendo una descripcion del asiento de la ciudad de San Juan de Puerto-Rico, su isleta y puerto."³⁴⁶

NO. 120. VESCONTE DE MAGGIOLO.

Map of Vesconte de Maggiolo, belonging to an atlas in the Royal Library at Munich,³⁴⁷ bearing the following inscription:

³⁴¹ *Carta escrita en Sevilla al Rey de Portugal por Sebastian Alvarez su factor*; July 18, 1519; NAVARRETE, Vol. IV., doc. xv., p. 155, and *supra*, p. 499.

³⁴² *Ibidem*.

³⁴³ Called however by MAGELLAN "Bahía de Santa Lucia," it being the feast day on which he entered the bay, according to Francisco ALBO and Ant. FIGAFETTA.

³⁴⁴ Log book of Francisco ALBO; NAVARRETE, Vol. IV., p. 210. ALBO adds: "Y este día [Jueves 8 del mes de Diciembre] vimos tierra playas planas, y fue el día de la Concepcion N. S.," *op. cit.* MAXIMILIANUS

TRANSYLVANUS (*De Moluccis Insulis*, Coloniae, MD. XXIII. 4to, recto of A 4) places the landfall at Cape St. Mary: "ac intra certos dies felici navigatione promontorinum detexere, cui sanctæ Mariæ nomen inditum est," which MAGELLAN did not reach until January 10, 1520.

³⁴⁵ Archives of Simancas. Muñoz Collection, Vol. LXXVI., f^o 153.

³⁴⁶ NAVARRETE, *Biblioteca Maritima*, Vol. II., p. 340.

³⁴⁷ *Ex monasterio Benedict. in vico Metten. Codex iconogr. 135. Codices manuscripti Bibliothecæ Regiæ Monacensis*, Vol. VII., No. 1004, p. 271.

“Vesconte de Maiollo civis Janue composuy hanc cartam in Janua de anno Domini 1519 :—Vesconte de Maiollo [or Maggiolo], a citizen of Genoa, composed this map in Genoa, in the year of our Lord 1519.”

This map shows only the Atlantic coast of the New World, from Honduras to Uruguay; and it is very much to be regretted that the present atlas does not contain other maps relating to the New World. The portolani of Vesconte de Maggiolo, particularly those of 1511, 1519, and 1527, show that he was a very conscientious cartographer, who took pains to procure the most recent and reliable geographical data. The words: *pescaries* (fishing stations), *terra plana* (low lands), *playia* (beach), *salinas* (salt pits), *terra bassa* (low land), *terra anegada* (overflowed land), *a badia* (a bay), *arecifes* (shoals or rocks), &c., repeated in the same regions, are also proofs that he used several regular charts, made by navigators who actually explored the coasts.

For the period between the Peter Martyr map (1511), and the Turin chart (*circa* 1523), Maggiolo's atlas of 1519 is invaluable, as it fills a gap in the Hydrography of the New World, which cannot be replaced, thus far, by any other cartographical document.

This map contains the most extensive nomenclature yet exhibited for the north and east coasts of South America. We notice in that rich list, partially translated from a Portuguese chart, which for the Brazilian region was akin to Kunstmann No. 2, the following names :

| | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Las bastias ³⁴⁸ | Sete arma ³⁵² | Tera de fumos ³⁵⁴ | G. de San Antonio |
| Tera de Xagoito | S. Vicenty | A baia de paises | Rio de cassia |
| Bai da Yagoa ³⁴⁹ | G. Triste | C. de palme | Rio reale |
| Rio de cama | Rio sercado | C. de nigri | Rio da vedoa ³⁵⁷ |
| Par de quimedio | Aldea cemada ³⁵³ | P. de fumos | Bassidabrilogio |
| C. de Sto dominico | P. de tuty li Santy | Cauo corso | Rio de raceo |
| S. tomas | Rio de la barca | C. de plazer | Aldea de ieorgi ³⁵⁹ |
| La cosera bruxada ³⁵⁰ | Rio verde | Terra callida | A baia de volta |
| P. de Ygeo | C. branco | Rio de S. dominico | Rio de dragos |
| Rio de aldea ³⁵¹ | Rio de nauida | C. de Spisell | Rio de stremo |
| Cabo de ygeo | Costa de paricuria | Rio de piedre ³⁵⁵ | Rio de volta |
| Aldea de machin | C. bianco | Rio plimero ³⁵⁶ | G. de patos |
| | | Rio de negros | |

This map has been facsimiled by Kunstmann, plate v.

³⁴⁸ “Las bastias :” The Palissades.

³⁴⁹ Perhaps the “Boacoya” of CANERIO.

³⁵⁰ “La costa brozada :” The brambly coast.

³⁵¹ “Rio de aldea :” The river of the village.

³⁵² “Sete armas :” The seven arms.

³⁵³ “Aldea quemada :” The village destroyed by fire.

³⁵⁴ “Tierra de fumos :” The land of winds.

³⁵⁵ “Rio de piedras :” The rocky river.

³⁵⁶ “Rio primero :” The principal river.

³⁵⁷ “Rio da vedroa :” The bushy river. Some maps have “da vedova :” of the widow.

³⁵⁸ “Aldea de Jorge :” George's village.

NO. 121. WOLFENBÜTTEL MAP A.

This map comprises only the West Indies and Central America. Our counter-drawing, unfortunately, is almost limited to "Cvba," 70 mm. in length, with the shape given in Spanish maps of the Turin kind. North of that island, but altogether in the insular form with a north coast, there is "Florida." It is the latter peculiarity which leads us to ascribe the date of *circa* 1519 to that map, which doubtless deserves to be studied thoroughly. It is preserved in the Wolfenbüttel Grand-Ducal Library.

NO. 122. ENCISO'S PLANISPHERE.

Map which was ordered by Martin Fernandez de Enciso :

"Hize hazer vna figura en plano en que puse todas las tierras y prouincias del vniverso de que fasta oy ha auido noticia por escrituras autenticas:—I caused to be made a plane chart on which were inscribed all the lands and provinces of the Universe of which we have any notice to this day through authentic documents."³⁵⁹

Enciso proposed to present that mappamundi, together with his *Suma de Geografia*, to Charles V.

NO. 123. FRANCISCO DE GARAY'S.

The original, which is preserved at Seville,³⁶⁰ measures 430 by 220 mm., and bears neither title nor name of maker, or indication regarding its origin. Muñoz made a copy³⁶¹ of it, on the verso of which he wrote :

"Garay . 1519 . Traça de la costa de tierra firme, i de las tierras nuevas:—Garay . 1519 . Tracing of the continental coast, and of the new countries."

On the folio preceding his copy of the map, the Spanish savant gives the agreement entered into between the King of Spain and Francisco de Garay in 1521 ; but his text is less verbal and less complete than the one which Navarrete has published.³⁶² Muñoz, however, adds to his transcript a note of importance, viz. :

"Original descripcion i poblaciones, 7, juntamente con la figura o mapa que acompaña. Hizose este despacho, i la firmaron los Governadores de España en ausencia del emperador mas quedaron por llenar algunos blancos. La firma del Cardenal que despues creado Papa fue Adriano VI. es asi :—Original description and settlements, 7, together with the delineation

³⁵⁹ ENCISO, *Suma de Geografia*, Sevilla, 1519, fol., dedicace, verso of *aij*.

³⁶⁰ Archives of the Indies, Patronato I, 1, $\frac{1}{20}$

³⁶¹ Muñoz transcripts, Vol. LXXVI., f^o 246.

³⁶² NAVARRETE, *Coleccion de viajes*, Vol. III., doc. xlv., pp. 147-153.

or map which accompanied it. This despatch was drawn and signed by the Regents of Spain in the absence of the Emperor, but they left certain blanks to be filled. The signature of the Cardinal, who afterwards was Pope Adrian VI., is as follows."³⁶³

This map is bordered at the north by Florida, on which is inscribed: "La Florida que decian Bimini que descubrio Joan Ponce." Thence the coast runs westward, to a point where we read: "Hasta aqui descubrio Joan Ponce;" then to another, bearing the inscription: "Desde aqui començo de descubrir Francisco de Garay," and to the mouth of a wide river named "Rio del Spiritu Santo," evidently one of the mouths of the Mississippi. From the latter the coast assumes the shape of a semi-circle, extending to a large projecting peninsula which can only be Yucatan, although nameless and absolutely connected with the mainland. This is an extremely remarkable configuration in a Spanish map of the year 1519, considering that the Weimar charts (1527 and 1529) still represent Yucatan as an island. The coast then continues westward as far as Darien.

The new names are important, viz.:

| | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| La Florida | Tamahox provincia | C. p ^a . de las higueras |
| Rio del Spiritu Santo | Vera Cruz | Sevilla |
| Rio Sta. Anna | Almeria | Nombre de Dios |
| | El Darien | |

There is also a legend which must be noted, as it marks the limits of the discoveries accomplished in those regions, viz.:

"Hasta aqui descubryo francisco de Garay hazia el ueste y diego Velazquez hazia el este hasta el cabo de las higueras que descubryeron los pynçones y se les ha dado la poblacion:—As far as this, westward, Francisco de Garay did discover; and Diego Velazquez did discover, eastward, as far as the Cape de las higueras [of figs], which was discovered by the Pinzons. And the privilege to settle the country was granted to them."

The map inserted by Navarrete³⁶⁴ is a reproduction of Muñoz's copy. See *supra*, p. 169.

No. 124. ESPINOSA'S PEARLS ISLANDS.

Map which Gaspar de Espinosa caused to be made of the Archipelago of Pearls, and of other islands on the western coast of Panama.

"É pensó que con haçer pintar el liçençado Gaspar de Espinosa [quiso deçir qué las avias descubierta] una carta á su sabor é intitularlas islas de Sanct Pablo:—And the licentiate Gaspar de Espinosa imagined to have a map made according to his liking, and to call the islands, St. Peter's islands."³⁶⁵

³⁶³ It is followed by a facsimile of the signature of the future Pope, ADRIAN VI.

³⁶⁴ NAVARRETE, *ubi supra*.

³⁶⁵ OVIEDO, *Historia General de las Indias*; lib. xxxix., cap. ii., Vol. IV., p. 8. See also ANGHIERA, Decad. III., cap. x., f^o 66.

This map was intended to give Espinosa the merit of the discovery, which, in reality, belonged to Gonçalo de Badajoz.

NO. 125. ALLEGED DA VINCI MAP.

It consists of a set of eight gores of small dimensions, intended for a globe. They were found in a collection of papers in the handwriting of Leonardo da Vinci, preserved in the Royal Collections at Windsor (Nos. 232^b and 233^a). Mr. R. H. Major first called the attention³⁶⁶ to that mappamundi, of which he gave a facsimile, in a memoir written to prove that it had been designed by the great artist himself. The late Marquis Girolamo d'Adda has shown³⁶⁷ that such was not the case. Dr. Wieser's work on Magellan³⁶⁸ exhibits its configurations of the New World as they would appear on a plane.

North America is represented only by two distant islands, called respectively, "Terra Florida" and "Bacalar." The Southern continent assumes also the insular form, but it extends chiefly from east to west. The northern coast does not spread eastward further than Veragua; but westerly, it runs along the entire Brazilian region. The northern shores of South America, were borrowed from a Spanish prototype akin to the one used, for the region extending from the Gulf of Uraba to the great elbow, by the Turin map, as is shown by the following names :

| PRESENT GORES : | | TURIN MAP : | |
|-----------------|------------|---------------------------|------------|
| Calata | Ciribiceni | La Culata | Chiribichi |
| Arefep | S. Marta | P ^a de Arecife | S. Marta |
| Tanabacoa | Plaia | Tabacora | La Praya |

On the south-east coast, we notice, for the first time since the Cantino chart, and in the same place as in the latter, "C. S. Iorgio." West of the Gulf of Uraba, there are two new names, viz.: "C. de S. Giovanni" and "Mastilca."

Florida represented as an island and named "*Terra Florida*," together with a nomenclature which recalls the designations of the Turin and other Spanish maps, lead us to suppose that the present is of a later date than

³⁶⁶ R. H. MAJOR, in the *Archæologia*, London, Vol. XL., 1886.

³⁶⁷ D'ADDA, *Leonardo da Vinci e la Cosmografia*, in *La Perseveranza*, Milan, 1870, and Prof. Gilberto GOVI,

Leonardo letterato e scienziato, in *Saggio delle opere di Leonardo da Vinci*, Milan, 1872, 8vo, p. 12.

³⁶⁸ WIESER, *Magalhães-Strasse und Austral-continent auf den globen des J. Schöner*, plate iii.

1519, which is the year of the death of Leonardo da Vinci; and consequently that it never belonged to him, although found among his papers. Our impression is that we have here a mixed arrangement based originally upon an early Spanish map, and "improved" by a cartographer who has read the *Cosmographiæ Introductio*, as the names "America" and "Abatia" indicate. At all events, its configurations are not Lusitano-Germanic.

1520.

No. 126. PETRUS APIANUS'.

It is a cordiform mappamundi, roughly engraved on wood, 420 by 290 mm., and bearing the following title:

"Tipvs orbis vniversalis iuxta Ptolomei cosmographi traditionem et Americi Vespvicii aliorvmque lvstrationes a Petro Apiano Leysnico elvcvbrat[vs] An. Do. M.DXX."

This map was first published with the edition of Solinus' *Polyhistor* given at Vienna by Camers in 1520,³⁶⁹ and then inserted in the *Pomponius Mela* printed at Basle in 1522.³⁷⁰ When those works are found bound together in a binding of that period, the map is usually inserted between the two. In the border of the map, on the left of the reader, there is the monogram of Luc Alantse, of Vienna, at whose expense the map was doubtless engraved; and, in the corresponding corner, that of Lorenz Friess, of Colmar.

Apianus has borrowed his geographical elements from a Lusitano-Germanic map of our fourth type, and which was the same model used for the Nordenskiöld gores. Consequently, the north-western continental land is akin to the same region in the Canerio chart, the prototype, or a near derivative of which Apianus has certainly consulted, as can be seen from the two Spanish flags placed at both ends of that land. The inscription "Parias," inscribed thereon, as in the early globes of Schöner, must proceed from a Canerio modified, which was probably the source of the geographical information for the New World used, at first, by the Nuremberg cartographer.

The map of Apianus also contains the legend about Guaiacum wood,³⁷¹ and the one which states that the discovery of the southern continent was

³⁶⁹ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 108.

³⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, No. 112.

³⁷¹ It is a mistake to state that the inscription about guaiacum is to be found "in some of SCHÖNER's globes."

On the contrary, he excludes it, as may be seen from the legend in his globe of 1520: "Hec gignit Aurum, Masticem, Aloen, Porcellanam et Canzellum et Zinzibrem," mentioning no other substance.

accomplished in 1497; but it is worthy of notice that immediately under the date of 1497 Apianus inscribes: "Haec terra cum adiacentibus insulis inuenta est per Columbum Ianuensem ex mandato regis Castellæ;" thus blending his Vespuccian data with those derived from Columbus. As to the inscription: "America prouincia," it is not found anywhere else. The map was apparently designed at Landshut.³⁷² Apianus continued to construct maps, and he seems to have had a preference for the ellipsoidal form. There must have been a number of such mappamundi which came out of his laboratory; but we know only of the following:

1. *Anté* 1522, to accompany the *Declaratio et Usus Typi Cosmographici*. (Lost).
2. 1522, Small planisphere inserted in the work just mentioned.
3. 1524, Two diminutive maps in the *Cosmographicus liber*.
4. *Circa* 1524, Described in the *Isagoge*. (Lost.)
5. 1530, Ingolstadt. From his own private press.
6. 1530, Antwerp. Printed by Peter de Vales de Guldenhant.
7. A MS. mappamundi made for Charles V., formerly preserved in the Escorial. (Lost.)³⁷³

The privilege of the *Astronomicum Cæsareum*,³⁷⁴ granted at Ratisbon, July 3, 1532, mentions: "Tabulas seu Mappas, vt vocant, vniversi terrarum orbis generales." We are unable to say whether these maps are different from those above mentioned.

The present cordiform mappamundi has been reproduced in facsimile several times, particularly in the atlas of Nordenskiöld, plate xxxviii.

No. 127. SCHÖNER'S NUREMBERG GLOBE.

A mounted wooden globe, made by Johann Schöner at Bemberg in 1520, and which he brought with him, in 1524, to Nuremberg, where it is still preserved, and on exhibition in the Germanisches National Museum. Its total height is 57 centimeters, the diameter, 35.5.

On the sea which bathes the Antarctic regions of the western hemisphere, we read the following verse:

³⁷² The *Cosmographicus liber*, which is the earliest work of APIANUS we know, was printed at Landshut in 1524, when he was twenty-nine years old. See Carl PRANTL, *Geschichte der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Ingolstadt, Landshut, München*; Munich, 1872, Vol. I., p. 210, Vol. II., p. 489. At the BEARZI sale, Paris, TROSS, 1855, No. 3055, in the copy of APIANUS' *Inscriptiones sacro sanctæ vetustatis*, Ingolstadt.

1533, fol., the purchaser found inserted in the binding, which was of the time of the book, a set of twelve gores, intended for a mounted globe. Unfortunately no description was taken, and we have been unable to ascertain what became of the volume.

³⁷³ For all those maps see *infra*, and respective dates.

³⁷⁴ SCHÖNER, *Astronomicum Cæsareum*; Ingolstadt, 1540, large folio.

Hic globus immensum complectens partibus orbem
 Atque typum teretis sinuoso corpore mundi
 Est studio vigili glomeratus certe duorum
 Vnius que impensis: tribuit nam cuncta Ioannes
 Seyler ad illius quae, commoda censuit usus
 Alter Joannes Schöner multa catus arte
 In spiram hanc molem compegerat apte
 Est sup impressis signavit ubique, figuris
 Quando salutiferi partus numeravimus annos
 Mille & quingentos & quatuor addita lustra
 1520.

As we have already stated, when describing Schöner's globe of 1515, the configurations and nomenclature proceed from a Portuguese or from a Lusitano-Germanic map of our fourth type, akin to Canerio. A legend on the globe serves to explain the historical data upon which Schöner based his cartographical names and legends:

"Haec [regio] per Hispanos et Portugalenses frequentatis navigationibus inventa circa annos Domini 1492. Quorum Capitanei fuere Christophorus Columbus Genuensis primus. Petrus Aliares [Pedralvarez Cabral] secundus. Americusque Vesputius tertius."

From this we must infer that Schöner's knowledge of Vespuccius' voyages was chiefly derived from the account of the latter's third expedition, so often printed separately. Otherwise, he would have placed the Florentine navigator before Cabral, who returned only in 1501, although his discovery of Brazil was known in Europe the year previous. On the other hand, we fail to perceive how, with such notions, he could call the south continental regions of the New World, "AMERICA;" and write in 1515, thus supporting an unjust attribution:

"America siue Amerigen nouus mundus: dicta ab eius inuentore Americo Veaputio, qui eam reperit Anno domini 1497."³⁷⁵

Dr. Ghillany has given a good but reduced facsimile of that globe, in his work on Behaim.³⁷⁶ See *supra*, page 316, for the nomenclature, revised on the original preserved at Nuremberg.

No. 128. REPRINTS OF WALDSEEMÜLLER.

They are two maps, bearing respectively the following titles: "*Orbis typus universalis iuxta hydrographorum traditionem*," and "*Tabula Terre*

³⁷⁵ *Luculentis, quaedam terra totius descriptio*; f^o. 60.
³⁷⁶ *Ubi supra*, p. 392. See also his *Der Erd-globus des Martin Behaim vom Jahre 1492 und der des Johann*

Schöner vom Jahre 1520; it is an extract from the *Jahresbericht der technischen Anstalten in Nürnberg für 1842*, 4^{to}, 18 pages.

Nove." They belong to the Ptolemy published at Strasburg in 1520 by Johannes Schott,³⁷⁷ and were printed from the same blocks as those of the Ptolemy which came out of the press of Aeszler and Uebelin in 1513.

No. 129. MAP FOR PRESTER JOHN.

Mappamundi sent by the King of Portugal to Prester John :

"Stando noi nel luogo di Dara, nell' anno del 1524 . il Prete ne mandó il Napamondo [*sic*], che già quattro anni gli haueuamo portato mandatogli da Diego Lopes di Sechiera."³⁷⁸

No. 130. KUNSTMANN No. 4.

Anonymous Portuguese chart. It shows configurations of the Isthmus of Panama on the Pacific side, which can have been known only after news was received in Europe of the expedition of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa. But the Strait of Magellan is not marked. We notice the following names:

IN YUCATAN :

| | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| C. mesquito | R. segumdo | Golfo anhufo |
| R. domeo [do mexo ?] | C. de sam palg | C. del golfo |
| | C. do meo [do mexo ?] | |

ON THE ISTHMUS AND COAST :

| | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| R. pa[o]blado | C. del peligro | C. del beros [?] |
| Pumta bermeja | C. forano [?] | C. nisuâda (Nicuesa) |
| R. deloport [del porto] | Todos samtos | C. de moxi [muchos?] arbo- |
| Pumta d'as pedras | C. de caxines | ledas |
| C. misano | G. d epimeg [?] | Las po[e]rlas |
| Sam adriano | Y. fuerte de bam [?] | R. salado |
| C. de arlaz [?] | Puerto dag[oad]a | Sam Aleixo [Ilha de] |

We know of no other map (with the exception of the Havre Catalan atlas, which is of a much later date than the present,) where the name of "Caxinas," given by Columbus to what is now called the Cape of Honduras, has been preserved. This circumstance, together with the above long and peculiar list of names of Spanish origin, lead us to think that portions of the present are a remnant of an extremely old nomenclature, derived perhaps from Columbus' own chart; but after it had passed through various Portuguese maps.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁷ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 58.

³⁷⁸ *Viaggio della Ethiopia di Don Francesco Alvarez*, in RAMUSIO, Vol. I., f^o. 243, recto.

³⁷⁹ For greater details concerning this map, see KOHL,

Documentary History of Maine, plate x., and pp. 179-181; KUNSTMANN, *Die Entdeckung America's*, p. 129; *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, No. 9, p. 167, and the facsimile of the entire map in the Paris National Library.

No. 131. MONTEZUMA'S.

It was a map drawn on a sheet of cotton, with data furnished to Cortés by Montezuma, and representing the Mexican coasts and ports :

“Procurando Cortez despues de conquistado Mejico informarse de Motezuma de las costas y puertos circundaban aquel continente, le contestò el Emperador que enviaria á preguntar, y en consecuencia hizo pintar en un lienzo de algodon toda la costa, con cuantos rios, bahias, ancones y cabos habia en ella, sin que apareciese cala ni puerto abrigado, y solo un gran ancon situado entre las sierras, que ahora llaman de S. Martin y S. Anton, en la provincia de Coazacoalco, el cual creyeron los pilotos españoles que era el estrecho para las Malucas.”

“Cortés, after the conquest of Mexico, inquired of Montezuma concerning the coasts and ports of that continent. The Emperor [of Mexico] replied that he would make enquiries on the subject; and caused to be depicted on a piece of cotton cloth, the entire coast, with the rivers, bays, recesses [or gulfs], and capes. But it did not indicate any haven or port affording a shelter, except a large roadstead situate between mountains, named now St. Martin and St. Anthony, in the province of Coazacoalco, which the Spanish pilots thought was the strait leading to the Molucas.”³⁸⁰

No. 132. VENETIAN PRINTED MAPS.

We clip from one of the Libri catalogues³⁸¹ the following item :

“Two very early and curious maps of the Terrestrial Globe, which must have been made prior to the Discovery of Peru, as the site of that country is therein called ‘*Terra Incognita.*’ The engraver or Cosmographer has inscribed his own name, ‘*Gioane de Bo da Venecia,*’ at the top of North America.

“These maps were certainly printed before Magellan’s celebrated circumnavigation, or the Cortés and Pizarro Conquests. A few points only are pointed out on the American soil. Spagnola is marked as an island, but Isabella is in ‘*terra firma.*’ In the middle of the Pacific sea there is the celebrated Zipagni isola of Marco Polo.”

For another Venetian engraved map of that time, see *infra* No. 177, *sub anno* 1527, which cannot be the present mappamundi; as it was in six sheets, whilst this is printed on two only.

No. 133. CORTÉS' GULF OF MEXICO.

This map is said to have been sent by Fernand Cortés to Charles V. together with his second letter dated Villa Segura de la Frontera, October

³⁸⁰ NAVARRETE, *Examen historico-critico de los viages apócrifos*, in the *Coleccion de documentos ineditos de España*, Vol. IV., p. 24. There is a reference to something of the sort in CORTÉS' letter to Charles V., of October 15, 1524. We know that the Mexicans had

maps “of the whole empire, with a minute specification of the imposts assessed on every part of it.”—PRESCOTT, *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, Vol. I., pp. 40, 41, and *Mapa de Tributos*, in LORENZANA, &c., &c.

³⁸¹ Libri sale of August, 1859, p. 206, No. 1551.

30, 1520. The original is lost, but it was reproduced four years afterwards in facsimile, on the same plate with the plan of the city of Mexico added to the Latin version of that letter published at Nuremberg by Peypus in 1524.³⁸² It measures 200 by 150 mm., and contains the following names :

| | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| La Florida | Provincia Amichel | Rio de totuqualquo ³⁸⁵ |
| Rio del spiritu sancto | Archidona | Santo Andres |
| P° de Arcifos | Sant Pedro | Caribes |
| R. de Arboledas | Almeria | Rio de dos botas ³⁸⁶ |
| R. la Palma | Sevilla ³⁸⁴ | Rio de la palma |
| Tamacho provincia | C° de Sant Juan | R. de Grijalva |
| Rio panu[co] | Rio de Alvarado | Santo Anton |
| Colaoton ³⁸³ | Roca partida | Punta de las higueras |
| | Yncatam. | |

Between "San Pedro" and "Rio de Aluarado," there is a circular plan of the city of Mexico of the size of a half-dollar.

It is worthy of notice that the Turin map contains twenty-one of those names, whilst the Weimar map of 1527, constructed seven years after the present one, sets forth only fourteen.

No. 134. PLAN OF MEXICO.

It was apparently sent to Spain, together with the above map, by Cortés in 1520. It exists also in the facsimile inserted in the *Praeclara Ferdinandi Cortesii de Noua maris Oceani Hyspania Narratio* printed in 1524, and its modern reproduction.³⁸⁷

No. 135. APIANUS.

The *Declaratio et Usus Typi Cosmographici* of Apianus, was printed, first *sine anno*, and then in 1522. It is a treatise which certainly accompanied a mappamundi of larger dimensions than the two small woodcuts inserted in the book. Must we infer that the edition undated

³⁸² *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 125, and the late Mr. STEVENS'S *American Bibliographer*, London, 1854, p. 87, for a facsimile.

³⁸³ "Cola" is a Mexican radical. "Laotom" in Turin map; "Loatom" in Weimar, 1527.

³⁸⁴ "La ciudad de Cempoal, que yo intitulé Sevilla." See the *Segunda carta* of CORTÉS, p. 52.

³⁸⁵ "Rio de Conqualquo," in Turin map. "Coatzacualco," in CORTÉS' *Carta quinta*.

³⁸⁶ We must doubtless read "de dos bocas," the river with two entrances, and not "boscas" as in the Turin map, which conveys no meaning.

³⁸⁷ See the facsimile of that plan of Mexico, reproduced in the above quoted *American Bibliographer*.

went with the mappamundi of 1520, and that it was reprinted for a new issue of the same mappamundi, published at the same time as the *Pomponius Mela* of Vadianus, which came out of the press in 1522, and where it is so often found inserted? This implies that the map of 1520 was not made expressly for the *Solinus*, or even for the *Pomponius Mela*, but sold separately; as we are inclined to believe.

1521.

No. 136. ORONTIUS FINÆUS.

Simple cordiform mappamundi made for Francis I. by Orontius Finæus, according to the epistle to the reader in the single heart-shaped mappamundi, described *infra sub anno* 1536, which contains the following sentence:

“Decimus quintus circiter agitur annus, quo vniversam Orbis terrarum designationem in hanc humani cordis effigiem primum redegimus: Idque in gratiam Christianissimi ac potentissimi Francisci Francorum Regis, Mecænatis nostri clementissimi:—About fifteen years have elapsed since I designed for the first time this mappamundi in the form of a human heart. I made it for the King of France, Francis I.”⁸⁸⁸

And, as the probability is that the engraved edition was published in 1536, its model must have been constructed in 1521. That date is not impossible, for Finæus was then twenty-seven years old, and had already published two important mathematical works. The objections may spring from other sources. Finæus gives us to understand that when he made the model map, Francis I. was his protector, and that he knew him personally. To the first point, it may be replied that not very long, apparently, after 1521, Finæus was imprisoned, and received such a severe sentence that the University of Paris deemed it necessary to interfere, and appealed to the King’s mother:

“October 27, 1524: Incidit quæstio de domino Orontio *ad longa temporum curricula* incarcerato, quatenus litteræ per artium facultatem ad regis Christianissimi matrem darentur pro ejus libertate:—Mention is made of Orontius, who is incarcerated since a long time, and of the letter written by the Faculty of Arts praying that he be set at liberty having been remitted to the mother of the King.”⁸⁸⁸

It may be alleged in reply that the judgment was rendered in the absence of Francis I. in Italy, and during the administration of Louise of Savoy, who was Queen Regent since August, 1523. As to Finæus having had personal dealings with the King so far back as 1521, if we believe

⁸⁸⁸ C. E. BULÆUS, *Historia universitatis parisiensis*; Paris, 1665-73, fol., Vol. VI., p. 965.

the legend inscribed on an old portrait of that mathematician, and which his most authorised biographer says "was very probably based upon family documents," it is an impossibility. The inscription states that it was Bonivet who introduced Finæus to Francis I., when about to invade Italy, and that the King entrusted him with the fortifications of Milan, necessarily in 1525.³⁸⁹ But what is the degree of authenticity of that picture, is a question which we are unable to answer.

Whatever may have been the date of that first map of Finæus, it was not a novelty. The cordiform projection had already been employed by Sylvano of Eboli (1511, *supra*, No. 84), and described scientifically by Johannes Werner.³⁹⁰ As Finæus says that the single cordiform map of 1536 is a new edition of the present, we may judge of its general appearance. As to the American configurations, they were necessarily very different, and must have resembled those of the mappamundi of Apianus, or of that of Sylvano. Judging from the beautiful vellum manuscript and printed copies of the Ptolemy of 1511 which belonged to the collections of Francis I.,³⁹¹ and the presence of that edition in the inventories of Catherine de Medicis, as well as in libraries of the time of the Valois, the probability is that Finæus borrowed his geographical data for the New World from the cordiform map of Sylvano.

Finæus continued to construct cordiform mappamundi. We still possess the one published at the cost of Christian Wechel in 1531 (re-issued by the latter in 1541, after modifying the epistle to the reader, simply by inserting a new block in the old woodcut), and the single cordiform map, published *sine anno*, but most probably in 1536. There was also one, which had not yet been engraved in 1551, as it is mentioned four years before the death of Finæus in the catalogue added to the third edition of his commentaries on Euclid, among the works, "quæ absoluta, sed nondum ædita sunt," with the following title :

Noua Orbis descriptio recens adiuncta geminis constans hemisphærijs, ex fidelioribus terrarum observationibus deprompta.³⁹²

³⁸⁹ Mr. A. ROCHAS in his valuable life of FINÆUS (*Biographie du Dauphiné*, and HOEFER'S *Nouvelle Biogr. Générale*) mentions an old portrait of our geographer, bearing a legend "rédigée très-probablement d'après des documents de famille," which states that "L'Amiral de Bonivet, gouverneur du Dauphiné, le fit connoître au roi François I^{er}, qui l'emmena au Piémont et lui donna la charge de travailler aux fortifications de Milan." This can refer only to the second personal entrance of FRANCIS I. in Italy (1525), as the first took

place in 1515, when FINÆUS (born in 1494) was only nineteen years old, and entirely unknown.

³⁹⁰ WERNER, *Libellus de quatuor terrarum orbis in plano figurationibus*; Nuremberg, 1514, folio.

³⁹¹ Paris National Library, Latin MSS., 10764; VAN PRAET, *Catalogue des livres sur vélin*, Vol. III., No. 4.

³⁹² That map, together with all the manuscripts of FINÆUS must have gone with his other works to the library of the old Sorbonne. We have vainly sought for it in the inventories of the Paris University.

No. 137. CHELTENHAM MAP.

We find in the catalogue of Sir Thomas Phillips' collection of manuscripts which is now being scattered, the following item :

"Map of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, f. V. S. xvi. (after 1520), with some Arabic names on the African coast (in Spanish)."³⁹³

1522.

No. 138. SMALL MAP OF APIANUS.

Diminutive map of Apianus, on the title page of the *Declaratio et Usus Typi Cosmographici*, printed at Ratisbon by Paul Rhol in 1522.

"Vignette d'un planisphere où l'on voit représenté le nouveau continent comme une île en triangle, sur laquelle on lit : AM :³⁹⁴—Woodcut of a planisphere where the New World is represented like a triangular island, on which we read AM."³⁹⁵

No. 139. TAPIA'S MEXICO.

Cristobal de Tapia, supervisor and governor, for Charles V. directly,³⁹⁶ of the territories bordering the east coast of the Gulf of Mexico, north of Cortés' conquests, was instructed in 1521 to fix the limits of the countries discovered for Velasquez, and by Ponce de Leon and Garay.

"Por quanto à causa de los descubrimientos que los dichos adelantados Diego Velazquez è Juan Ponce de Leon y vos [Francisco de Garay] habeis fecho, de aca no se puede limitar ni señalar los terminos donde cada uno dellos descubierta, Nos por nuestra cédula enviamos à mandar al veedor Christobal de Tapia, nuestro gobernador de las tierras é islas que el dicho adelantado Diego Velazquez descubrió que señale el termino donde cada uno de vosotros habeis llegado é descubierta"

"Whereas, on account of the discoveries which the said adelantados Diego Velazquez and Juan Ponce de Leon and yourself [Francisco de Garay] have accomplished, it is not possible from here to mark and define the limits of the discoveries made by each, We, by our ordinance, send to the supervisor Christobal de Tapia, our governor of the lands and islands discovered by Diego Velazquez [*i.e.*, by his order by Grijalva and Cortés], order to fix the limits [of the countries] visited and found by each of you"³⁹⁷

³⁹³ *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca Philippica, No. 956, ex-Bibliotheca M. Celotti, No. 208* (Cheltenham). That map must have been purchased privately, as it does not figure in the catalogue of the Celotti sale, prepared by DE BURE, Paris, 1826-1829.

³⁹⁴ VARNHAGEN, *Post face aux trois livraisons sur Amerigo Vespucci*; and *Jo. Schöner e P. Apianus*, p. 23, and PANZER, Vol. VIII., p. 242. VARNHAGEN also mentions an edition of that plaque, *sine anno*.

³⁹⁵ AM stands evidently for AMERICA.

³⁹⁶ The precise character of that office should be studied and ascertained. We take it to be a general supervision over the acts and deeds of the actual governors or grantees such as VELASQUEZ, PONCE DE LEON, GARAY, &c.

³⁹⁷ Letters patent granted to GARAY for settling the province of Amichel; in NAVARRETE, *Coleccion de los viajes y descubrimientos que hicieron los Españoles*, doc. xlv., Vol. III., p. 148.

Such an operation implies the making of a plate or map; and, judging from the wranglings on the subject of prior occupancy between the lieutenants of Garay, Garay himself and Cortés, we feel authorised to assume that such a map was actually executed. Unfortunately, it is not to be found. We may judge, however, of its appearance by the Garay map of 1519, and at times feel inclined to think that, notwithstanding the references which we have noted, and the rubrics reported by Muñoz, it is one and the same. As to the date of 1522 given to the present map, it is hypothetical on our part, and simply under the supposition that such a map could not have been completed in less than eight or ten months.

No. 140. FRIESS—WALDSEEMÜLLER.

This map, which belongs to the Ptolemy published at Strasburg by Grüniger³⁹⁸ in 1522, bears the following title:

Orbis . typvs . vniversalis . ivxta . hydrographorvm . traditionem . exactissime . depicta . 1522 . L.F.

On the verso of the 100th leaf there is an advertisement from Lorenz Friess (Phrisius), containing this declaration:

“Has tabulas e nouo a Martino Ilacomyllo pie defuncto constructas, et im [*sic pro in*] minorem quam prius vnquam fuere formam redactas notificamus:—We declare that those maps were originally constructed by Martin Ilacomylus [Waldsemüller] now deceased, and that they have been reduced to a smaller scale than ever before.”

In the edition of 1513, this map measures 570 by 290 mm. Here it is only 450 by 230 mm., and besides we notice important modifications. The nameless Newfoundland is suppressed; the name AMERICA is added, and the southern continent, instead of terminating vaguely as in the original map, exhibits a western coast which extends from 50° to 20° latitude, and imparts a pyramidal form to the region.

The same plate was used for the Ptolemies of 1525 and 1535, but after a band had been placed over the engraved border in the blocks.³⁹⁹ Perhaps some details concerning that map could be found among the thirty-six unpublished letters from Pirkheimer and Grüniger written concerning the latter edition of Ptolemy, which are preserved in the Haller collection in the Nuremberg Library.

This map has been facsimiled by Nordenskiöld, plate xxxix.

³⁹⁸ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 117.

³⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, No. 210, and *Additamenta*, No. 78.

No. 141. FRIESS—WALDSEEMÜLLER.

The present map, like the preceding, belongs to the Ptolemy of 1522. It bears the following title, with enigmatical initials :

“E. Tabvla Terre Nova . F. D. W. [?] :—Map of the New Land.”

It is a reduction made by Lorenz Friess of Martin Waldseemüller's original map, first published in the Ptolemy of 1513. We have failed to decipher the meaning of the initials E. and F. D. W. in the title. The same configurations have been preserved, but we find certain names altered or added. North America here bears the designation of “Parias,” South America that of “Terra Papagalli,” and, instead of “Terra Incognita,” we read: “Terra Nova,” as applying to the entire southern continent. The same map, printed from the same block, but without the title in a scroll, is to be found also in the Ptolemies of 1525 and 1535. These three editions, viz.: 1522, 1525, and 1535, contain, naturally, the same mistake: “Oceanvns Occidentalis,” instead of “Oceanvs occidentalis,” as printed in the editions of 1513 and 1520. The blocks, therefore, were sent from Strasburg to Lyons, to print the edition of 1535. The woodcuts and frames are said to be the work of Johannes Herbst, of Strasburg.⁴⁰⁰ The additional inscriptions are the following :

“Hec terra aun adiacentibus insulis inuenta est p. Cristoforum Columbum ianuensem ex mandato Regis Castelle :—This country and the adjacent islands were discovered by Christopher Columbus, Genoese.”

“Spagnolia que et Offira dicit gignit aur' mastice, aloen, porcellanam, canellam et zinciber. Latitudo insule 4.40 milliaria longitudo 8.80 milliaria. Et inuenta est per Christophorum Columbum Januen. Capitaneum Regis Castille an. domini. 1492.”

No. 142. LORENZ FRIESS.

This map belongs, likewise, to the edition of Ptolemy given in 1522, and bears the following abridged title :

“Tabv . . . Gran . . . Russie :—Map of Greenland and Russia.”

It exhibits at the north the outline of the “Terra Corterealis,” here nameless and in the form of an island, as in the *Orbis Typus* of 1513, together with the coast of Brazil, which sets forth two inscriptions, viz.: “Caput S. crucis” and “Terra papagalli.” This map, although resembling the *Orbis Typus*, appears in the Ptolemy of 1522 for the first time. It

⁴⁰⁰ NAGLER, *Monogramisten*, Vol. III., p. 960.

is also to be found in the Ptolemy of 1525, but, like all the Waldseemüller maps reproduced by Lorenz Friess in the latter edition, without any title at all; whilst in the present edition they bear a title which fills nearly the entire width of the map.

No. 143. PIGAFETTA'S MAGELLANIC MAP.

It is the principal map which Antonio Pigafetta added to his manuscript account of Magellan's famous voyage,⁴⁰¹ under the title of *Destroict de Patagonie*. Its most northern point is the "Cap de St. Marie," placed at the mouth of the "Fluue de Jehan de Solis." On the sea washing its western coast, we read, for the first time: "Mer pacifique." But Pigafetta's account contains only the following names:

| | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Port de Saint Julien | Cap des onze mille vierges | La riuere des Sardines |
| Terre de verzin ⁴⁰² | Cap Sainte Marye | Mont de Crist |
| | Cap deseade | |

The explanation which he adds to Cape St. Mary needs to be recalled:

"Lequel lieu on appelloit au temps passe le cap sainte marye et la pensoit que de la se passast a la mer de Sur et maintenant ce n'est plus cap mais riviere:—That locality was formerly called Cape St. Mary, and they thought then that it led to the South Sea and now it is no longer a cape, but a river."⁴⁰³

The first account of the famous passage is in these words:

"Nous trouuames par miracle ung estroit que nous appellames le cap des onze mille vierges:—We miraculously found a strait, which we called the Cape of the 11,000 Virgins."

The journal of the pilot Francisco Albo contains several more names on the Brazilian coast, viz.:

| | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| San Tomé | Bahia de los Reyes | Punta de Santanton |
| Cabo Frio | Monte Vidi ⁴⁰⁴ | Cabo de Santa Polonia |
| Bahia de Santa Lucia | Rio de los Patos | Punta de las Arenas |
| | Bahia de San Matia | Rio de Santa Cruz |

In the strait itself, there is "Cabo Feroso;" but Albo informs us that it was also named "Cabo Deseado." Maximilianus Transylvanus mentions⁴⁰⁵ a Gulf of St. Julian: "Ad sinum cui Sancto Juliano nomen imposuere," and a Cape of Santa Cruz: "Promontorium, quod Sanctæ Crucis appellavere."

⁴⁰¹ Paris National Library; MS., Français, Nos. 5,650 and 24,224. It formerly belonged to the library of Francis I.

⁴⁰² "Verzin," that is brazil wood, or Brazil.

⁴⁰³ "El cabo de Sancta Maria, que nombramos el rio

de La Plata."—LAS CASAS, *Historia General de las Indias*, lib. iii., cap. ci., Vol. IV., page 377.

⁴⁰⁴ Afterwards "Santo Vidio," now Monte Video.

⁴⁰⁵ MAX. TRANSYLVANUS, *De Moluccis insulis*, Coloniae 1523, leaves 4 and 7.

The reader will not fail to recognise the importance of these nomenclatures, taken from original accounts, as they enable us to decipher a number of illegible names and legends which mar almost every map.

No. 144. GARCIA DE TORENO.

Map of Nuño Garcia de Torenó, bearing the following title :

"Ffue fecho en la noble villa de Valladolid por nuño garcia de toreno piloto y maestro de cartas de navegar de Su magestad Año : de . 1.5.2.2."

It is a magnificent planisphere on parchment, richly gilt, coloured, and ornamented with representations of cities and effigies of Asiatic princes. The sea is traversed by vessels bearing the Spanish flag. Unfortunately, there is only one-half of that map left, and it is the part describing Asia and a portion of Africa. When yet entire, it must have had the dimensions of the Weimar maps. What is left measures 1360 by 770 mm.

The loss of the transatlantic section is so much the more to be regretted as it doubtless exhibited the configurations of the New World, such as the Sevillan and official Spanish cartographers conceived them before the evolution produced by the maps of Sebastian del Cano. Our own impression is that it resembled the Turin chart north of the equator. This map is preserved in the King's Library in that city.

No. 145. GIOVANNI ANDREA VAVASSORE.

It is an oval planisphere in an ornamental border, with twelve heads of winds, roughly engraved on wood, coloured, measuring 520 by 370 mm., and containing in a cartouche this inscription :

"Opera di Giouãni andrea Vauassore ditto Uadagnino."

We have no other reason for adopting the date of *circa* 1522 than the handicraft and letters, which were not engraved, but printed, and recall the earliest typographical productions known of that Venetian printer,⁴¹² who has also published other maps.⁴¹³ Withal, it must not be forgotten

⁴¹² BARTSCH, Vol. XIII., p. 295. NAGLER, Vol. XIX., p. 482, doubtless refers to another Vavassore. See also PANZER, "sub anno 1532, Venet.," *Excerpta Colombiniana*, No. 315.

⁴¹³ Map of Italy; BRALLIOT, *Dict. des monogrammes*, Munich, 1833, Part 2, No. 1293. It is probably the same map which, according to SANTAREM, is found inserted, together with a view of Venice, also engraved by

VAVASSORE, in one of the portolani of the Barberini Library at Rome. *Recherches sur la priorité de la découverte des pays situés sur la côte occidentale d'Afrique*; Paris, 1842, 8vo, p. 125. The Hauslab collection at Vienna contains also a copy of that map of Italy, and one of Spain, which is attributed to VAVASSORE. LUKSCH, *Mittheilungen der K. K. Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien*; 1886, p. 392.

that the imprint of "Giovanni Andrea Valvassori, detto Guadagnino," continues to figure in books printed at Venice⁴¹⁴ so late as 1572.

The American configurations consist of a narrow strip of the east coast of Brazil, with only these two names: "Mundus nouus" and "Terra S. crucis."

The only two copies known of the present map are preserved, one in the Geographical Department of the Paris National Library, No. 244, in a frame; the other is in the library of the Staff of the Bavarian Army, at Munich. We do not know whether the latter is also coloured.

1523.

No. 146. SCHÖNER'S MODEL GLOBE.

It is the globe which a Spaniard sent to some gentleman (in Nuremberg?), and which Schöner used for making his own globe of 1523:

"Ego tam mirifice orbis pervagationi nonnihil volens adiicere, ut quæ lectu videantur mirabilia, aspectu credantur probabiliora, Globum hunc in orbis modum effingere studui, exemplar haud fallibile æmulatus, quod Hispaniarum solertia cuidam viro honore conspicuo transmisit"

"Wishing to add something to this marvellous exploration of the earth,⁴¹⁵ so that what seems wonderful when read shall appear more likely when seen with the eyes, I have endeavoured to make this globe in following a perfect model which a Spaniard has obligingly sent to a gentleman"⁴¹⁶

No. 147. SCHÖNER'S TIMIRIPA GLOBE.

In 1523, Johann Schöner wrote a small tract bearing this title:

"De nyper svb Castiliæ ac Portvgaliæ Regibus Serenissimis repertis Insulis ac Regionibus, Ioannis Schöner Charolipolitani epistola et Globus Geographicus, seriem nauigationum annotantibus:—An epistle from Johann Schöner, of Carlstadt, concerning the islands and regions recently discovered by command of the Most Serene Kings of Castile and Portugal, and a Geographical Globe to the use of persons wishing to annotate the course of those navigations."⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁴ Duc DE RIVOLI et Ch. EPHRUSSI, *Zoan Andrea et ses homonymes. Extrait de la Gazette des Beaux Arts*; Paris, 1891, 8vo, p. 28. This excellent memoir contains also a description of a large map of France, 760 by 560 mm., in four sheets, engraved and published at Venice by the present VAVASSORE in 1536.

⁴¹⁵ MAGELLAN'S voyage and discovery of the Strait.

⁴¹⁶ Epistle addressed by SCHÖNER to Reymer VON STREYTPERGK, in WIESER, *Der Verschollene Globus des Johannes Schöner*, p. 17, and *Magalhães-Strasse*, p. 121.

⁴¹⁷ Small 8vo, 4 leaves, no name of printer or place of

printing, yet the title page mentions an Imperial privilege for eight years. This assertion, together with the author's name on the title, and dedication to Reymer VON STREYTPERGK, Canon of the Church of Bamberg, show that the tract was openly published. See also Adolfo DE VARNHAGEN, *J. Schöner, Lettre à propos de son globe, écrite en 1523, en Latin, réimpression fidèle*; St. Petersburg, 1876, 8vo. We do not know whether the edition mentioned in our *Additions*, No. 175, is a reprint, made in 1549, or simply the above, bound with the *Rudiment. Cosmogr.* of HONTER, published at Zurich in that year.

That tract is dated from a place which the author calls "Timiripa," in the year 1523: "Millesimo quingentesimo uigesimotertio." Do we possess, either in the shape of a sphere, or as mere engraved gores, the globe mentioned in the above title?

There is not the slightest evidence, or indication of any kind, that we possess that globe, or the gores which served to make it.

Gores of a globe 710 by 310 mm. were published in reduced facsimile, from a printed woodcut,⁴¹⁸ at Munich in 1885. These, on several occasions,⁴¹⁹ have been positively stated to be the identical gores which were used to construct the globe announced by Schöner in 1523, on the title of his Timiripa tract. The statement is absolutely erroneous; and we now proceed to prove that those gores are not the work of Schöner, nor derived from any of his globes, maps, or even geographical notions.

It must be first stated that the original woodcut, from which the reprint was made recently, does not bear the date of 1523, or the name of Schöner. On the contrary it is entirely anonymous and dateless. Nay, there is no special extrinsic sign permitting those gores to be ascribed to the Nuremberg mathematician, or to connect them with the above mentioned Timirapa pamphlet, or any other work written by him in 1523, before or afterwards; on the banks of the Ehrenbach or elsewhere. Nor can anyone justly pretend to recognise, either in the delineations or lettering, the style of Schöner; for nothing can be more different from the globes which that savant has described, depicted, caligraphed, or caused to be engraved and printed at any time.

It follows that the averment can only be a personal inference, or a fancied deduction. In the present instance, the chief argument presented in support of the asseveration is that the above-mentioned pamphlet refers, for details concerning adventures experienced, and extraordinary men and animals seen by Magellan, to the Epistle of Maximilianus Transylvanus,

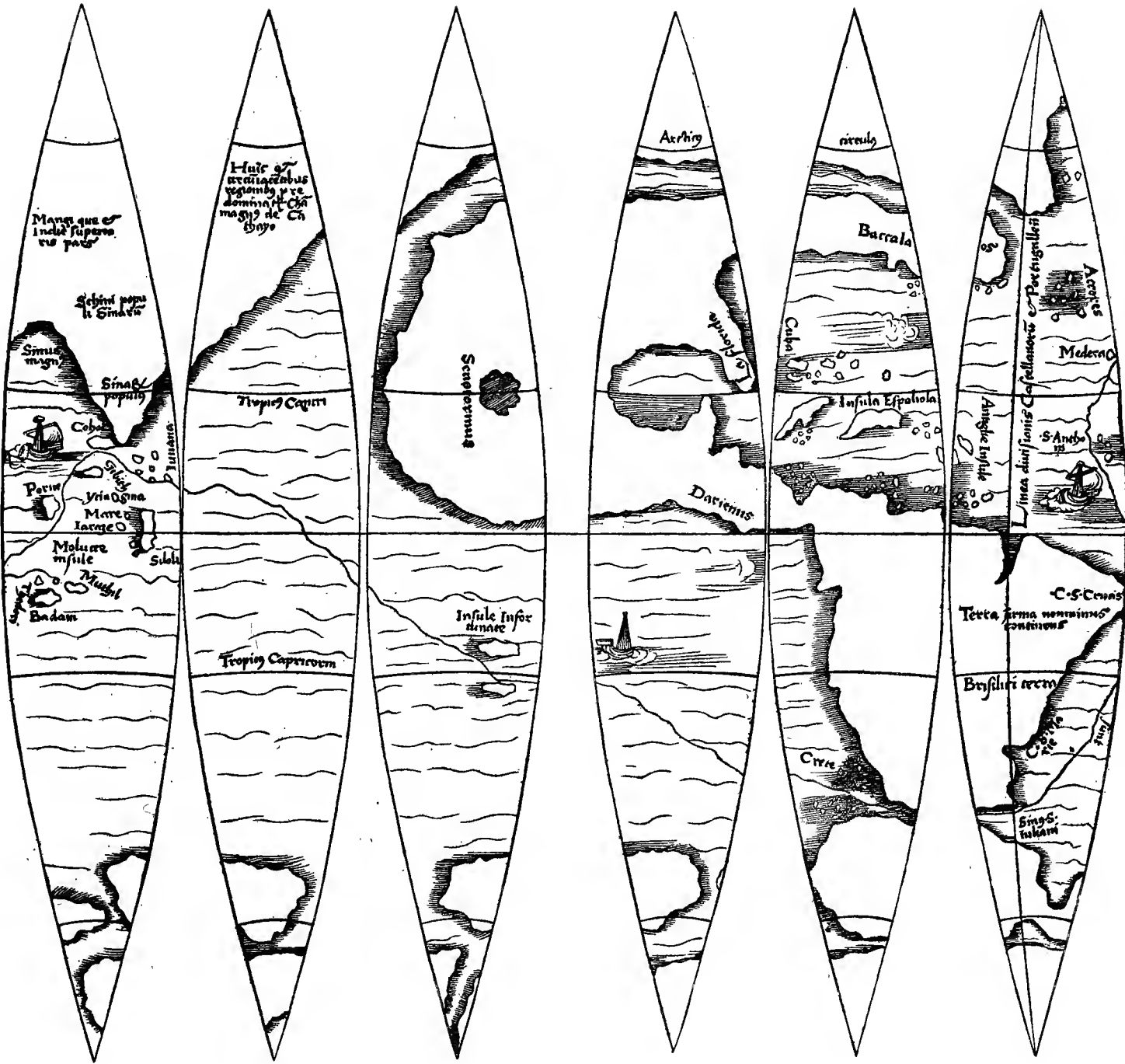
⁴¹⁸ *Catalogue xiii. de la librairie ancienne de Ludwig ROSENTHAL, 1885, No. 136, p. 24, and NORDENSKIÖLD, Facsimile Atlas, plate xl., under the title of: Mappa mundi auctoris incerti, Norimbergæ c. 1540 (?)*. The map is also in the following works.

⁴¹⁹ Dr. Franz R. v. WIESER, in the above catalogue of 1885, and in his learned article: *Der Verschollene Globus des Johannes Schöner von 1523*, Wien, 1888, 8vo, 18 pp; extracted from the *Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien; philos. historische Classe, Vol. CXVII*. See also: *Johann Schöner, Professor of Mathematics at Nuremberg. A reproduction of his Globe of 1523 long*

lost; his dedicatory letter to Reymers von Streypkerck and the 'de Moluccis' of Maximilianus Transylvanus with new translations and notes on the Globe. By Henry STEVENS of Vermont, GMB FSA MA of Yale, etc. Edited with an Introduction and Bibliography by C. H. COOTE, Dept. of Printed Books British Museum: Corr. Mem. New Eng. Hist. & Geneal. Soc.: Hon. Mem. Royal Scottish Geog. Soc. etc. London, Henry STEVENS & Son, 39 Great Russell Street, Opposite the British Museum. MDCCCLXXXVIII. Sm. 4to, 206 pp., with facsimiles, one of which bears this title: *Schöner's Globe of 1523, long lost*.



AUTHENTIC GLOBE OF SCHÖNER OF '1533.



ALLEGED GLOBE OF SCHÖNER OF 1523.

which cites certain geographical names that are also on the Munich gores.

The simple fact that Schöner refers to the Epistle of Maximilianus, and that brief designations mentioned in the latter figure in the gores, is hardly a proof that these gores were made by Schöner. Maximilianus' Epistle was printed at Cologne⁴²⁰ in January, 1523, and frequently since. As it made known everywhere the great discovery of the Strait, other cosmographers and globe makers than Schöner may have used the same data. In fact, for several years the geographers in Central Europe had no other means of information on the subject; and globes constructed in or after 1523 may well have borrowed their nomenclature for the Moluccas, and for Magellan's voyage, from that Epistle, without our being obliged to limit such a borrowing to the globe made by Schöner in that year.

Let us now examine those gores intrinsically.

They are alleged to have been drawn in 1523, and to be based upon a Spanish map sent from Spain to Germany.

In reply, everyone who is conversant with Spanish discoveries and cartographical methods will hesitate to admit that a map made in Spain so early as 1523, could present the north-eastern configurations exhibited in those gores. The chief reason is that at Seville, in 1523, they did not yet possess such geographic data, and the Casa de Contratacion was not accustomed to mar its charts with hypothetical notions.⁴²¹ The gores set forth a continuous coast line extending from "La Florida" to the "Bacalaos," with that peculiar and excessive trend eastward which is one of the distinctive traits of the Spanish maps constructed after the discoveries of Estevam Gomez (1525); the earliest specimen of which, known at this day, is the Weimar 1527 chart. Now there is only one Spanish expedition sent to our east coast, before 1523, which could have yielded some cartographical information concerning the country north of the Floridian peninsula. It is the slave-hunting raid of Ayllon and Matienzo in 1521; and it was absolutely limited to a single point of the coast, by 33° 30' north latitude.⁴²² Nor is it likely to have been followed by an invoice to Spain of cartographical documents concerning such an expedition.

⁴²⁰ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 122.

⁴²¹ In 1527 they certainly possessed in Spain notions about Peru; but as the information, cartographically speaking, was vague, we do not yet see the Peruvian coast depicted in the Weimar map of that date. In 1529, after the expeditions of PIZARRO and ALMAGRO, a cosmographer like RIBERO could not but come to the conclusion

that the Pacific coast extended northwards from the point where MAGELLAN had left it to sail in search of the Moluccas. Yet, in his map of 1529, the Chilian seaboard is entirely blank. So with the Turin map north of Florida, which had not yet been explored by GOMEZ, but which was suspected to be connected with the Bacallaos.

⁴²² *Supra*, pages 207, 208, 250.

True it is that the Spanish Government had been informed and believed, ever since the first expedition of John Cabot, that there was west of Cuba, a continent which stretched from a high point at the north to a very low point at the south. But it laid no claim to that country, which was then considered to be barren, and chiefly within the Portuguese line of demarcation. It is therefore only in Lusitanian charts and their Germanic derivatives, that in the first quarter of the sixteenth century we see the continental coast depicted,—excepting always the La Cosa planisphere of 1500, which does not seem to have found imitators in Spain; and which, besides, depicts the north-east coast in a form entirely different from that of the Munich gores and of the Weimar charts. And if the reader wishes to form an idea of the appearance of Spanish maps made between the voyage of Magellan and the exploration of the north-east coast by Gomez, he has only to examine the elaborate Turin map, which ignores all lands whatever north of Florida.⁴²³

Be that as it may, whether the Spanish model did or did not present an unbroken coast line north of the equator, or any coast at all, we are in a position to demonstrate that such a configuration as is depicted for the northern region in the Munich gores, was not adopted by Schöner, nor inserted in the globe which he constructed in 1523.

This is proved by his own, although very succinct, mention of that globe, as we find it in the tract above described; and where he expressly states that his new globe differed from the preceding one made by him, only as regards the geographical facts recently disclosed by the voyage of Magellan. After describing the discovery accomplished by that great navigator, his untimely death, and the appointment of his successor to command the squadron on the homeward trip, Schöner continues as follows:

“Singulis tandem peragratis, ut non locus supersit, quem reliquisset intentatum, uela ad Castiliam repetendam reflectit, quam ingressus est anno Christi Millesimo quingentesimo secundo sexto die decembris [*sic*] unico nauigio, militum numero decem et octo stipatus, cæteris maris impetu absorptis. Quam uero mirabiles rerum euentus, quam tetras hominum ac cæterarum animalium formas experti sint, ea Epistola tua dignitas abunde cognoscet,

“After sailing in various directions, so that no portion of the route should remain unexplored, he ⁴²⁴ returned to Spain, arriving December [*sic*] 6th, one thousand five hundred and twenty-two, with [only] one ship and eighteen men, the rest having been swallowed up by the sea. As regards their marvellous adventures, and the wonderful men and animals seen by them, Your Worship will obtain information by reading at length the Epistle concerning the

⁴²³ *Infra*, No. 148, and adjoining facsimile.

⁴²⁴ Juan Sebastian DEL CANO.

quæ de Moluccis insulis ad Reuerendissimum Cardinalem Salzburgensem per Maximilianum Transsylvanum directa est. Ego tam mirifice orbis peruagationi nonnihil uolens adijecere, vt quæ lectu uideantur mirabilia, aspectu credantur probabiliora, Globum hunc in orbis modum effingere studui, exemplar haud fallibile æmulatus, quod Hispaniarum solertia, cuidam uiro honore conspicuo, transmisit. Nec ob id quem antea glomeraveram abolitum iri uolens, quippè qui es temporè, quantum phas erat homini abdita mundi penetrare, abunde expressit, modo sese consona admissione patientur, quod inuenienda inuentis non obstant”

Molucca islands addressed by Maximilian of Transylvania to the Cardinal Archbishop of Salzburg. Wishing to add somewhat *to this marvellous exploration* of the earth, so that what seems wonderful when read, shall appear more likely when seen with the eyes, I have tried to make this globe an imitation of a perfect model which a Spaniard has sent to a gentleman. Withal, *I meant not to set aside my former globe*, as it exhibited all which men then were permitted to learn regarding hidden portions of the world; *it has been faithfully reproduced*, so far as concordant, so that things formerly discovered should not be at variance with those which have since been found”⁴²⁵

It is impossible to express one's intentions in clearer language. As to the “preceding globe” to which Schöner alludes, and which, he says, was modified only in so far as was necessary to insert the geographical results of Magellan's voyage, it is the globe constructed and signed by him in 1520, which we still possess.⁴²⁶ Now, what are the configurations of this globe of 1520? Taking certain countries which were beyond the range of Magellan's discovery, and which we must infer from Schöner's own declarations remained untouched, do they exhibit the continuous coast line which in the Munich gores connects North with South America, and sets forth an unbroken seaboard from Labrador to Brazil?

The globe of 1520 exhibits instead, at the north, the Lusitano-Germanic configuration which Schöner had adopted ever since he commenced constructing spheres. In other words, he separates entirely the northern from the southern continent in the latitude of 10° north; and thus remains faithful to a peculiar delineation which dates from the beginning of the sixteenth century. The globe of 1523 therefore must have reproduced, north of the equatorial line, the configurations of the globe of 1520; not only for the reasons which we have just derived from Schöner's own expressions, but because his model map could furnish him new data only concerning the southern continent. Magellan first sighted America when off Cape St. Augustine, by about 8° south latitude; whence

⁴²⁵ WIESER, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁴²⁶ *Supra*, No. 127, p. 506.

he navigated southwards until he reached the Strait.⁴²⁷ After crossing the newly discovered passage, none of his ships ranged the Pacific coast higher than the 40th south parallel. It follows that a Spanish map of 1522-1523, constructed to illustrate the voyage of Magellan, limited its cartographical innovations to the apex of the continent of South America. And we should not forget that it was the discovery of the Strait alone which prompted Johann Schöner to modify his globe of 1520. This close chain of facts and deductions lacks, nevertheless, one more link to amount to an absolute proof, owing to a very peculiar and unexpected aberration which arose in the mind of the Nuremberg mathematician.

Up to that time, as is shown by the globe of 1520, Schöner had shared the opinion of all cosmographers regarding the separation believed to exist, and clearly depicted in the Lusitano-Germanic maps and spheres, between the New and the Old World, and which he had been propagating with the utmost zeal. But the Epistle of Maximilianus Transylvanus caused him to alter his views entirely in that respect. By what process of reasoning he came to consider that the discovery of the new route to the Moluccas proved the existence of an absolute cosmographic connection between America and Asia is a mystery to us. That egregious error is set forth in the *Opusculum* of 1533, but it dates from 1523, as can be seen in the third of the following extracts.

He first identifies Mexico and its surrounding regions with Quinsay, after locating them in Upper India :

“Unde longissimo tractu occidentem uersus ab Hispali terra est, quæ Mexico et Temistitan uocatur, in superiori India, quam priores uocauerunt Quinsay id est ciuitatem cœli eorum lingua :—By a very long circuit westward, starting from Spain, there is a land called *Mexico and Temistitan in Upper India*, which in former times was called Quinsay ; that is, the City of Heaven, in the language of the country.”⁴²⁸

Then, criticising opinions ascribed to Vespuccius, Schöner says :

⁴²⁷ And as to the Strait, it is not likely to have been placed in the Bay of St. Julia (*Sinus Juliana*), as in the Munich gores, but seven degrees further south ; with some legend recalling the discovery accomplished by MAGELLAN, and which prompted SCHÖNER to construct his globe of 1523, and to write his Timiripa tract. Still less would SCHÖNER have included Cuba among the northernmost Lucayas, and left anonymous the true delineation of that island. “Senotormus” for Temistitan, “Madera” for Madera, “Espaliola” for Española, and

“Brisiliri” for Brasiliere, will doubtless also appear to be strange spelling on the part of such a learned geographer as SCHÖNER was. We are inclined to see in those gores a late derivative of the map consulted by GEMMA PHRYSIUS for constructing the mappamundi which he has added to his numerous editions of the *Cosmographia* of APIANUS, and so often copied.

⁴²⁸ SCHÖNER, *Opusculum geographicum*; Norimbergæ, sine anno (sed 1533), 4to, recto of the 12th leaf. *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 178.

“Americus tamen Vesputius, maritima loca Indiæ superioris ex Hispaniis navigio ad occidentem perlustrans, eam partem, quæ superioris Indiæ est, credidit Insulam, quam a suo nomine vocari instituit. Alii vero nunc recentiores Hydrographi eam terram ulterius ex alia invenerunt esse continentem Asiæ, nam sic etiam ad Moluccas insulis superioris Indiæ pervenerunt.”

“Yet Americus Vesputius, in ranging in his navigation the coasts of Upper India, from Spain to the West, thought that the said part, which is connected with Upper India, was an island, which he caused to be called after his own name. But now other hydrographers, of a more recent date, have found that that land [*i. e.*, South America] and others beyond, constitute a continent, which is Asia; and thus did they reach as far as the Molucca islands in Upper India.”⁴²⁹

And to show in a still more forcible light Schöner's geographical ideas concerning the alleged complete connection between America and Asia, as well as the real source of his belief on the subject, and the time when he conceived such a notion, we cannot do better than reproduce the whole of his most surprising account of the newly-discovered countries.

“*De regionibus extra Ptolemæum.*”

Regiones quæ extra Ptolemæi descriptionem sunt, non adhuc adeo certis authoribus traditæ, nec etiam tanta diligentia descripta.

Ab ortu quicquid rerum ultra, Serasque ac ultra 180 gradum longitudinis est, totum Ptolemæo incognitum permansit.

Post Ptolemæum uero ultra 180 gradum uersus orientem multæ regiones repertæ per quendam Marcum Polum Venetium, ac alios, sed nunc à Columbo, Genuensi, et Americo Vesputio solum [secundum?] loca littoralia ex Hispanijs per Oceanum occidentalem illuc applicantes lustratæ [applicantibus?] sunt, eam partem terræ insulam existimantes uocarunt Americam quartam orbis partem.

Modo uero per nouissimas navigationes factas, anno post Christum 1519. per Magellanum ducem nauium Inuictissimi Cæsaris diui Caroli etc., uersus Moluccas insulas, quas alij Maluquas uocant, in supremo oriente positas, eam terram inuenerunt esse continentem superioris Indiæ, quæ pars Asiæ, in qua immensa regna,

“*Concerning the regions outside Ptolemy.*”

The regions which are outside Ptolemy's description have not been transmitted to us by authorities not quite as certain, nor have they been described with as much care. At the east, all that which is beyond the country of the Chinese and 180° longitude, has remained entirely unknown to Ptolemy. But after Ptolemy, beyond 180°, towards the east, numerous regions have been discovered by one Marco Polo, a Venetian, and others. And in our days the Genoese Columbus and Americus Vespuccius reach those shores, after having sailed from Spain across the Western Ocean, and visit them, thinking that this part of the world is an island. They called it America, the fourth part of the globe. *But very lately, thanks to the recent navigations accomplished in the year 1519 A.C., by Magellan,* the commander of the squadron of the invincible Emperor, the divine Charles, &c., towards the Molucca islands, which some call Malaquas, which are situate in the extreme east, *it has been ascertained that the said country* [that is,

⁴²⁹ *Ibidem.*

ingentia flumina, multaque alia dictu miranda, de quibus partim supra mentionem fecimus.

Sunt autem hoc huius portionis regiones, Bachalaos, dicta a nouo genere piscium ibidem.

Bergi regio magna terra florida, desertum Lop, et urbs ejusdem nominis sub gra. 213 20, 43 0.

Tamacho prouincia. Sucur, sampa uel Zampa, Cauul, Tangut, Cuschin, Cathay, quæ et Chulmana, S. Michælis prouincia, Messigo, quæ et Mexico regio, in qua urbs permaxima in magno lacu sita Temistita, sed apud uetustiores Quinsay erat uocata, sita sub gradu 226 30, 21 0, Raylmana Tebequi regiones, deinde uersus ortum Temiscanata, Parias, Dariena, Vrabe, Pariona, Canibales ac aliæ quam plurimæ regiones”

America] was the continent of Upper India, which is a portion of Asia, where are immense kingdoms, great rivers, and numerous marvels, which we have described above, at least partially. Here are the countries of that region, viz.: Bachalaos, thus called from a new species of fish. There is also the Bergi region, a large flowery country; the desert of Lop and the city of the same name, in 213 20, 43 0; the province of Tamacho; Sucur⁴³⁰; Sampa or Zampa⁴³¹; Cavul; Tangut; Cuschin; Cathay, also called Chulmana; the province of St. Michael; *Messigo, which is the country of Mexico; the principal city, situate on the shore of a large lake, is Temistita, in former times called Quinsay, by 226 20, 21 0 longitude; the Raylmana and Zebequi countries; then, towards the west, Temiscanata, Parias, Darien, Urabe, Pariona, the Cannibals, and innumerable other regions.*⁴³²

And Schöner did not limit himself to printed explanations; he constructed globes to make his opinion clearer, one of which was made in 1533, for the Prince John Frederick of Saxony, where the two worlds, Asia and America, in accordance with those geographical ideas, are completely blended together, north of the equator, while Mexico is exhibited as a dependency of Cathay. The consequences of those facts are twofold:

If Schöner altered his graphic representations of Asia and America for the first time in the globe of 1533, then the globe of 1523 must have exhibited north of the equator the insular configurations of the globe of 1520, and continued therefore to disconnect “Parias” and North America from the South American regions.

If, on the contrary, Schöner introduced at once in his globe of 1523, the geographical notions which he expressly says he derived from the account of the voyage of Magellan, then that globe must have connected America with Asia precisely as it is between the equator and the tropic of Cancer in the globe of 1533.

Now, when examining the western hemisphere in the Munich gores, we should naturally expect that, north of the equator, one or the other

⁴³⁰ *Suctuir* the present province of Kan-sou.

⁴³¹ Zampa, Zapa, and Campa.

⁴³² SCHÖNER, *Opusculum geographicum*, cap. xx., recto of the last leaf.

of those two styles of configurations would appear; but we do not see either of them, nor any indication of the kind.

Not only do the Munich gores delineate the entire American continent unbroken, east and west, from the Baccalaos to the Strait of Magellan, but they depict the Pacific coast as a continuous line from the outlet of the Magellanic passage, to a point which nearly corresponds on modern maps with British Columbia. And there the western seaboard forms an elbow, which is made to stretch, not westward, as it should according to Schöner's expressed notions, but eastward, continuing uninterruptedly to the Atlantic Ocean. That is, the American continent is represented entire, and completely disconnected both from Asia and from the Arctic regions; setting forth at its northern extremity a wide channel which runs in a straight line from west to east, and connects the Pacific with the Atlantic. Then, beyond a wide ocean, westward of America, and absolutely distinct from the latter, we find another continent, bearing the usual Asiatic legends about Cathay and Mangi, exhibiting besides the peninsula of India.

Those configurations prove conclusively that in the opinion of the cartographer who made the Munich gores, the New World did not consist of immense insular regions, cast into the Atlantic, far away from the South American continent, as in Schöner's globes of 1515 and 1520. Still less did he believe that America was absolutely connected with Asia, and a mere continuation of the latter, as we see it elaborately depicted in Schöner's globe of 1533.

We subjoin to these pages an exact copy of the western hemisphere in Schöner's globe of 1533, and, opposite, a facsimile of the Munich gores; leaving the reader to complete the comparison by resorting to Ghillany's facsimile of the globe of 1520. By placing the Munich gores between those two globes, it will be seen at a glance that the same cosmographer cannot have constructed in 1523 a sphere with gores resembling those of Munich; and ten years later, the globe of 1533. In the Munich gores, America is delineated as an absolutely separate continent. In Schöner's globe, on the contrary, the west coast of America is represented as continuing from the equator westward to beyond the Malacca peninsula and India without a single break; thus making of the two worlds one solid mass; and of the empire of Mexico a portion and tributary of China!

If we did not possess Schöner's own statement as to the groundless inferences which led him to alter in 1523 his cosmographical ideas concerning the relative position of Asia and America; and if the Munich gores were represented to be some work made by Schöner in 1533, whilst the globe of 1533 would be considered, on the contrary, as having been constructed only in 1523, then the supposition that the Munich gores were the work of Schöner might perhaps be entertained;—for these evince unquestionably a progress in geographical knowledge. But with the facts which we have laid before the reader, it stands to reason that Johann Schöner never did, and never could, construct in 1523 a globe exhibiting the north-western American configurations of the Munich gores; all asseverations to the contrary notwithstanding.

The distinctive trait of Schöner's globe of 1533 is the blending, near the equator, of America with Asia. The Timiripa pamphlet shows that the notion originated with him in 1523, on hearing of the discovery of the strait by Magellan, and of his having reached the Molucca islands by that route. These two postulates lead to the belief that the globe which Schöner constructed in 1523, and for which he wrote the Timiripa pamphlet, already exhibited that configuration. We now find an important series of globes and cordiform maps, all based upon this Asiatico-American combination, and which made its appearance in Central Europe between 1525 and 1531. The delineations and nomenclature of all those cartographical monuments is so similar that the critic can only consider them as derivatives from, at the most, one or two prototypes, which must be traced to Schöner's globe of 1523, although this is lost, and we can ascertain its geographical characteristics solely by deductions. For these inferences, we refer the reader to the preceding pages; and for correlative data, to our descriptions of the Carondelet, Franciscus Monachus, Gilt, Weimar, Nancy, and Wooden globes, and to the cordiform maps of Orontius Finæus, *infra*, under the years 1526, 1528, 1531, and 1536.

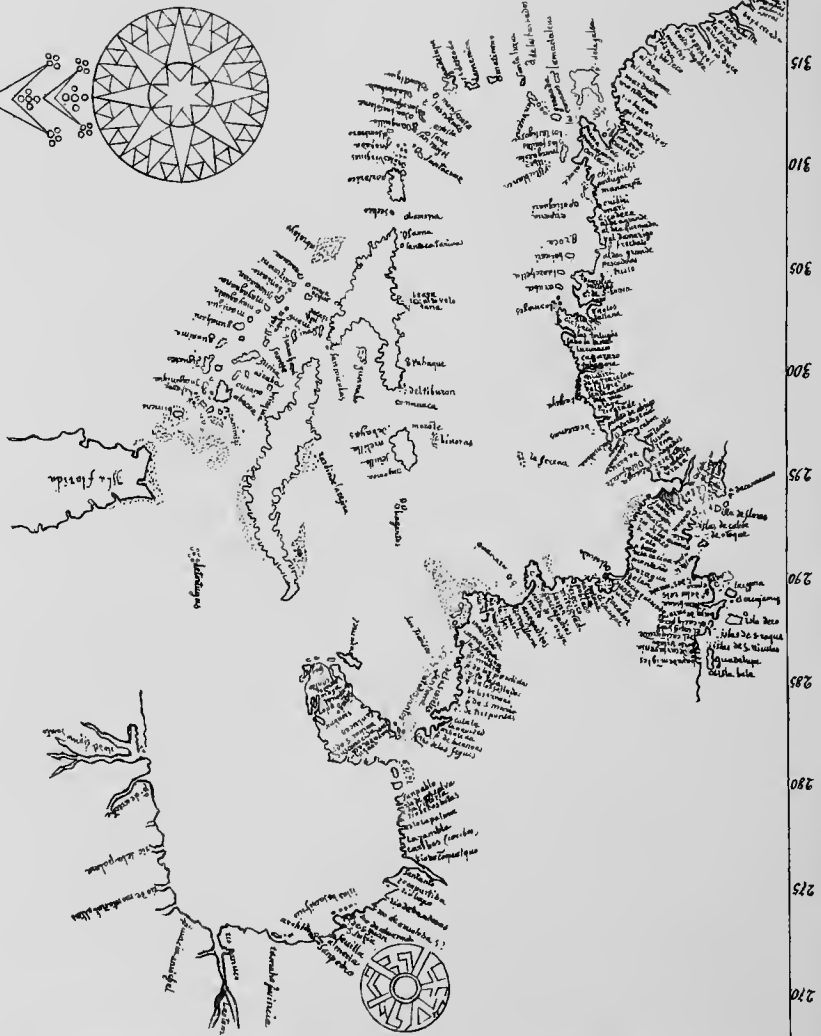
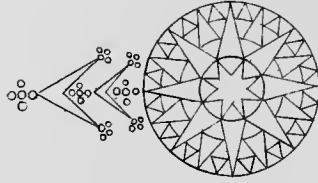
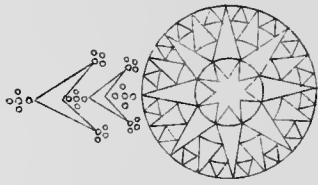
No. 148. THE TURIN MAP.

A Planisphere on parchment, 2014 by 1000 mm., preserved in the Library of the King of Italy, at Turin. The legends and names are in Spanish and Latin, with a few in the Portuguese language. The configurations commence, at the north, with Florida, which is entirely

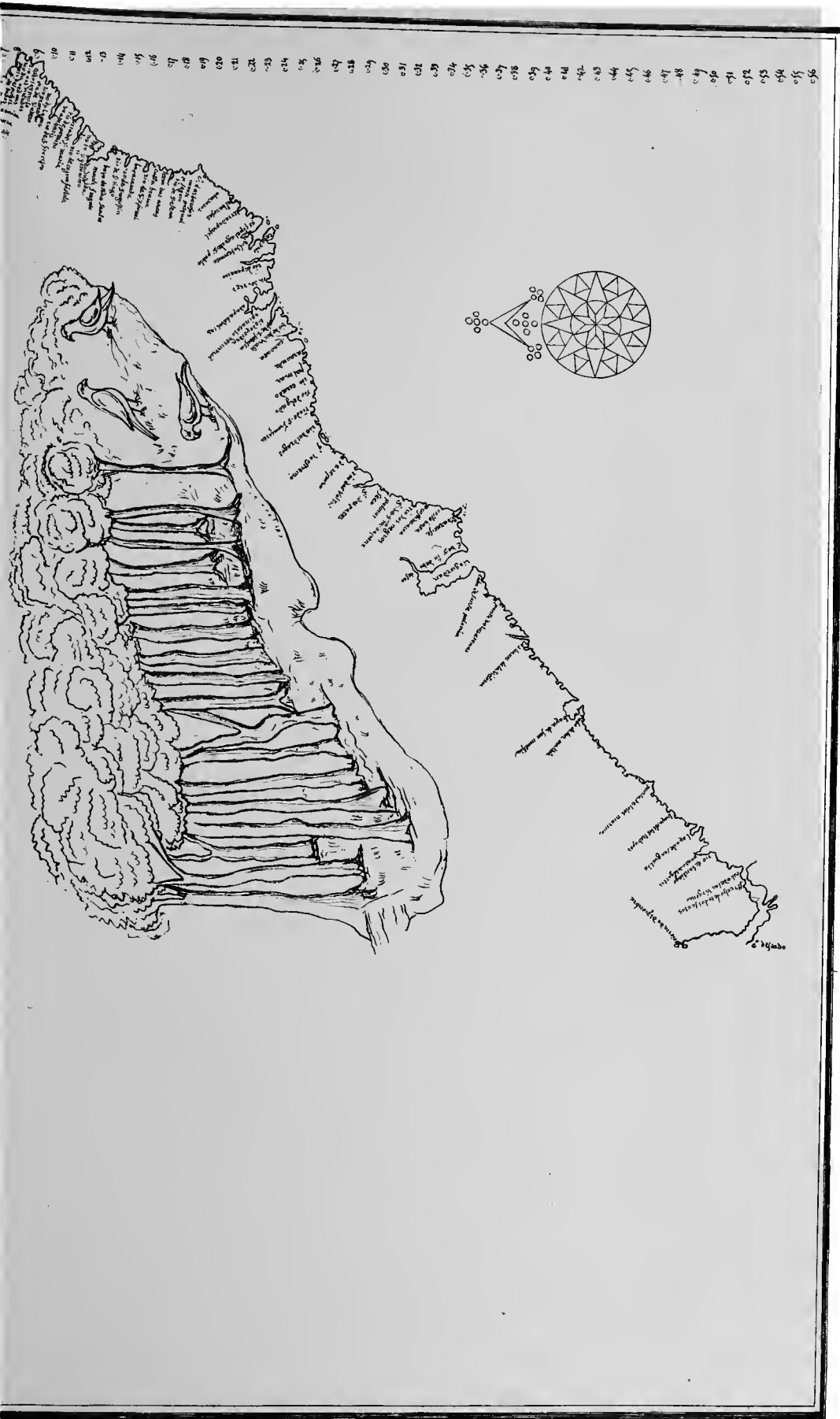
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THE NEW WORLD IN THE TURIN MAP
 (Circa 1523)

separated from the mainland. The east coast begins with the delta of the Mississippi, and continues uninterruptedly to the Strait of Magellan; thus exhibiting a coast line which, according to the scale inscribed on the map, extends from 30° north to 55° south latitudes. The sea-board then ascends on the Pacific side six degrees, terminating with a name which is not to be found on any other chart, viz.: "Tierra de diciembre," and is the latest datum in the present map, as it belongs to the nomenclature brought by Sebastian del Cano,⁴³³ September 6, 1522. The information about La Plata is confined to the results of the explorations of Juan Dias de Solis.

We are unable to say, from our copies, whether Yucatan is connected or not with the continent. The peculiar shape of the Yucatanic peninsula and its nearness to the mainland, coupled with the absence of the Pacific coast north of 8° and south of 4° southern latitudes, seem to indicate a Portuguese source for that region. Cuba, however, ends westward with an elongated coast different from the form adopted in the Lusitano-Germanic maps, and is certainly of Sevillian origin. The city of Mexico is represented by a circular plan, such as was known in Spain since 1520.

The sea-boards on the Pacific do not extend at the south beyond the point explored before the expedition sent by Pedrarias under the command of Pascual de Andagoya, in 1522; and north, above the limit reached previous to the expedition sent by the same Pedrarias, under the command of Francisco Hernandez de Cordova (the second of that name) in 1524. Those limits, and the chasm north of Florida, prompt us to believe that the present map was constructed between the years when information was first received in Spain of the successful issue of Magellan's voyage, and when the Spanish government received news of the above-mentioned expeditions of Pedrarias Davila; that is, about 1523-1524.

A very noticeable feature, betraying early cartographic data, is the excessive trend, narrowness, and peculiar shape of the Brazilian elbow. It exhibits, evidently, the state of knowledge and imperfect conception of that part of the coast among Spanish cartographers, between the making of the Kunstmann Portuguese maps, and the collection of more exact data by the Sevillian Hydrography, next preceding the time when the Weimar planispheres were constructed.

The present Turin map is also the most valuable cartographic document of the sixteenth century which we possess for the nomenclature;

⁴³³ This name cannot have been made known by Estevan GOMEZ when, after abandoning MAGELLAN, he returned to Spain, May 6, 1521, as he only entered, but did not cross the Strait.

as it sets forth many names which are not inscribed on any previous map, and were certainly taken from ancient and authentic sources. This is seen by names which originated with Columbus, and that are not on the Weimar charts, as well as by a comparison between the designations around the Gulf of Mexico with those of Cortés' original map (1520).

Another merit is its excellent orthography, which surpasses every cartographical document of that period. This relative perfection is the sign of a near relationship with the originals. It enables us to place confidence in the spelling or pronunciation of native names (as heard by a Spaniard or Portuguese), and to decipher the obscure portion of nearly all preceding nomenclatures which exhibit similar designations. That is the reason why we deem it necessary to reproduce the entire list, leaving out only, as we have done heretofore, mere isolated substantives, such as *Playa* (beach), *Palmas* (palms), *Arboledos* (trees), *Culata* (recess or creek), *Furna* (cove), *Fondura* (anchorage), &c., &c.

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| GULF OF MEXICO: | Rio de aruoldas | Santome |
| Isla florida ⁴⁸⁴ | Rio de vanderas | De las coretes ⁴⁴⁰ |
| Rio del esprito santo | Rio baxo | San Francisco |
| P ^a de arecife ⁴³⁵ | Roca partida | Lazaro ⁴⁴¹ |
| Rio de la palma ⁴³⁶ | Sant anto[nio] | Baya de la cention ⁴⁴² |
| Rio de montañas altas | Rio de cõqualquo | San lucas |
| Prouincia amichel | Caribes ⁴³⁹ | Desconocida |
| Rio panuco | La rambla | C ^o de S. roman |
| Tamaho prouincia | Rio la palma (<i>bis</i>) | Xagueis |
| Laotom | Rio de dos botas | Lope |
| San pedro ⁴³⁷ | La victoria | Santiago |
| Almeria ⁴³⁸ | Rio de grijalva | Maya |
| Sevilla | San pablo | La mada |
| S. luzia | YUCATAN—HONDURAS: | SOUTHERN |
| C ^o de S. Juan | Cozumel | CONTINENT: |
| Rio de aluarado | Todos santos | Cabo de las fegues ⁴⁴⁸ |

⁴³⁴ Nowhere else on a map is Florida called "Isla." In all other maps it is termed "Terra Florida," or simply "La Florida." The distinction is to be noted.

⁴³⁵ "Punta or Cabo de Arecife"—The Cape of Reefs, is so frequently found that it can be said to have assumed the character of a common substantive. We will omit it hereafter.

⁴³⁶ "Rio de las palmas" in CORTÉS.

⁴³⁷ On the mainland, between San Pedro and the Rio de Arboledas, is the circular and nameless plan of Mexico, of the size of half a dollar.

⁴³⁸ There is a "Rio de Almeria," in a number of maps,

from Cantino to the Lusitano-Germanic globes. Here it is the region called by the Indians "Naothlan," and made known by Diego CAMARGO in 1519.

⁴³⁹ The name "Caribes" is inserted in so many different places as to lead us to believe that it was given wherever Spaniards met warlike Indians. We will omit it hereafter.

⁴⁴⁰ "De los corrientes."

⁴⁴¹ It is the village of Lazaro in Campeche or "Quimpech," made known by Hernandez DE CORDOVA in 1517.

⁴⁴² "Baya de la Ascension."

⁴⁴³ "De las Higueras,"—The Cape of Figs? "Figueira" in the Portuguese language.

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| P ^a de las canoas ⁴⁴⁴ | P ^o Vrtado (?) | C. de S. romã (<i>bis</i>) |
| La nauidad ⁴⁴⁵ | El cacique grande | Tucuruca (<i>bis</i>) |
| C ^o de tres puntas | El cacique bros (?) | G ^o triste |
| P ^o de S. Maria | El cacique pera (?) | Aldea grande (<i>bis</i>) |
| De las canoas (<i>bis</i>) | Baya de Varones | P ^o frechato ⁴⁵⁵ |
| P ^o de los fallados ⁴⁴⁶ | Tiera braua | Val dalmerigo ⁴⁵⁶ |
| Costa tesa | G ^o de los reis | Aldea quemada |
| P ^o de los perdidos ⁴⁴⁷ | G ^o de S. Maria | C. codera |
| P ^o muerto | Costa limpia | Onari |
| Rio de S ^a Maria | P ^o de canacane | Cuibiri |
| Rio primero | Yuñcto | Manacapã |
| Tiera sola ⁴⁴⁸ | El Suegro ⁴⁵³ | Portugal ⁴⁵⁷ |
| Costa de la oreya ⁴⁴⁹ | Rio grande | Chiribichi |
| C. de gracias a dios | COAST OF | Cariaco (<i>bis</i>) |
| Mõte grãde ⁴⁵⁰ | VENEZUELA : | Macarapana |
| Cerecico | Uraba | Rio baxo (<i>bis</i>) |
| Cariaco | Monte alto | Monte speso |
| Zarabara | Cubon | Mar du[l]ce |
| Cacique quemado ⁴⁵¹ | Cartayenia (<i>bis</i>) ⁴⁵¹ | Almedrona |
| Belen ⁴⁵² | Porto de abrigo | Rio seco |
| Veragua | Rio grande (<i>bis</i>) | Costa fragosa |
| De la caciqua | Santa marta | C. do prazel |
| P ^o baxo | Del tigre | Rio duçe (<i>bis</i>) |
| P ^o belo | De la traicion | Rio da volta |
| P ^o muerto (<i>bis</i>) | Chichiri | Baya cerada |
| Rio de las canoas | Tabagora | Palmas secas |
| Poco rosa | Cagazaro | Ponta degahas ⁴⁵⁸ |
| Comoger | Tucuraca | Las necas ⁴⁵⁹ |
| Darien | Cabo de la vela | Rio de las palmas |
| NORTH PACIFIC : | Las tortugas | Rio da tanca |
| Baya de mãgles | Cicibacoa | Rio das canoas |
| P ^o de cartayenia | Vnotos | Rio das canoas (<i>bis</i>) |

⁴⁴⁴ "La Canoa," as in Weimar 1527, or "Las Canoas."

⁴⁴⁵ The name "La Nauidad" recalls the locality ascribed to Vincente Yañez PINZON, *supra*, p. 455.

⁴⁴⁶ The Point of the Found Ones.

⁴⁴⁷ The Point of the Lost Ones.

⁴⁴⁸ The Solitary Land? Perhaps "Tierra solana?"—The Sunny Land.

⁴⁴⁹ So named by COLUMBUS in his fourth voyage (NAVARRETE, Vol. III., page 584). The "Costa del Oreja" does not figure on any other map. "Oreja" must be taken not in the sense of "ear," but of a species of tunny fish (*Scomber pelamys?*).

⁴⁵⁰ West of this "High Mountain," which is probably one of the Poyais (1300 f.), although in reality it is north of the Cape Gracias a Dios, begins the Pacific coast.

⁴⁵¹ "Cacique quemado"—The Cacique with a scorched arm and face: "Provincia que se decia Cativa, do estaba

un cacique que tenia un brazo quemado y la cara, que se decia Caciquemado."—Deposition of Pedro DE LEDESMA; NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 556.

⁴⁵² "Belen"—The River of Bethlehem; so named by COLUMBUS, January 10, 1503. That name here indicates early data, as it does not appear on any other map.

⁴⁵³ "Rio de Suegro"—The River of the Father-in-law.

⁴⁵⁴ The number of repetitions in the same localities must be due to the original cartographer having used two maps, which, however, were different in other respects.

⁴⁵⁵ "Porto Flechado," as in LA COSA?

⁴⁵⁶ "The Valley of Americus?" That name also occurs in the map of the Laurentiana.

⁴⁵⁷ "Portogalete," as in Weimar 1527?

⁴⁵⁸ "Ponta delgada." Perhaps, in this case, "Ponta de gafas,"—The Cape of Lepers.

⁴⁵⁹ "Las nesgas"—The Angles.

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| Rio de Vicentianes ⁴⁶⁰ | P ^a dos baxos | Terra do prazel (<i>bis</i>) |
| Costa de palma | Ponta despichel ⁴⁶⁷ | Arcipelago de S. Pablo |
| Playa de baxos | Rio das pedras | Golfo fermoso |
| Las planosas | Rio das Virtudes | Rio paneiro ⁴⁷³ |
| Visto no mas del fondo ⁴⁶¹ | EAST COAST | Rio dos reys |
| Visto de lexo ⁴⁶² | OF BRAZIL : | A baya da[s] voltas |
| Costa de paricura | Cabo fermoso | O pinaculo de tantacã ⁴⁷⁴ |
| Rio dos fumos | Isla de S. Alexo. | Rio de jordan |
| Rio da ternidad ⁴⁶⁸ | Rio primeiro | P ^o de San Sabastian |
| P ^a queimada | Rio do lago ⁴⁶⁸ | Rio de S. Vicente |
| Tierra hallegada ⁴⁶⁴ | Rio de S. Francisco | Cananea |
| C ^o de lo este | Vaazabaris ⁴⁶⁹ | Rio cerado |
| Golfo claro | Rio de pereira | Rio delgado |
| Cabo do monte | Serra de S. Maria | Rio de S. Francisco (<i>bis</i>) |
| G ^o do palmar | Rio de cagna fistola | Rio dos dragos |
| P ^a de aricefe (<i>bis</i>) | P ^o real | G ^o do extremo |
| Monte redondo | Rio de S. Geronimo | De reparo (<i>bis</i>) |
| Terra deserta | Rio da duvida ⁴⁷⁰ | Rio das voltas (<i>bis</i>) |
| C ^o negro | Monte fragoso | G ^o das patos |
| Baya de prazel | Baya de todos Santos ⁴⁷¹ | G ^o de S. M ^a da peña |
| Terra fragosa | Rio de Santiago | Rio dos negros |
| P ^a delgada | Rio de S. Augustin (<i>bis</i>) | Costa de acoa |
| C ^o de guada ⁴⁶⁵ | Baya cerada (<i>bis</i>) | C ^a de S. M ^a de bõ deseo |
| C ^o branco | Rio de S. Cristoual | Rio giordan (<i>bis</i>) |
| Rio allaguado | Costa braua | Cabo de S. polonia |
| Baya fermosa | Terra das arcas | Punta de las arenas |
| Rio de S. agustin | Rio de S. Elena | Los baxos de la victoria ⁴⁷⁵ |
| Baya primeira ⁴⁶⁵ | P ^o Seguro | Baya de S. Mathia |
| Terra do praira | Monte pasqual | Cabo de S. Mathia |
| Terra do prazel | C ^o das barosas ⁴⁷² | Ponta de lobos marinos ⁴⁷⁶ |

⁴⁶⁰ "The River of Vicente Yañez Pinzon.

⁴⁶¹ "[One] ceases to see the bottom."

⁴⁶² "Seen from afar."

⁴⁶³ From that point the nomenclature is almost entirely Portuguese, which should be noted.

⁴⁶⁴ "Terra Allegada"—The heaped-up land.

⁴⁶⁵ "Ponta de la aguada"—The Cape of the Watering-place?

⁴⁶⁶ "The main bay."

⁴⁶⁷ "The Cape of St. Michael?"

⁴⁶⁸ "Rio del Lago"—Lake River.

⁴⁶⁹ "Vaazabaris, Vasabarris. Ensejada infamado por naufragios na costa do Brasil."—A. DE MORAES SILVA, *Diccionario*. That etymology is evidently taken from the *Corografía* of DE CAZAL; but we should have first to ascertain since when his "Vasabarris" has been in use, and the origin of the word.

⁴⁷⁰ "Rio da dubita"—The River of Doubt, or the

Uncertain Stream. It is found on no other map.

⁴⁷¹ Here the word "Baya," instead of "Abbatia," needs to be noticed.

⁴⁷² In Spanish there is an adjective *Barrosa*, which might give to "C^o das barosa" the meaning of The Muddy Cape, if the word, here presented in the plural number, did not indicate a substantive instead of an adjective, and "das" a Portuguese origin.

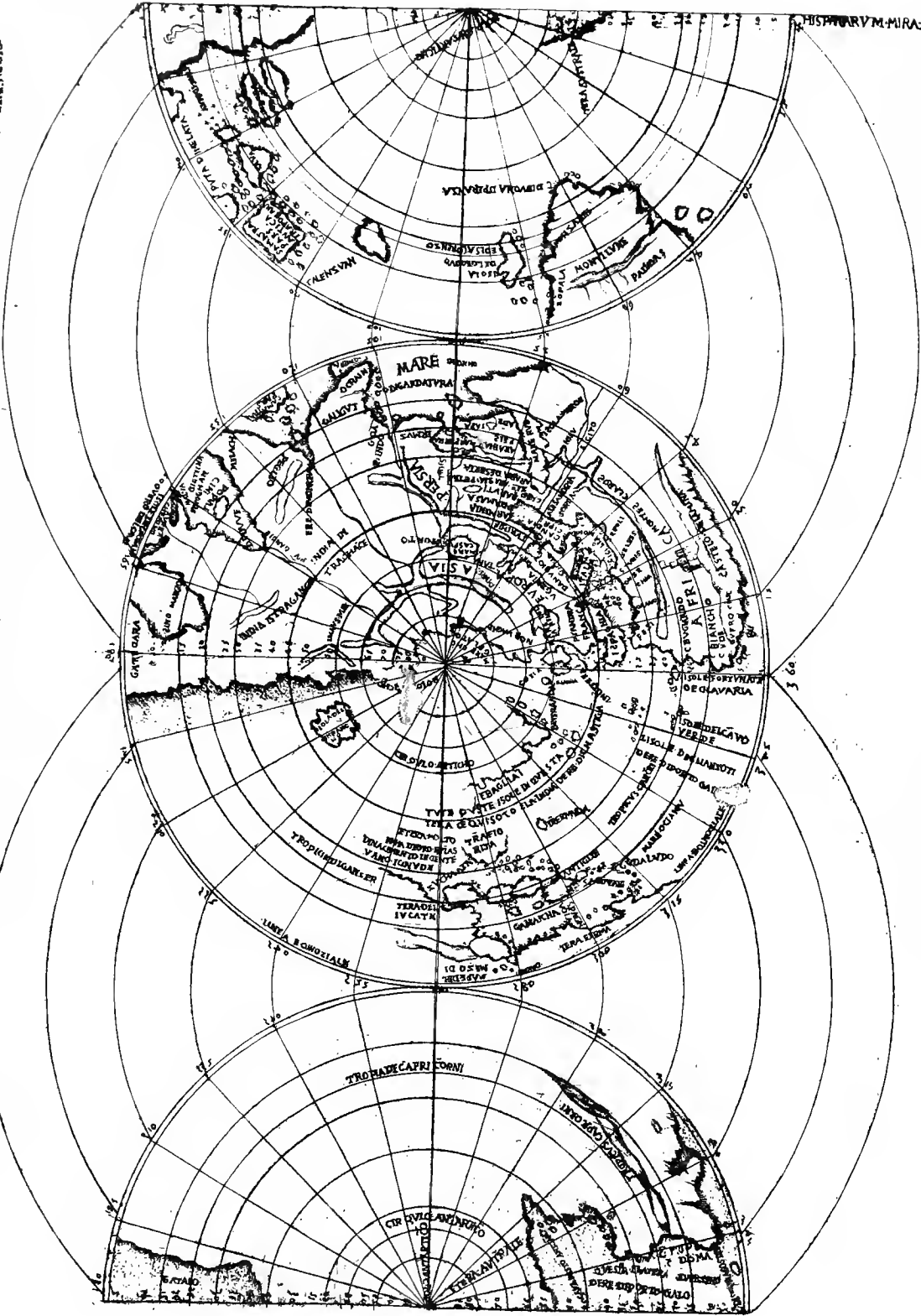
⁴⁷³ Rio Janeiro?

⁴⁷⁴ Of the various ways in which that word is spelled, this is the only one permitting of a reasonable etymology, viz.: "The Summit of the Temptation" (*Tentacão*).

⁴⁷⁵ "Los baxos de la Victoria"—The shoals of La Victoria. A reference probably to the dangers which MAGELLAN'S ship of that name encountered in running amongst the shoals on the coast, February 13, 1520.

⁴⁷⁶ "Punta de los buenos marineos"—The Cape of the Good Sailors.

TOTIUS ORBIS DESCRIPTIO TAM VETERVM PVAM RECENTIVM GEOGRAPHORVM T RADITIONIBVS OBSERVATA NOVVM ORVS IOANIVS PVCCI FLORENTINI MACOLERI REGIS



ET INGENIO SOLVITVM

FIRST EDITION OF THE MAP OF JUAN VESPUCCIUS
(Circa 1492)

| | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Bayas de los trabajos | Rio de Santiago | Strecho de todos Santos |
| Bayas de San Giulia | Rio de Santiago (<i>bis</i>) | C ^o deseado |
| Ponta de lagartos | Cabo de las virgines ⁴⁷⁷ | Tierra de diziembre ⁴⁷⁸ |

The adjoining sketch of the Turin map is based upon our own cartographical notes and two counter drawings, one of which was taken at our request several years ago by the late Vincenzo Promis.

No. 147. JUAN VESPUCCIUS.

Map of the world by Juan Vespuccius. It is on an equi-distant polar projection, engraved on copper, probably at Venice about 1523, measuring 373 by 273 mm., and seems to have been intended to be mounted on a cylinder. Its title, which runs along the border, is as follows:

“Totivs . orbis . descriptio . tam vetervm quam recentvm geographorvm traditionibvs observata novvm . opvs Ioanis Vespvcci Florentini macoleri [*sic*] regis . Hispaniarvm . mira . arte et ingenio . asolvvm [*sic*].”

The most recent geographical data in that map is Yucatan, represented first by an island denominated “Vchaatn”; then by a continental region called “Tera del Ivcatn.” These two configurations do not seem to proceed from the first exploration of that country by Francisco Hernandez de Cordova, February, 1517, but from that of Juan de Grijalva (April 8, 1518—November 1 following), for the island apparently designates Santa Cruz or Cozumel, the insularity of which was recognised by Grijalva, who from thence sailed to the continent, which he coasted for 270 leagues. The news of the latter expedition doubtless reached Spain in December, 1518. The words in the title: “Hispaniarum regis,” might indicate that when the map was constructed Charles V. was not yet emperor, were it not for the same expression which we find in the second edition of that map, dated 1524. The only copy known was preserved in the collection of Count Giacomo Manzoni, at Rome, but since his death it has disappeared.⁴⁷⁹

1524.

No. 148. JUAN VESPUCCIUS.

Second edition of the above described sphere on an equi-distant projection. The title, which has been corrected, is as follows:

⁴⁷⁷ “Of the 11,000 Virgins.” Name given by MAGELLAN, October 21, 1520; but to the Strait itself.

⁴⁷⁸ MAGELLAN emerged from the Strait on the Pacific

side, November 28, ranged the coast till December 16, when he altered his course, sailing west and north-west.

⁴⁷⁹ Kindly communicated by Captain Ildebrando Rossi.

Totivs . orbis . descriptio . tam . vetervm quam recentivm . geographorvm . traditionibvs . observata . novvm . opvs . Ioanis . Vespvcci . Florentini . navcleri . regis . Hispaniarvm . mira . arte . et . ingenio . absolvitvm . Erratisiq . d . excvsoris cvlpa 1524.

The names have also been corrected. Instead of "Terra del ivcatn," we read "Terra del ivcatan." The island of Cuba is so named. "Terra del bachaglia" has been added, together with a hand pointing towards the "Circvlo articho." The only copy of this map known is in the library of Prince Liechtenstein, at Vienna, who caused it to be reproduced in photo-lithography in that city in 1879; and we are greatly indebted for a copy to His Excellency.

No. 149. SMALL MAPS OF APIANUS.

There are two, inscribed in his *Cosmographicus liber*, printed at Landshut⁴⁸⁰ in 1524, and interesting chiefly on account of the disposition of the meridians and parallels. The one on a stereographic polar projection measures 112 mm. diameter; the other, 109 by 126, and is preceded by the words: "In hoc sequenti typo totius cosmographiæ descriptio demonstratur." Both in Nordenskiöld's atlas, Nos. 57 and 58.

No. 150. APIANUS.

An ellipsoidal mappamundi, succinctly described in the *Isagoge* of the same Petrus Apianus⁴⁸¹ as follows:

"Terrestris convexitatis picturam Noua quadam et vera magisque habitationi nostræ idonea imagine: quo Geographiæ picturæ vsus intellectu facilior redderetur elucubraui."

As it is a question when and on what occasion Apianus devised or applied a certain projection, it will be as well to quote another passage of the above-mentioned *Isagoge* of that celebrated geographer:

"Circa dictos polos concurrent quidam arcus, qui sese meridianos circulos vocari volunt: quos ex transverso per medium fecat equinoctialis cum suis diuisionibus quas hodie gradus longitudinis apellitam: adscriptis numeris . 10 . 20 . 30 . &c., vsque ad 360 ab occidente per meridiem in orientem dirigitur. Præterea a leua versus dextram apparent lineæ æquidistantes quibus adiacent numeri per medium Chartæ e circa limbos: qui pro vno meridiano reputantur: et gradus latitudinis terræ præsentant. Illud quoque ostendisse inuabit: quod zodiacum

⁴⁸⁰ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 127; *Additions*, No. 87.

⁴⁸¹ The title of this rare pamphlet is as follows: *Isagoge In Typum Cosmographicum seu Mappam Mundi (et vocant) quam Apianus sub Illustrissimi Saxoniae Ducis auspicio praelo nuper demandari*

*curauit. Impressum Landszhut per Ioannem Weysenburger. 4to, sine anno, 4 unnumbered leaves (Geographical Department of the Paris National Library, c. 5,381, Reserve). The plaquette was already mentioned by PANZER, Vol. IX., p. 480. For a full description see DE VARNHAGEN, *Schöner e Apiano*, p. 16.*

circulum per faciem tabulæ iuxta solis cursum tortuose exaranimus : iustus signorum characteribus adiectis. Pariformiter pp. commodam huic rei diuisionem in parte occidentis et orientis Zodiacos apposui. Huic insuper generalem totius Germaniæ Horizontem inscribere placuit : qui tamen pro vero eius polo Viennam Austriæ congrue sibi vindicat."

If this extract and other passages in the *Isagoge* enable us to form an idea of the projection and general outside appearance of the ellipsoidal mappamundi, and ascertain that it was constructed according to the principles laid out in the *Cosmographicus liber*, we have failed to find any indication regarding the configurations of the New World. The probability is, however, that they were based upon the geographical data of the mappamundi of 1520. As to the date, we presume that it may be 1524, but for no other reason than the resemblance existing between the above-quoted description of the projection, and that which Apianus has inserted in his *Cosmographicus liber*, published in 1524. Yet it may also be of an earlier or of a later date, although Graese sets forth the year 1524, not knowing, apparently, that the *Isagoge* is dateless.

It is almost certain, however, that the present map cannot be the one of 1520, 'as the latter bears the monogram of Luc Alantse, who is the Vienna gentleman at whose expense the *Solinus* of 1520, in which it is so often found, was printed: "Impensis honesti Lucae Alantse, ciuis, et Bibliopolæ Viennensis." The probability is that he also bore the cost of the making of that map; else there would be no reason for inserting his monogram in the same. Now, the map of the *Isagoge* is said to have been published under the auspices of the Duke of Saxony: "Sub Illustr. Saxoniae Ducis auspicio praelo nuper demandari curauit." It is not likely that this prince would have extended his patronage to a work which was already due to the munificence of a private citizen.

No. 151. SPANISH BADAJOZ MAP.

The mention of this lost chart is interesting on account of the statement relative to the latitudes and longitudes officially ascribed to several points of the South American continent:

"Mayo 23, 1524. En Yelves los jueces de Castilla dijeron que conforme a la platicado traian la carta de la navegacion de Castilla hasta los Malucos, donde principalmente se contenia el cabo de S. Agustin en el Brasil, en 8 grados latitud S. y en 20 graeos longitud hacia O. de la isla de San Antonio; y estaba asentada toda la costa hasta el estrecho de los Malucos [*i. e.* the Strait of Magellan] cuya boca es en 52½ grados latitud S. y 4½ grados mas al O."⁴⁸²

⁴⁸² NAVARRETE, Vol. IV., p. 364.

The Portuguese map produced during the sittings of the junta, in opposition to the above, contained no American configurations.

No. 152. MAP FURNISHED TO CORTÉS.

It was given to Cortés by his companions when he halted in the province of Coatzacoahuaco or Huasacualco, in October 1524. We borrow this information from Prescott,⁴⁸³ who gives it on the authority of Cortés' *Carta Quinta*. It seems to have embraced from the Coatzacoahuaco river to the Gulf of Honduras.

No. 153. FRANCISCO DE LERMA'S.

Charles V. in a letter addressed to Acuña and Barretos, orders that Lerma should bring certain maps before the Badajoz junta.

"Las cartas de navegar que decis tiene Francisco de Lerma, vecino desta ciudad :—The sailing charts which Francisco de Lerma, of this city, says he has."⁴⁸⁴

No. 154. ESTEVAM GOMEZ.

It is a map of the famous Portuguese pilot, which was given by him to Colonel Espinoza, and is mentioned in the above letter addressed by the Emperor Charles V. to Acuña and Barretos :

"I la quel piloto Estevam Gomez dió al Coronel Espinoza."

No. 155. MAPS OF MARGARET OF AUSTRIA.

Margaret of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, and widow of the infant Don Juan, the son and heir of Ferdinand and Isabella, was a very superior woman in every respect, and who seems to have taken a lively interest in transatlantic discoveries. In the inventory of her valuables, drafted by her orders in the city of Antwerp,⁴⁸⁵ April 17, 1524, we notice the following items :

⁴⁸³ PRESCOTT, *Conquest of Mexico*, Philadelphia, 1869, Vol. III., p. 278.

⁴⁸⁴ Muñoz Transcripts, Vol. LXXV., f^o 51.

⁴⁸⁵ Original MS., Paris National Lib., *500 de Colbert*, No. 128; published by Cte. DE LABORDE, *Revue Archéologique*, VII^e année. We notice among the books of her library at Antwerp, no work relating to the New World, but there was the following item : "Ung aultre [livre] moien, couvers de velours verd, qui ce nomme Mappede monde (f^o. xxxiii., vo.)." This, however, we take to be

the poem of GAUTIER DE METZ, entitled *Mappe Monde*, written in the thirteenth century, and which is the prototype of the famous *Livre de Clergie*, or *Lymaige du monde*. We also notice a set of 40 articles designated as : "Accoustremens de plumes venuz des Indes, presentées de par l'empereur à Madame à Bruxelles le xx. iour d'aoust xv.xxiii. :—Wearing apparel made of feathers, coming from the Indies, which were presented to my Lady at Bruxelles by the Emperor [CHARLES V.], August 20, 1523."

“Deux appemondes bien vieilles, en parchemin. Deux Mapemondes en parchemin. Ung livre, escript en latin sur parchemin, de lettres au mole, faisant mencion des illes trouvées, couvert de satin de Bruges verd, et dessus la dicte couverte est escript quatre lignes de lettres d’or en Latin”

“Two very old mappamundi on parchment. Two mappamundi on parchment. A book written in Latin on parchment, mentioning the islands discovered, covered with green Bruges satin On the cover there are four lines in Latin letters of gold”

No. 156. JESSE TRUTVETTER.

It is a map of the world, representing the entire American continent, and belongs to the edition of 1524 of the principal work of Jodocus Isennachcensis.⁴⁸⁶ As this teacher of Luther died in 1519, the elements used for that map must be at least five years older than the date of the book where it was first inserted. The only copy known was offered for sale by Edwin Tross in 1868, but it has since completely disappeared, and we have vainly sought for that map in the chief European libraries.

No. 157. THE LAKE OF NICARAGUA.

It is the first map of that lake, and we find it mentioned in a letter from Pero Suarez de Castilla to the licentiate Acuña, apprising him of the arrival at the court of Andres de Cereçeda, who had been sent by Gil Gonzales Davila to inform Charles V. of his discovery of a “sea of fresch water” (*i. e.*, the lake of Nicaragua). The letter ends as follows :

“Cerezeda lleua a S. M. figura de todo. De la Puebla cerca de Coria, 7 de Mayo de 1524:—Cerezeda brings to Your Majesty a map of the entire region. Puebla [or the village?] near Coria, May 7, 1524.”⁴⁸⁷

In the absence of the map, which is lost, much geographical information can be gathered from the *Itinerario y cuentas de Gil Gonzales Dávila por il Tesorero Andres de Cereçeda*.⁴⁸⁸

Landing at Acla in January, 1520, Dávila crossed the Isthmus, built ships on the Pacific side, and in 1523 commenced his first exploration. In 1524, he went to Honduras (from Santo Domingo) in search of a strait. After many trials, Dávila was arrested by Fernand Cortés without

⁴⁸⁶ JODOCUS ISENNACHCENSIS, *Summa in totam physicen: hoc est philosophiam naturalem conformiter siquidem veræ sophiæ: que est Theologia*; Erford., per Mattheum MALER, 1524, 4to.

⁴⁸⁷ Muñoz Collection of MSS., Vol. LXXV., f^o. 52.
⁴⁸⁸ Manuel M. DE PERALTA, *Costa rica, Nicaragua y Panama en el siglo xvi., su historia y sus límites*; Madrid, 1883, 8vo, pp. 27-31.

having, of course, accomplished his object,⁴⁸⁹ and was sent in irons to Spain, where he died, April 21, 1526.

No. 158. CORTÉS' ALLEGED PASSAGE.

It was a map which Fernand Cortés said he possessed, and on which was indicated a passage to the Pacific, opening, on the Atlantic side, between the Gulf of Mexico and Newfoundland.

“Desseando saber el secreto de la costa, que estaba por descubrir entre el rio de Panuco e la Florida: . . . é de allí la costa de la Florida por la parte del Norte hasta los Bacallaos, creyendo que en aquella costa hay estrecho que passe á la mar del Sur. É si se halla, segund çierta figura que Cortés diçe quél tiene del parage:—Desiring to know the secret of the coast, which was to be discovered between the Panuco river and Florida . . . and thence the Floridian coast northward as far as the Bacalhaos, believing that on that coast there is a strait leading to the South Sea [Pacific]. And it was so, according to a certain map of those regions which Cortés said he possessed.”⁴⁹⁰

This extract⁴⁹¹ of Oviedo is only a faithful paraphrase of the letter which Cortés sent to the Emperor, Charles V., October 15, 1524. The celebrated chronicler did not, however, share those illusions, for he said:

“Yo le tengo á Hernando Cortés por mejor capitan . . . que no por esperto cosmographo al que tal le dixo:—I considered Hernando Cortes as a better captain than able cosmographer.”

The map also depicted “aquel archipelago, que descubrió Magallanes” (that is, the Magellanic Strait), added Cortés.

1525.

No. 159. THE MANTUA PLANISPHERE.

It is in Spanish, on parchment, measuring 2130 by 811 mm., and exhibits the entire coast from the Strait of Magellan to the Bacallaos. According to a family tradition, that map was obtained by Baldassare Castiglioni, when Clement VII. sent him on a mission to Charles V. to settle certain political questions. The word “este” in the legend “Tierra que descubrio Estevan Gomez este año de 1525 por mandado de Su Majestad,”⁴⁹² instead of simply “el año de 1525,” as in the Ribero maps,

⁴⁸⁹ Pedrarias DAVILA did not seem to share those illusions concerning the existence of a strait in the isthmus. In his letter of April, 1525, he speaks of “el estrecho dudoso” (PERALTA, *op. cit.*, p. 33). The strait was then supposed to exist in the form of an outlet of the Lake of Nicaragua into the Pacific.

⁴⁹⁰ OVIEDO, *Historia General de las Indias*, lib. xxxiii., cap. xli., Vol. III., p. 466.

⁴⁹¹ Letters of CORTÉS, in VEDIA's edition, p. 112.

⁴⁹² UZIELLI, *Studj bibliografici. Mappamundi*; No. 412, p. 240. Attilio PORTIOLI, *Carte e memorie geographiche in Mantova*; Mantova, 1875, p. 24.

indicates that the chart was completed between November 1525, which is the date of the return of Gomez to Seville, and the end of the year. That is the main reason why we should have been happy to study its nomenclature and configurations,⁴⁹³ although the probability is that they do not differ from those of the Weimar chart of 1527.

No. 160. LORENZ FRIESS (?).

This map belongs to the first two editions, at least, of the *Uslegung der Mer-Carthen*,⁴⁹⁴ ascribed to Lorenz Friess, of Colmar, printed by Grüninger at Strasburg in 1525 and 1527. The title is:

“Tabvla prima navigationis Aloisii Cadamvsti mederam. ins. versvs.”

On the west of the map there is the following inscription:

“Das isz die erst vssfert vnd furen neue land zefunden die anderen werden im grosern buech angezeigt. Vnd von diser insel portus. furen sie lisboa zu.”

The configurations and nomenclature are those of the *Tabula Terre Nove* of Waldseemüller; but the cartographer has added to the north-west continental region “Terra de Cvba Partis Africe,” and translated Oceanus Occidentalis by “Das mer gegen nidergang.” That map is also to be found in the editions of 1527 and 1530.

No. 161. WALDSEEMÜLLER—FRIESS.

Three maps belonging to the Strasburg Ptolemy⁴⁹⁵ of 1525, viz.:

Orbis Typvs Vniversalis iuxta Hydrographorvm Traditionem exactissime depicta 1522. L. F. Oceani occide[n]talis Seu Terre Noue Tabvla.

Tabv[la Moder.] Gron[landiæ et] Rvssi[e].

These were printed from the same blocks as those in the edition of 1522; but the printer, by placing, before printing, a band over the engraved border on top, has rendered those maps titleless. The above titles, therefore, are borrowed from the edition of 1522.

⁴⁹³ This map is preserved in the house of the Marquis D. Rosa CASTIGLIONI, at Mantua. We regret not to be able to give a more detailed description; but repeated efforts to obtain permission to copy the American coast have finally met with the following reply from the owner: “Dopo essermi consultata con i miei di famiglia non

posso aderire alla riproduzione della carta nautica.”

⁴⁹⁴ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 133; *Additions*, No. 83, from the copy in the library of the liberal and enlightened Marquis DE SASSENAY.

⁴⁹⁵ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima, Additions*, No. 78, from the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana.

NO. 162. RIBERO AND NUÑO GARCIA.

They are the charts used during the expedition of Garcia Jofre de Loaisa to the Strait of Magellan and to the Molucca islands (1525-1528). They do not seem to have been concordant:

"A medio dia estábamos de la Sierra Leona 52 leguas por la carta de Diego Ribero, y por carta de Nuño Garcia [de Toren] 56 leguas:—At midday we were from Sierra Leona, 52 leagues according to Diego Ribero's chart, and 56 by that of Nuño Garcia."⁴⁹⁶

NO. 163. THE LAURENTIANA MAP.

A planisphere on parchment, 1490 by 945 mm., in Spanish, but including purely Portuguese names. The American coast extends unbroken from Labrador to the Strait of Magellan. The configurations of the South American continent recall those of the Turin map, and bear the only generic name of "Tierra firme." West of the Gulf of Mexico there is a plan of "Tenvstitam." Our impression is that this map was constructed in the time which elapsed between the making of the Turin map and that of the Weimar chart of 1527. It gives for the northern coast of South America several of the names which are in the former and not in the latter, viz.: "Costa de Paricura," "Valle de Amerigo," "Monte espeso," and the legends: "Visto de lexo," and "Visto no mas el fondo." The new names are few, but important:

| | | | |
|--------------|---------------------|-------------------|---|
| R. de Pascua | Seturma | Campana de Roldan | La Garça ⁴⁹⁷ |
| Rio Solo | Rio de S. Sebastian | Barreras blancas | Canal de todos los sanctos ⁴⁹⁸ |

This map, which is preserved in the Library of the Medici at Florence, contains the arms of the Salviatìs, surmounted by a cardinal's hat, which leads us to suppose that it belonged to Giovanni Salviatì, who was nuncio in Spain⁴⁹⁹ from 1525 until 1530.

NO. 164. RUIZ DE ESTRADA AND PEÑATE.

It is a map of the Gulf of Panama, coloured, 260 by 200 mm., constructed by Bartolomé Ruiz de Estrada and one Peñate, pilots of Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro, who gave it to Oviedo in 1526. Besides inscribing a number of names, it depicts not less than twenty-eight rivers

⁴⁹⁶ NAVARRETE, Vol. V., p. 245.

⁴⁹⁷ That is the first name given to the Bermudas.

⁴⁹⁸ "Strecho" is the designation of the Strait of Magel-

lan in a number of other maps, instead of "Canal."

⁴⁹⁹ That fine map was first described by Mr. UZIELLI, *Elenco*, p. 114, No. 156.

emptying into that gulf. There is a facsimile in the Madrid edition of the *Historia General* of Oviedo,⁵⁰⁰ from which we borrow the following new names, beginning at the north :

| | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| Yslas de san pablo atq. | Puerto deseado | Rio de la pera |
| de taboga | Angla de S. Bartolomé | Rio de S. Miguel |
| Rio de chepe | Prouincia de camasagio | Rio del fuego |
| Rio de moche | Los ynoantes | Rio del spera |
| Rio de pacora | Los martires | Rio de S. nicolas |
| Yslas de perlas | La candelaria | Rio de los egiptianos |
| Yslas de tortugas | Santelmo | Rio cartagena |
| Golfo de S. miguel | Punta de esperança | Rio de San Juan |
| Rio chica | Rio de lazaro | Rio de los ataraçanas |
| Rio timamo | Rio de los mojones | Rio de S. maria |
| Rio de la Balsa | Rio de sattes | Rio despoblado |
| Rio del suegro | Rio de la Vela | Rio del sp[irit]u sancto |
| Rio de churuca | Rio dulce | Rio de mayo |
| Punta de chiamo | Rio de la presa | Rio de santiago |
| Puerto de piñas | Rio Baxo | Ysla felipe atq. gorgona |

1526.

No. 165. GIOVANNI DA VERRAZANO.

Map ascribed to Giovanni da Verrazano, which was yet preserved in England in 1584. Hakluyt describes it as follows :

“There is a mightie large olde mappe in parchemente, made as yt shoulde seme, by Verarsannus, traced all along the coaste from Florida to Cape Briton, with many Italian names, which laieth oute the sea, makinge a little necke of land in 40 degrees of latitude much like the streyte necke or istmus of Darien.”⁵⁰¹

Elsewhere, Hakluyt says⁵⁰² that the map of Verrazano also laid out the “shorte and easie passage by the Northwest.” Those data are sufficient to enable us to define its north-western configurations, and to recognise them in an important series of cartographical documents. The “little necke of land in 40° latitude” is the isthmus, depicted in that family of maps between the “Mare Indicum” and the “Mare Oceanum,” so that these oceans are only six miles apart, and, according to the legend in the Verrazano map of 1529,⁵⁰³ can be seen from each other.

⁵⁰⁰ OVIEDO, *Historia General*, Introduction by Mr. Amador DE LOS RIOS, Vol. I., p. 56, note; and Vol. IV., p. 117, plate iv^a.

⁵⁰¹ HAKLUYT, *Discourse on Western Planting*, in the

American Cambridge reprint, 1877, pp. 113, 114.

⁵⁰² HAKLUYT, *Divers voyages touching the Discoveries of America*, 1582, in the dedication to Sir Philip SIDNEY.

⁵⁰³ Map of Hieronymo DA VERRAZANO, *infra*, No. 187.

“De questo mare orientale [the Atlantic], si vede il mare occidentale [the Pacific], sono 6 miglia di terra infra l'uno al otro.”

The “many Italian names” likewise “exist all along the coaste from Florida to Cape Briton” in those maps, and, what is more, they are very clearly translations from the French. As to the north-west passage “so laid out,” it is, in our opinion, not the “little necke,” but the wide aperture which is placed in Maggiolo between “Corte Reale” and “Lavoradore,” and supposed to lead to the “Mare Indicum.” We see it delineated in this manner in Munster's *Tabula novarum insularum*, engraved about 1534, and in all the elliptical mappamundi designed by Battista Agnese since 1536; whilst it is initiated east and west in the map of Lok, to which Hakluyt explicitly refers when mentioning the alleged strait:

“That shorte and easie passage by the Northwest master John Verazanus, which had been thrise [?] on that coast, in an olde excellent mappe which he gave to King Henrie the eight, and is yet in the custodie of master Locke, doth so lay it out as it is bee seene in the mappe annexed to the end of this boke, beeing made according to Verazanus plat.”⁵⁰⁴

As to the date, it may be inferred from the allusion to the English King. Henry VIII. remained at war with Francis I., from November 24, 1522, until August 30, 1525, and as Verrazano was then in the employ of France, it is only after the latter date that he could have presented his said map to the King of England. On the other hand, in 1527, the Florentine navigator was engaged in a corsarial expedition, which ended by his being captured at sea early in October of that year, and hung as a pirate, at Colmenar de Arenas, in November following.⁵⁰⁵ The probability then is that the map given to Henry VIII., was made between July 24, 1524 (when Verrazano returned from his transatlantic expedition), and 1526, and that he presented it to the English King in the latter year, but before the month of May, as at that date he was engaged arming an expedition at Dieppe or at Honfleur.⁵⁰⁶

His transatlantic expedition has prompted the construction of two varieties of maps. The first of these varieties is represented by the

⁵⁰⁴ HAKLUYT, *op. cit.*, p. II.

⁵⁰⁵ “Letter from the Judge of Cadiz to Charles V. giving the Names of the Principal persons captured with Juan Florin, and of his Death,” published in a translation by Mr. Henry C. MURPHY, *The Voyage of Verrazano*, p. 167, from a Simancas MS., *Estado Legajo 13*, f^o. 346. The legend that Giovanni VERRAZANO was taken and eaten up by savages (RAMUSIO, *Discorso sopra la terra*

ferma dell' Indie Occidentali, Vol. III., f^o. 417) seems to have originated with the statement of OVIEDO, that “Johan Florin, gascon ó francés,” having been sent with Iñigo DE VASCUÑA to Coro, in Venezuela, by Ambrosio DALFINGER, was killed by the Indians. See OVIEDO, *Historia General*, lib. xxv., cap. vii., Vol. II., pages 287 and 291.

⁵⁰⁶ *Revue Critique*, January 1, 1876, p. 22.

Maggiolo map of 1527. This was modified, we think, in another map, as yet unknown, in which North and South America were blended together about the tropic of Cancer. The derivatives of this modified map are: the Sloane map, the first map of Munster, the oval mappamundi of Battista Agnese, and the map of Michael Lok.⁵⁰⁷ The second variety is represented by the planisphere of Hieronymo da Verrazano. Its derivative is the globe of Ulpius.⁵⁰⁸ The other maps and globes containing Verrazanean data, chiefly in the form of legends such as "Terra Francesca," and "Terra Francesca nuper lustrata," are: the Gilt, Nancy, and Wooden Globes, and the single cordiform mappamundi of Finæus.

No. 166. GIOVANNI DA VERRAZANO'S GLOBE.

It is also mentioned in Hakluyt's *Particular Discourse*:

"An olde excellent globe in the Queene's privie gallery, at Westm'r, w'ch also seemeth to be of Verrazanus makinge."⁵⁰⁹

No. 167. OVIEDO'S NICOYA.

Map of the Nicoya Gulf, made by the famous chronicler himself, when living in Nicaragua. It measures 260 by 200 mm., and is inscribed:

"Golpho de nicaragua atque de guetares o de orotiña."

This gulf, only the entrance of which Gaspar de Espinosa and his pilot Juan de Castañeda first sighted⁵¹⁰ during their expedition of 1519, was named by them "Gulf of San Lucar," or "Sant Lúcas;" by others, "Gulf of Orotiña," "Gulf of Guetares," "Gulf of Nicaragua;" and by Gil Gonzales d'Avila, "Gulf of San Vicente."(?) It is the present Gulf of Nicoya, so named, as usual, from the then ruling cacique, who became celebrated for having embraced the Catholic faith with all his people. Oviedo remarks that he designed the same, not from Spanish charts, but

⁵⁰⁷ "Illustri viro, Domino Philippo Sidnæo Michael Lok civis Londinensis hanc chartam dedicabat: 1582," in HAKLUYT'S *Divers voyages*.

⁵⁰⁸ It is a copper globe, 14 inches diameter, constructed in Italy by one Euphrosynus ULPÍUS in 1542, and dedicated to Cardinal Marcello CERVINO. It is worthy of notice that the name "Normanvilla" is omitted in the Verrazano map of 1529, but found in this globe and in the Maggiolo map of 1527. ULPÍUS, besides, gives five names which are not in any other map, viz.: "Piaggia de Calami,"—The Beach of Reeds; "C. de Terra ferma,"—

The Continental Cape; "R. do Braço,"—The River of the Arm; and "Baia dos Moros,"—The Bay of Moors; "Costa de Corsales,"—The Coast of Corsairs. These indicate the existence of another Verrazanean map, as yet unknown, but which may turn up in Italy.

⁵⁰⁹ HAKLUYT, *Particular Discourse*, cap. xvii., § ii.

⁵¹⁰ OVIEDO, *Historia General*, lib. xxix., cap. xiii., Vol. III., p. 64; IV., p. 4. ESPINOSA did not enter the gulf: "No entró en la ensenada grande que está adelante entre el cabo Blanco é la punta del puerto de la Herradura, ni lo vido;" *op. cit.*, pp. 64 and 98.

as he saw the Gulf himself. The map is not without a certain importance, as exhibiting the first detailed cartographical conception of that part of the coast.

"E pintarle hé como yo le ví, e no como le hallo en las cartas de nuestros cosmographos:—I painted the same as I saw it, and not after the maps of our cosmographers."⁵¹¹

Facsimiled in the Madrid edition of Oviedo, Vol. III., plate No. 2.

No. 168. PORTUGUESE MAPS AND GLOBE.

Maps made by Estevam Gomez, Hector of Coimbra, Fray Tomás Duran, the Count of Salamanca, Juan de Bejar, and Fray Antonio de Logroño. Also a small globe constructed in Portugal by a great pilot, whose name is unknown, but who was a great drunkard.⁵¹² Those maps are mentioned by Pedro Ruiz de Villegas,⁵¹³ who also declares to having seen more than two hundred maps constructed at the island of Majorca, in Genoa, Venice, and in the province of Biscaya.

No. 169. DELCANO'S GLOBE.

The sphere which Juan Sebastian Delcano bequeathed in his will, when about to die on board the *Victoria* during the expedition of Loaisa, June 26, 1526: "Una esfera roma [?] del mundo."⁵¹⁴

This globe would probably prove to us one of the most interesting of all for that period as exhibiting, doubtless, the hypothesis of Magellan relative to the configuration of the south-west coast of South America, north of 50° south latitude. Judging from the form given by Mercator to that region, it is not certain that South America, in the globe of De Elcano, assumed a perfect pyramidal shape.

No. 170. MAXIMILIANUS TRANSYLVANUS.

Map which Franciscus Monachus ascribes to the secretary of Charles V. ("Maximilianus Transilvanus, à Secretis Cesareæ Majestatis," as he signs himself) in these terms:

⁵¹¹ OVIEDO, *ubi supra*, and p. 107. According to Mr. PERALTA, *op. cit.*, p. 29, note, that lake was also called *Golfo de Chira* and *Golfo de Salinas*.

⁵¹² "Globillo que hizo en Portugal aquel gran Piloto que se emborrachaua cuyo nombre no me acuerdo."—VILLEGAS, quoted by Andres Garcia DE CÉSPEDES,

Cosmographer to PHILIP III., in his *Regimiento de Navegacion*, Madrid, 1606, fol., f^o 148.

⁵¹³ *Ibidem*. As near as we can recollect, there is mention made of a map of GOMEZ in Vol. LXXV., f^o 51, verso, of the Muñoz transcripts.

⁵¹⁴ *Doc. inedit. p. la Hist. de España*; Vol. I., p 265.

“Cæterum vt compendio pergam, ad præsentis sphæræ descriptionem consummatius absoluendam, omnes omnium quos quidem nancissi potui, terræ configurationes contuli, quanquam maxina ex parte inter se discrepantes. Omnium autem pulcherrimam sphæram videre contigit, præclari illius et famigerati Maximiliani Transsylvani, verum licet industrie, periteque adornatæ et effectæ, non tamen meum appono calculum, vel reclamante quam libet peritorum nautarum assensu. Etenim Culvacanam illi ab orientalibus oris interstitio maris dirimunt, at nos supra ostendimus Culvacanam cum dom. mag. Can coniunctos habere limites.”

“To make this present description of the globe⁵¹⁵ in a complete manner I have collected all the maps of the earth which I could find, although nearly all differ from each other. The most beautiful of them is that of the illustrious Maximilian of Transylvania. But, although it was constructed with much care and skill, I do not approve of it in every respect, notwithstanding the fact that many able navigators share his opinion in separating Calvacania⁵¹⁶ from the eastern countries by a sea; for, as I have shown above, Calvacania is joined to the empire of the Great Khan.”⁵¹⁷

As Maximilianus Transylvanus is the author of the letter addressed from Valladolid in October, 1522, to the Cardinal of Salzburg, giving the first account which appeared in print of Magellan's voyage, thus showing a taste for geography, he may also have been supposed to be the maker of the map. But, whether he constructed it himself, or, what is much more probable, caused a Seville or Valladolid cartographer to make it, the data were Spanish. Yet its configurations must have differed in an important respect from the works of the Sevillian Hydrography, as exhibited, for instance, in the Weimar charts. These leave absolutely blank and undefined the west coasts of the New World, from the point where Magellan left it, by 50° south latitude, to 10° north latitude, and from “Guatimula” to the Arctic regions; so that back of the eastern borders of Mexico or Calvacania, nothing whatever is depicted. Franciscus Monachus takes upon himself, in his globe, to fill that immense gap between the New World and the Old with continental lands, which stretch (hypothetically in 1526) first from the strait of Magellan to Peru, and then from Guatemala to Cathay by an unbroken line of coasts north of the equator; thus blending America with Asia. That is an innovation of his own, although the probability is that Schönner also imagined such a connection so early as 1523. This, of course, did not exist in the map of Maximilianus, any more than in Weimar charts; but it must have exhibited traces of an

⁵¹⁵ The globe Franciscus Monachus alludes to is either the Carondelet globe or the mappamundi inserted in the text of the treatise *De Orbis situ* (*infra*, Nos. 171 and 172). But we think that he refers to the former.

⁵¹⁶ “Calvacania” is the name given to the Mexican regions, and was borrowed from the *Enchiridion* of ANGHIERA.

⁵¹⁷ *De Orbis situ*, verso of the 7th leaf.

hypothetical Pacific Ocean, since the Belgian monk reproaches him with "separating Calvacania from the empire of the Great Khan *by a sea.*" The presumption, therefore, is that the map of Maximilianus depicted the entire west coast of America, such as we see it in the Maggiolo chart of 1527 and in the Verrazanean maps.

No. 171. THE CARONDELET GLOBE.

In the letter of thanks addressed by Jean de Carondelet, Archbishop of Palermo, to the Franciscan friar Franciscus, who had dedicated to him the treatise *De Orbis Situ*,⁵¹⁸ we notice the following sentence :

"Orbis globum, in quo terræ ac maria luculenter depicta sunt, una cum epistola accepimus:—A globe of the world, in which the lands and the seas are elegantly depicted, together with an epistle, I accept."

This we understand to refer to a globe different and more important than the small woodcuts of a sphere inserted in the first two editions of that treatise. "Luculenter" is certainly too strong an expression for such diminutive and elementary configurations as are set forth in that poor engraving, and inserted in the text of a pamphlet.

Taking as a basis the woodcut in the *De Orbis Situ*, we assume that the Carondelet-Franciscus "elegant globe" must have shown the following geographical configurations :

It set forth the east coast of the New World in a continuous line from the Labrador country to the Floridian peninsula, which was duly labelled *Terra* (not *Isla*) *Florida*. The gulf of Mexico was then depicted with the addition of the now famous Calvacana, and of a strait cutting in two the isthmus of Darien. Westward, on what we call the Pacific side, the coast was carried north-westerly, but made to merge, near the equator, with Asia, which itself was blended at the north with Europe. As to the north-east coast, we can easily ascertain what was its configuration, south of Newfoundland, from the following sentence :

"Septentrionalium descriptionem insularum, ac litorum, cum ex Marco Beneventano mutuatus sum, tum vero ex navigationibus receptis, probatisque conflavi:—I have borrowed the description of the northern islands and shores from Marcus Beneventanus, and arranged the same according to the navigations accepted and proved."

⁵¹⁸ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 131.

Newfoundland, therefore, was brought close to the mainland,⁵¹⁹ which continued southwards so as to join Florida; and along that new coast, between those two regions, could be read the Cantino-Ruysch nomenclature. The first inference to be drawn from this fact is that, in this globe, the Atlantic seaboard of the present United States were not delineated from an already-existing Spanish map, but only as a coast line rendered necessary by the adoption of the Americo-Asiatic western link; confirmed, perhaps, by a rumour of the recent Spanish discoveries. The latter supposition is borne out by the *Sumario* of Oviedo, which appeared in print, and mentions, so far back as February, 1526, the expedition of Estevam Gomez "a la parte del Norte"; while, on the other hand, Franciscus Monachus certainly identified in his mind the continent of North America with Ruysch's northern delineations. As to the hypothetical strait, which also figures in the Maggiolo map, and is represented as leading across the isthmus of Darien, Franciscus was not convinced of its existence. This we infer from the concluding sentence of the important extract of the *De Orbis Situ* which we have already given:

"Atque ipsam præterea Americam Orientalibus et Culucanæ connexam esse, quanquam hoc postrerum nondum certo nobis constat fieritamen potest vt nunc hispanis non sit ignotum:—America itself is joined to the eastern regions and to Calvacania, though the latter fact is not proved absolutely. Still, it may be that this, to-day, is not unknown to the Spaniards."

In that passage, by "America," Franciscus means the southern continent only, which exclusively bears that name in so many of the Lusitano-Germanic maps. What we call Central America and Mexico, were to him "Calvacania," which he could not then affirm to be absolutely connected with South America.

Franciscus Monachus may have been himself the constructor of the Carondelet globe. Ortelius in his catalogue of the maps used for composing the *Theatrum* of 1570, mentions the following:

"Franciscus Monachus Mechliniensis Regiones Septentrionales; Antuerpiæ, apud Syluestrum à Parisiis."

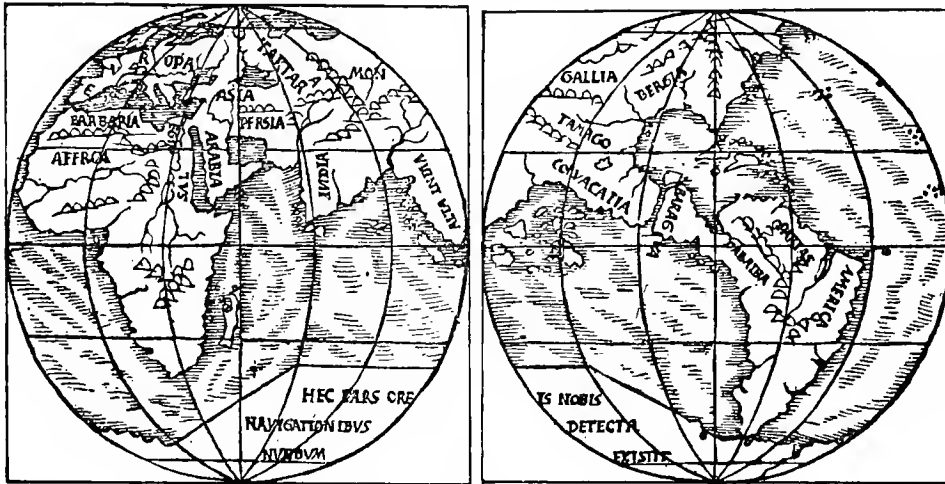
We must add that one of the most reliable bibliographical historians of the order of Franciscans, Juan de San Antonio, recognises in the maker of the map cited by Ortelius, the Franciscus Monachus who wrote

⁵¹⁹ RUYSCH's connection of the two worlds is limited to Newfoundland or Labrador; and he considered the north-western continental regions south of Newfoundland (which he had borrowed exclusively from a Lusitano-Germanic

map), as entirely distinct from the Asiatic continent, of which his *Terra Nova* was a mere prolongation. See *supra*, pp. 133 and 450, and particularly the facsimile of a section of his mappamundi, *supra*, No. 76.

the treatise *De orbis situ*. It is not impossible therefore, that a cosmographer competent to construct maps of the Northern regions of sufficient importance to be used by Ortelius, may have been able to design the required mappamundi or globe.

No. 172. FRANCISCUS MONACHUS.



Each of these two spheres measures 66 by 66 mm., and was engraved on a separate block. They belong to the treatise *De Orbis Situ*,⁵²⁰ which was written apparently in 1526, by a Belgian monk called Franciscus, but whose real name seems to be François Le Moyne,⁵²¹ and who is said to have been of Malines.⁵²²

In that mappamundi both North and South America are depicted from the Arctic regions to the Strait of Magellan, and westward; with no other break than a narrow strait which severs the Isthmus of Darien. But near the equator, at the west, the coast line instead of continuing its course towards the north, is carried westwardly until the New World is made to merge with Asia.

The western hemisphere contains nine names, two of which belong to Asia, viz.: “[Mon]golia,” and “Bergia,” which is the Bargu of Marco Polo,⁵²³ placed by the Venetian traveller in the north-eastern extremity

⁵²⁰ See *infra*, p. 551, for a bibliographical description.

⁵²¹ “Franciscus Monachus, et familiæ nomine et professione.” Valerius ANDREAS, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1643, page 234.

⁵²² “F. Franciscus Macliniense,” *Epitome of PINELO*, p. 175. “Franciscus Monachus Mechliniensis,” J. DE

SAN ANTONIO, *Bibliot. Francisc. Univ.*, Vol. I., p. 409.

⁵²³ This is shown by the inscription “Campestria bergi,” in the maps of SLOANE and FINÆUS, which corresponds with what MARCO POLO says, “que en apelle le plain de barga;” *Le divinement dou monde*; Paris: National Library, MSS., Fr. No. 11116, cap. lxx.

of Cathay. The others are "Tamago" (Tamaho),⁵²⁴ "Covacala" (Calvacania),⁵²⁵ "Barag" (Veragua), "Dabaiba," and AMERICA.⁵²⁶

Small and incomplete as that map is, it presents considerable interest as being the earliest one now existing, where North America, south of the parallel of Newfoundland, is represented as a mere prolongation of Asia; for Ruysch's mappamundi imparts that character only to the most northern American regions. It is also the first map which we possess where the north-east coast, according to true geographical conceptions, exhibits an unbroken coast line from Labrador to Florida. Withal, we must not be understood to mean that a short time previous to the publications and spheres of Franciscus Monachus, there may not have been a globe uniting already the New World with the Old on the Asiatic side, and setting forth similar north-eastern configurations. In describing the tract written by Johann Schöner to accompany his globe of 1523, now lost, we have, on the contrary, expressed the opinion that he must have introduced then geographical delineations of that character. Nay, the more we study the question, the more we become convinced that, notwithstanding the statements of Franciscus Monachus ascribing to Ruysch the origin of his cosmographical data, particularly for the north-eastern regions, he has known and been influenced by the now lost globe of Schöner⁵²⁷ of 1523; which doubtless united at the east, the entire coast line with the seaboard of the Gulf of Mexico; as that was a

⁵²⁴ It is the "Tamahox provincia," in Mexico, first mentioned in the map of GARAY, and as "Tamaho," in that of CORTÉS.

⁵²⁵ That name was borrowed from ANGHIERA's account of Yucatan: "Caluacam, aliàs Oloan, ab accolis hæc tellus appellat." *De Insulis nuper inventis*, f^o 69, D, ed. of 1533, with the Decades. It is the *Culiacan* and *Culnacam* of the Gilt Globe, of the Nancy Globe, and of LOK's map.

⁵²⁶ LELEWEL in his artificial reproduction of this little globe, blending the two hemispheres in one, and making of the whole an elliptical mappamundi (*Franciscus monachus ordinis franciscanorum* 1526, plate 46, of the Atlas accompanying his *Géogr. du Moyen Age*), has added several names taken from the text of the treatise. Among these we notice *Cubiaccana*, which together with *Terra florida*, and even *Bergia*, although it figures already in BEHAIM ("Bergi eingross Konigreich") and RUYSCH ("Bergi extrema" on the map, and cap. v. of MARCUS BENEVENTANUS' Commentary), constitute distinctive traits of that class of maps.

⁵²⁷ The eastern profiles of the northern configurations extending in RUYSCH from his 75° to 25° north latitude, never could yield the form given to that region in the globe of FRANCISCUS MONACHUS; as can be seen by uniting the sections in RUYSCH, and imparting to the whole the projection employed by FRANCISCUS. On the other hand, those profiles in the globe of the latter resemble in a very great degree those of SCHÖNER's globe of 1533, which we consider to be a slightly modified copy of the same in his lost globe of 1523. Then where did FRANCISCUS borrow the notion and form of the antarctic lands, if it be not from one of SCHÖNER's globes? Nay, the pyramidal shape given by FRANCISCUS to the South American continent is also Schönerean, and in the altered form adopted by the Nuremberg mathematician after 1520, as is shown by the recess and profile of its Pacific coast by 45° south latitude in the globe of 1533. These and other reasons would have led us to make the evolution described *supra*, pp. 281-284, date from SCHÖNER's globe of 1523, if the Weimar copy had reached us in time to compare the two globes.

necessity after joining westward America with Asia. It should be added, however, that Schöner derived the idea of the connection imagined by him to exist between the two worlds, from the account recently published of Magellan's voyage; ⁵²⁸ whilst Franciscus Monachus clearly says that the details of the conquest of Mexico just made known, are the source from which he inferred the identity supposed by him to exist between Asia and America. ⁵²⁹

The blending of the two worlds is the distinctive trait of the globe inserted in the treatise of Franciscus Monachus; but, as we have already stated, the notion was entertained by Schöner, and was most probably set forth graphically in his globe of 1523. The Carondelet globe, of which the above woodcut can only be an abridgment, we also believe to have exhibited that novel configuration. But as these two geographical monuments no longer exist, and our descriptions are to a certain extent necessarily hypothetical, we are bound, in the present state of the question, to make of the present the starting point of the chronology of the now existing specimen of that class of spheres and maps:

The Gilt globe, *circa* 1528.

The Sloane map, *circa* 1530.

Double cordiform mappamundi of Finæus, 1531.

Schöner's Weimar globe, 1533.

The Wooden globe, *circa* 1535.

The Nancy globe, *circa* 1535.

Single cordiform mappamundi No. 2, of
Finæus, 1536.

Globe of Caspar Vopell, 1542 (?), 1543, and
his mappamundi, 1556 (in Girava).

Francesco Gisolfo (?). ⁵³¹

Mappamundi of Gastaldi, 1546, 1548 (in the
Ptolemy), and in the copies or counterfeits
engraved by Forlani, 1562, 1570; by Giov.
Francesco Camotio, 1562; by C. Duchet,
1570; and by Christoforo Blanco, 1599.

Hhâggy Ahhmed's, 1558—1560.

Mappamundi of Honter, 1561.

Globe of Prætorius (in Nuremberg), 1566.

Cimerlino's edition of the 1536 Finæus, 1566.

Myritius, 1587 (published in 1590). ⁵³⁰

The relative importance of the *De orbis situ* of Franciscus Monachus, and of the geographical notions it advocates, prompt us to enter again into minute bibliographical details.

The book was printed at least three times; twice *sine anno*, and the third time with the date of 1565; but in every instance without modifications in the text, or reference to previous editions. The *princeps* was published at Antwerp, by Martin Lempereur, under the following title:

⁵²⁸ *Supra*, No. 147, p. 519.

⁵²⁹ *Supra*, p. 284.

⁵³⁰ MYRITIUS (Joannis), *Opusculum Geographicum*

rarum, totius ejvs negotii rationem, complectens; Ingolstadt., 1590, fol.

⁵³¹ WUTKE, *Geschichte der Erkunde*, p. 61, pl. vi., g.

De orbis || situ ac descriptione, ad Re || uerendiss. D. archiepiscopum Panormitanum, || Francisci, Monachi ordinis Franciscani, epistola sane quā luculenta. In qua || Ptolemæi, cæterorumque supe || riorum geographorum hal || lucinatio refellitur. || aliaque; præterea || de recens || inuen || tis || terris, mari, insulis. Deditio papæ Ioannis De situ || Paradisi, et dimensione miliarium ad pro || portionem graduum cæli, præclara || et memoratu digna recen || sentur ||

Colophon :

Excudebat Martinus Cae || sar, expensis honesti viri Rolandi Bollaert, com- || morantis Antuerpiæ iuxta portam Ca || mere sub intersigno maio- || ris falconis albi.

It is a 12mo, of 1 l. for title and 14 unnumbered ll. for text; on the verso of the last there is the mark of the printer, with his well-known motto: *Sola fides sufficit*, and the date of 1525. On the verso of the title page is seen a woodcut of the eastern hemisphere, and on the recto of the following leaf one of the western hemisphere.⁵³²

The other edition⁵³³ was printed with the same characters, justification, &c., as the former, and by the same printer; presenting the same text throughout, and the same woodcuts. The differences lie in the title, which is in ten lines only, instead of sixteen; and in the eastern hemisphere being printed on the title-page, the verso of which is blank.

But this edition has been found twice bound with a work printed by the same printer, of the same size and with the same type, viz.:

*Appendi || ces Ioannis Schöner || Charolipolitani in || opusculum Globi Astriferi nu || per ab eodem æditum. ||*⁵³⁴

Colophon :

Antuerpiæ ex officina typographica Marti- || ni Cæsaris. Impensis honesti viri Rolandi || Bollardi. An. M.D.XXVII. ||

The present contains also at end the mark of Martin Lempereur, dated 1525. Our impression, however, is that it must be a second edition, which was made to accompany this reprint of 1527 of Schöner's tract, and that the edition first above described, and which is always found separately, is the *princeps*.

Now, when was the latter printed? Necessarily after 1525, since it contains a printer's mark dated of that year; but how long afterwards?

On the verso of the 14th leaf, we notice the following passage :

“Præterea inventa anno abhinc millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo sexto, terra longitudine . o . meridionali latitudine . 52 . partium cultoribus vacua . Reliqua australis oræ etiānum in obscuro latent :—Moreover, in the year 1526, a land has been discovered by o° longitude, and 52° south latitude, which is not inhabited. The other parts of that austral country are yet in the dark.”

⁵³² See the facsimile which heads the present article. That edition is fully described in our *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 131. We have used for the present study the copy in the Paris National Library, *Invent. G. 10,622*, the woodcut and maps in which are coloured by hand.

⁵³³ We are indebted for a description of that edition to Messrs. Ildobrando ROSSI, of Rome, and Max KANTOROWICZ, of Milan.

⁵³⁴ This work is only a reprint, with the same title, of the edition published at Nuremberg by Johann STUCHS in 1518, 4to.

What is that austral country beginning on a line with the initial meridian, and in such extreme southern latitude, which Franciscus Monachus says was discovered in 1526? The latter date can only be a *lapsus pennæ*, as no such discovery was accomplished in that year. As to the country itself, we have only to compare its delineation and position in Franciscus' woodcuts with the antarctic land in the various globes of Schöner, to see at a glance that it can only be the region on which the Nuremberg mathematician has inscribed, in 1533, the legend: "Terra Australis recenter inventa, sed nondum plene cognita." The difference is that Franciscus makes another *lapsus* in inserting in his map the following statement:

"Hec pars ore [*sic pro orb*] is nobis navigationibus detecta nondum existit:—This part of the world has not yet been discovered [*sic*] in our navigations."

Franciscus evidently meant that the country had not been entirely explored or made known, since he says so explicitly in his text, adding even a latitude and a longitude, and configures the region in his map. That austral land is the one which Schöner had already depicted in his globes of 1515 and 1520, and named, first "Brasilie Regio," and then "Brasilie inferior;" but on which, in consequence of Magellan's discovery, he inscribed afterwards,—apparently so early as 1523,—the legend conveying the information that the country had been recently discovered, and was yet imperfectly known. Now, Schöner must have constructed a number of globes between 1523 and 1533; and it may be that Franciscus saw one, made in 1526, which led him to adopt the latter date as his interpretation of the "recenter inventa" in connection with the austral land. If so, the *De Orbis situ* was printed in or shortly after 1526.

Regarding the edition of 1565, which was published by Withagius, also at Antwerp, it presents precisely the same text as the preceding, but does not contain the above described woodcuts of a globe.⁵³⁵

We have been unable to ascertain anything personal concerning the author. Franciscus Monachus means both "Francis the Monk," and "François Le Moyne," which is a very common French and Brabant family name. Valerius Andreas seems to solve the question in stating that Monachus was the title of his profession and at the same time his family name: "Franciscus Monachus, et familiæ nomine et professione." The bibliographers of the Franciscan Order shared that opinion, as in

⁵³⁵ Mr. R. GARNETT, of the British Museum kindly informs us that the two woodcuts are replaced in this edition by a small globe in a stand, which is printed on the verso of the title page.

the *Index cognominum* of the supplement to Wadding's *Scriptores ordinis Minorum*,⁵³⁶ he figures as follows: "Monachus franciscus."

Juan de San Antonio⁵³⁷ says, after Ortelius and Andreas, that he was of Malines: "Mechliniensis," but adds that he is the author of a series of maps and descriptions of the Northern regions: "Regiones septentrionalis in tabulas descripsit et conspiciendas dedit Ibid. Typis Silvestri a Parisijs." Now, we find no traces of a Parisian bookseller or printer of that name. There have been many Sevestres, but commencing only in 1583 (Lottin). On the other hand, Lasor also mentions those "tabulas,"⁵³⁸ adding: "Antwerp, 1565, 4to.," mistaking evidently these supposed maps with the third edition of the *De Orbis Situ*.

As to the Archbishop of Palermo, to whom the treatise is dedicated, it is the celebrated Jean de Carondelet, who could be addressed under that title ever since 1523,⁵³⁹ and even 1520,⁵⁴⁰ and who died in 1544.

1527.

No. 173. VESCONTE DE MAGGIOLO.

It is a planisphere in two sheets, on vellum, measuring together 1700 by 600 mm., preserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, at Milan, and bearing the following inscription:

"Vesconte de Maiollo conposuy hanc cartan in Janua anno dñy. 1527, die xx Decenbris."⁵⁴¹

In this valuable map, which has recently been shown to have been constructed not in 1587, as the altered date had led geographers to believe, but in 1527, the west coast of the New World, which the Weimar charts yet leave completely blank, is carried from the Strait of Magellan to 35° north latitude, with no other break than a narrow strait cut across Honduras, but bearing this inscription: "Streito dubitoso." Although that expression was already used by Pedrarias Dairla in 1525, the strait is placed here too far north to have been derived from some Spanish map sent by Pedrarias to Charles V.; as at that time the hypothetical passage

⁵³⁶ *Supplementum et castigatio ad scriptores trium ordinis S. Francisci a Waddingo aliisque descriptos*; Romæ, 1806, fol., p. lxxi.

⁵³⁷ DE SAN ANTONIO, *Bibliot. Francisc. Universa*; Matriti, 1732, fol., Vol. I., p. 409. All we could find on that point is an inference borrowed from a comparison in the *De Orbis Situ* indicating a familiar acquaintance with Malines and its vicinity: "Et leve iter, quale (ut

rex exemplo signem) est ab urbe Mechlinia ad vicum Walhemensem, quem vocant."

⁵³⁸ LASOR, *Univ. terrarum orbis script.*; Patavii, 1713, fol., Vol. II., p. 409,

⁵³⁹ FOPPENS, *Bibliot. Belgica*, Vol. II., p. 604.

⁵⁴⁰ PIERRHI, *Sicilia Sacra*; Panorm., 1733, fol., f. 188, and table.

⁵⁴¹ See *supra*, p. 217, facsimile of map and inscription.

was supposed to be an outlet of the Lake of Nicaragua. From that strait the coast is depicted in the form of a narrow elbow commencing in the latitude of the city of Mexico, and continuing its curve so as to make of the country west of the great Mexican Gulf, and of our Southern States, particularly near the Carolinas, a relatively narrow strip of land, bordered on the west by the "Mare Indicum." It is the "little necke of land" mentioned by Hakluyt. Across the site of the present United States, we read in large letters *FRANCESCA*, rendered still more effective by the addition of the royal flag of France with the lilies.

Our theory is that the present map of Maggiolo represents closely a prototype, still unknown, on which were inscribed Verrazanian data, shortly after the return of the Florentine navigator. The designation "Francesca," the French flag, and the series of French names, nearly all of which are reproduced in the map of Verrazano, are proofs to that effect. Yet, the latter cannot be said to be an immediate derivative of the prototype used by Maggiolo, as this cosmographer alone gives several French names, such as "Normanvilla," and particularly another name which Hieronymo could have scarcely omitted if he had seen it. We refer to "Lorto de rucelay," which must doubtless be interpreted by "Rucelay's garden." Now this name recalls in the highest degree that Zanobis de Rousselay, who, with Hieronymo, was the attorney in fact of Giovanni da Verrazano⁵⁴² at Rouen in 1525 and 1526.

Acting upon the necessary presumption that both Maggiolo and Hieronymo were perfectly well informed of the results of Verrazano's voyage, we can realise the impression produced on them by the sight of the passage depicted in their model chart; and which, let it not be forgotten, already figures on the mappamundi of Franciscus Monachus engraved at the latest in 1526. Maggiolo copied the strait servilely, but mitigated the error by adding the legend: "Streito dubitoso:—This is a doubtful strait." Hieronymo, on the contrary, rejected it altogether; otherwise, he would have cast a slur upon his brother, who had been sent across the Atlantic by Francis I., to find that hypothetical passage: "con intenzione di giusta sua possa, discoprire il Cataio," according to the Carli letter.

The importance of this map was first made known by M. Cornelio Desimoni,⁵⁴³ as a weighty argument in the controversy concerning the

⁵⁴² Document in *La Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature*, Paris, January, 1876, p. 22.

⁵⁴³ DESIMONI, *Allo studio secondo intorno a Giovanni Verrazzano*, Append. III., Genova, 1882, pp. 81-104.

authenticity of the voyage of Verrazano across the ocean in 1523-1524. It is unquestionable that the designations: "Francesca" and "Terra Francesca nuper lustrata," with a series of French names and the royal arms of France in maps of 1527 and 1529, not to speak just now of the corroboration furnished by other maps and globes of about the same period,⁵⁴⁴ confirm the statements made in the middle of the sixteenth century by Ramusio⁵⁴⁵ and others, as regards a French voyage of discovery to our north-east coast, accomplished before the expeditions of Jacques Cartier, who visited North America for the first time in 1534. What could that early French exploration be if it was not Verrazano's?

The new names inscribed on Maggiolo's map are the following:

ON NEWFOUNDLAND:

| | | |
|------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Ben posta | A baia de crvx | S. Franc ^a |
| A baia de padrum | A baia de Zacaria | Rio de Spera |
| Rio Jordan | Rio Santo | Crux (p. de) |

NORTH-EAST COAST AND FLORIDA:

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| C. grosso | Lorto de rucelay | La Trinita | La nunceata |
| Santiago | El paladiso | Caregi | G. de la foresta |
| Terra de muita gente | Saminito (S. Miniato?) | Monicelli | P. de diluvio ⁵⁴⁹ |
| I ^a de S. Joan | Costa de S. Jeorgi | La Scaridas | Valle vnbroza |
| C. de berton | Armelines siltes | Sauleum pormtorius | Anaflor [Honfleur] |
| Ponta de diamante | Vidanus pormtorius | Baduaria | P. de lisola |
| Palatium pormtorius | Isola Maiolla jenoesa ⁵⁴⁷ | Corte majore | Diepa |
| Le figole de nauarus ⁵⁴⁸ | La Jarcossa | Jovium pormtorius ⁵⁴⁸ | Abadia de garai |
| Cressuy pormtorius | C. S. gallo | | |

The merit of having detected the alteration introduced in the original date of the present map belongs to the learned Abbé Ceriani, to whom we are indebted for a full-size photograph of that most important cartographical monument. See, *supra*, page 217, and facsimile.

No. 174. ROBERT THORNE'S.

Map sent from Seville by an English merchant, called Robert Thorne, to the Ambassador of Henry VIII. in Spain, and bearing this title:

"This is the form of a Mapped sent 1527 from Siuil in Spayne by maister Robert Thorne marchaunt, to Doctor Ley, Embassadour from King Henry the 8. to Charles the Emperour."

⁵⁴⁴ *Infra, sub anni*, 1528, 1531, 1535, 1536, &c.

⁵⁴⁵ RAMUSIO, *Terzo Volume*. 1565, f^o 420-422.

⁵⁴⁶ On three small islands.

⁵⁴⁷ Must we infer that there was a Genoese MAGGIOLO

in VERRAZANO'S voyage of discovery? Else, how to account for such a name given to an island?

⁵⁴⁸ "Refugium Promont.," in ULPPIUS.

⁵⁴⁹ "Punta del Olivo," in ULPPIUS.

It is roughly engraved on wood, 440 by 270 mm., very incomplete, even for the time, and an extremely poor specimen of the Sevillan hydrography. Hakluyt describes it as follows :

“ This carde, though little, conteyneth the vniversall whole worlde betwixte the two collateral lines, the one in the occidentall parte descendeth perpendicular vppon the 175 degree and the other in the oriental in the 170 degree, whose distaunce measureth the scale of longitude.”⁵⁵⁰

The degrees are not marked in crossed lines, but Hakluyt, in the curious cosmographical dissertation accompanying his sketch of the map, indicates the manner in which we may supply this desideratum by means of a rule applied to the divisions marked in the border. The new continent is given only in a summary outline, but we notice on the Pacific side an extent of coasts far greater than is marked on the anonymous Weimar chart, although the latter was likewise made in 1527, and at Seville. We are inclined to think, therefore, that it was re-touched by Hakluyt. Thorne says that the map was communicated to him by a Sevillan pilot, and begs Dr. Ley to show it only to a few persons, from fear of causing trouble on that account to the obliging mariner :

“ This Carde, says he, is not to be showed or communicated there with many of that Courte. For though there is nothing in it prejudiciall to the Emperour, yet it may bee a cause of paine to the maker : as well for that none may make these cardes but certaine appointed and allowed for masters.”⁵⁵¹

That is to say, the cartographer not having deemed it expedient to obtain the approbation of the Pilot-Major for his indifferent performance, feared to be fined on that account, according to law.

This is the earliest map where Florida is called “*Terra florida.*” The Pacific is named “*Mare Australe,*” and the Strait of Magellan “*Strictum Omnium Sanctorum.*” Along the north-east coast we read : “*Terra nec ab Anglis primum fuit inuenta.*” The original is lost. We only possess a sort of facsimile published by Hakluyt, which has been reproduced by Nordenskiöld, plate xli.

No. 175. LUIS DE CARDENAS'.

Map of New Spain, on parchment, composed of four parts, each representing one of the four great lordships :

“*Figura de los Reynos de la Nueva España en quatro partidas, de quatro grandes Señores.*”

⁵⁵⁰ *Divers voyages touching the Discouerie of America,* and *Principall Navigations*, Vol. I., p. 220.
London, 1582, 4to ; p. 52 of the Hakluyt Society reprint,

⁵⁵¹ *Ibidem.*

Luis de Cardenas sent it to Charles V. from Seville, August 30, 1527, with an important geographical memorial.⁵⁵²

No. 176. VENETIAN PRINTED MAP.

Mappamundi printed at Venice in 1527. It belonged to the private collection of Fernando Columbus, who describes it as follows :

“Vn mapamundi en seys pliegos y al fin occidente del mundo nvevo, comiença una escritura de tres renglones diciendo, populares exterior . Fue impreso en Venecia á 29 de Abril de 1527 . Jamaica tiene al occidente quatro islotes y no ay Yucatan.”⁵⁵³

This map no longer exists in the Biblioteca Colombina, and we have failed to find it in any of the European collections.

No. 177. ANONYMOUS WEIMAR MAP.

It is a planisphere, 2160 by 864 mm., preserved in the Grand Ducal Library at Weimar, and bearing the following inscription :

“Carta universal en qve se contiene todo lo qve del Mvndo se a descvbierto fasta aora hizola vn cosmographo de Sv Magestad Anno M.D.xxvii en Sevilla:—Universal map containing all that which has been discovered of the World to the present. Made by a cosmographer of His Majesty, in the year 1527, at Seville.”

By the legend: “Tierra que aora va a poblar panfilo de narbaes:—Country which Pamphilo de Narvaez is going to settle,” Kohl has shown that the map was designed before June 17, 1527, as that is the date when Narvaez sailed from Sanlucar on his expedition. It is the earliest complete specimen which we possess of a chart made with data collected in the “Casa de Contratacion”; and, on that account, of great importance; but it was certainly not drawn by Fernando Columbus, and must be ascribed simply to one of the various Crown cartographers who, at all times in Seville, copied and sold such maps to anybody. Yet, the peculiar spelling “Juhan” instead of “Juan,” which we notice in the map of Ribero, contradicts the opinion that he also made the present.

The nomenclature, which is very rich, has been reproduced in all subsequent Sevillian charts. The same may be said of the configurations, until the first voyage of Pizarro to Peru caused cartographers to add a

⁵⁵² *Coleccion de Documentos ineditos de Indias*, Vol. XL., p. 273; but we take our information from the Muñoz transcripts, Vol. LXXV., f^o. 35.

⁵⁵³ *Catalogo de Estampas. De picturis quas Colon adqviviserat.* MS. The original of this catalogue was for sale a few years ago in London.

portion of the Pacific coast, which begins to appear with the Ribeiro map of 1529. But there are other details not to be found in the latter, such, for instance, as the course of certain rivers. The large stream in the "Country of Gomez," which is perhaps the Bay of Fundy, extends in the present map fifteen degrees further inland; and, whilst the mighty Amazona ("Maranhom") is represented by Ribeiro in the form of an outlet, however wide, the Weimar 1527 map ascribes to it a course of nearly twenty-five degrees, with sub-divisions, and a point of departure in the vicinity of high mountains, much as it is in reality. This last trait is to be noted as indicating the source of delineations found in many atlases (Agnese's) and globes (the Gilt and the Nancy globes) which have been supposed to date only from the time when Francisco de Orellana reconnoitred that immense river in 1541, by order of Gonzalo Pizarro.

For a complete description, we refer to the facsimile and excellent analysis given by Kohl,⁵⁵⁴ and limit our task to recalling the names which appear in that map for the first time, viz.:

NEWFOUNDLAND :

| | | |
|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Y. de la fortuna | B. de las gamas | C. de março |
| Y. de saualos | Y. del fuego | C. de buena ventura |
| C. hermosso | Ysleos de las aues | |

NORTH-EAST COAST :

| | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| <i>Tierra</i> de los bretones | S. Juhan baptista | B. de S. Antonio |
| R. de la buelta | R. de buena madre | B. de S. xpoual |
| C. de muchas islas | Montana verde | R. de S. Juhan |
| | Tierra del licenciado ayllon | |

GULF OF MEXICO :

| | | |
|----------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| B. de Juhan ponçe | R. de S. benito | G. de cauallos |
| R. de nieves | Ys. de lobos | La fondura |
| R. de Flores | Villa rica | Mar de la tierra |
| El cañaueral | Mexico | C. (San ?) Thorne |
| Motas de S. Salvador | R. de S. xpoual | Cartago |
| Mar pequeña | R. salado | G. [C]otoche |
| C. de † | R. de perdicion | Y. de Mujeres |
| R. del oro | R. de gasacalcos | Cozumel |
| R. scondido | R. de S. blas | Cariay |
| La madalena | R. de la baila | P. blanca |
| R. hermosso | R. des bocas | |

⁵⁵⁴ KOHL, *Die beiden ältesten General Karten von Amerika*; Weimar, 1860, large folio. See also LINDE-NAU, *Über eine merkwürdige alte Weltkarte vom Jahre*

1527, in the *Monatliche Correspondenz zur beförderung der Erd und Himmels-Kunde*, of F. VON ZACH; Gotha, 1810, Vol. XXII., pp. 342-382.


PACIFIC COAST :

| | | |
|-------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Tierras de gil goncalez | P. de baxos | Y. de S. maria |
| Dauila | P. de flecheros | Y de gatos |
| Las sierras dardeña | C. hermoso | P. de cebaco |
| Playas de cerezeda | G. S. catalina | P. de buonauista |
| Playas de 2 rios | Nicaragua | P. de guera |
| La punta del pico | G. de S. Iago | Panama |
| R. de S. gregorio | B. de S. vicente | P. de chame |
| R. ciego | Y. del caño | Y. de parlas |
| Los puercos | P. de S. andres | G. de 3 migel |
| Rostro fragoso | P. de brica | Acara |

NORTH COAST OF SOUTH AMERICA :

| | | |
|------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| P. hermoso | Gochire | Boynari |
| Dabaybe | P. seca | Cuman[a] |
| Caribana | . . . de pescadores | P. da raya |
| Aldea de resgate | Higueroto | Costa de lajas |
| La canoa | Perito | R. de pal[s ?]cua |
| Pº de zanba | Portogalete | Maranhom |
| | G. de la aguada | |

BRAZILIAN COAST :

| | | |
|---------------------|--|-------------------------------------|
| C. de S. Roque | C. de S. antonio | B. de St. iago |
| R. de las estrellas | P. de S. elena | R. de S. ylafonso |
| R. de [S.] Jorge | Tierra de los humos | Estrecho de fernam de Magallanes |
| Baxos de los pargos | Barreras blancas | B. de la uictoria |
| B. del saluador | B. sin fondo | . . . del norte |
| Sierra de S. lucia | Arrecifes de los lobos | Arciepelago del cabo deseado |
| R. de la Judia | Tierra de março | Lago de los estrechos |
| R. del extremo | C. blanco | Tierra de los fuegos |
| R. de S. francisco | R. de Juhan Serrano | Sierras neuadas |
| Tierra de Solis | R. de la  | |
| | Canpana de roldan. ⁵⁵⁵ | |

1528.

No. 178. BENEDETTO BORDONE.

Maps inserted in Bordone's work originally called *Libro*, afterwards *Isolario*, and printed for the first time at Venice ⁵⁵⁶ in 1528. Lelewel

⁵⁵⁵ The gunner of the *Concepcion* in Magellan's expedition was called Roldan DE ARGOTE.

⁵⁵⁶ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 145, and *Additions*, No. 107, page 112.

expressed the opinion⁵⁵⁷ that the present was completed so early as 1521. His grounds for such a belief were the privilege on the verso of the title page, which, having been granted by Leo X., who died June 21, 1521, implies of course that the work thus copy-righted was anterior to that date, and a statement borrowed from a letter addressed to that Pope by the Bishop of Rakow, in Poland (?), where mention is made of one of the maps in the book. Lelewel's opinion, however, is liable to serious objections. In the first place, the phrase of the said bishop refers only to the map of "Norbegia," and not to the entire *Isolario*. Then the privilege of the Pope is given not to Bordone, but to the printer, Nicolo d'Aristotile, and embraces books in general, without mentioning the present one. On the other hand, what Bordone asked of the Senate of Venice, and this only March 6th, 1526, was simply the usual privilege for ten years.⁵⁵⁸ Finally, the lengthy description of Mexico, together with the plan of the city of Temistitan, are clearly taken from the translation into Italian of the *Carta de Relacion* of Cortés, made by Nicolo Liburnio, and printed at Venice by Bernardino de Viano de Lexona, August 20, 1524.⁵⁵⁹

Besides the small maps of American islands, there is a mappamundi where the New World represents a continuous coast line, extending from a projecting peninsula, which bears the inscription: "Terra del laboratore," to the southern border of a land named "Mondo Novo," the extremity of which is by about 30° south latitude. This termination, however, is only intended to represent the northern shores of a strait, which is absolutely marked in another small map,⁵⁶⁰ containing the legend: "Stretto p[ar]te del mondo nouo." The other names are replaced by simple letters, which refer to a nomenclature on the back of one of the large maps. The one: "Terra de Santa croce ouer mondo nouo," besides the general context of the configuration, indicates a modified Spanish prototype. Our impression is that, originally, the map was based upon one of the Lusitanian charts of the kind used by Waldseemüller; and that, afterwards, Bordone altered it from a map somewhat similar to the model followed by Maggiolo in 1527.

⁵⁵⁷ "Lo uescouo di Racoscia scrive a Leone summo pontifice hauer veduto (fol. lxxiii). Le pape Leon X., privilégiant le 5 Juin 1521, l'éditeur mourut le 1^{er} décembre de la même année. Bordone en 1527, s'adressait au Sénat de Venise pour préserver son ouvrage de la contrefaçon." LELEWEL, *Géographie du Moyen âge*, Vol. II., page 114.

⁵⁵⁸ The privilege, which is on the verso of the title in all the editions, agrees perfectly with the text of the Register, *Senato Terra (reg. 24) c. 74*, in the State archives at Venice.

⁵⁵⁹ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 129.

⁵⁶⁰ On the verso of f^o. vi.

Withal, if Bordone's mappamundi is remarkable for its projection, it must be considered a poor performance in other respects. Yet F. Leandro Alberti calls Bordone (who did not generally consider himself as a geographer, but as a "miniator" by profession): "prestantissimo Geographo et Cosmographo."⁵⁶¹

For another mappamundi ascribed to him, and constructed so early as 1508, see *supra*, No. 74.

No. 179. PIETRO COPPO.

Map of the world inserted in the *Portolano*⁵⁶² of Pietro Coppo, a Venetian by birth, residing at Isola, near Capodistria. The *Portolano* was printed at Venice, in 1528, by Augustino di Bindoni. As to the map, it is oval, 130 by 70 mm. The New World is represented at the north by an archipelago, the islands in which bear respectively the following names: "Isola uerde, Cuba, Iamaiqua" and "Spagnola," all placed very arbitrarily. South of these there is a continent of an extremely irregular shape, with the inscription: "Mõdo nouo." There are only two copies known of that *Portolano*,⁵⁶³ and the aforesaid map is to be found only in the one which is in the British Museum. It has been facsimiled by Dr. Nordenskiöld, in his *Atlas*, page 103.

No. 180. LORITZ OF GLAREANUS.

In the library of the Munich University they possess the copy of the *Cosmographiæ Introductio* which belonged to Henry Loritz of Glaris, usually called Glareanus. It contains a manuscript map of the world, 240 by 140 mm., and bearing the following inscription:

"Glareanus efformabat, pingebat e speculabatur:—Constructed, painted, and perlustrated by Glareanus."

⁵⁶¹ ALBERTI, *Descrittione di tutta Italia*, Bologna, 1550, fol. f^o 427, verso.

⁵⁶² *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 144.

⁵⁶³ But see in the MS. Depart. of the Paris National Library, *MS. Latin 9663*, a folio vol. containing: *Petri coppi de toto orbe*, 102 ff.; *De Summa totius orbis*, 38 ff.; *Portolani de li lochi maritimi*, 23 ff.; *Peritio Saniuto al suo cordiale amico Antonio Albertino*, 69 ff.; the latter including an Italian version, whilst the first part of the volume contains what we suppose to be the original Latin text of the printed book. No map,—only a zodiac. See ff. 130-140 and 301-302, for the account of "Columbo Zenouese" and of "Alonso negro (i. e. Niño);" which

mistake betrays the *Paesi* as the source of information. We are unable to say whether this work differs from the MS. mentioned by MORELLI, *Lettera rarissima*, p. 64, and from the one which is preserved in the Marciana (Cod. 146, cl. x., Latin). COPPO figures under the year 1540 in P. A. ZENO, *Memoria de' scrittori Veneti Patrizj*, Venezia, 1744, p. 24; but its scanty details are apparently borrowed from that rare tract *Del Sito dell' Istria*, Venezia, 1540, sm. 4to, with a map of Istria (Marciana, Miscell. 1474, opusc. ii.), which begins as follows: "Piero Coppo del Sito de l'Istria a Josepho Favstino;" and where he says to have been then a sexagenarian. COPPO therefore was born before 1480.

But, so far from being an original production, it is a copy, though modified, of the mappamundi of Johannes de Stobnicza (*Supra*, No. 93). The modifications are the following :

The apex of the South American continent is carried ten degrees further, and exhibits a pointed termination by 50° lat., and 340° longitude. The continent is greatly contracted between 20°—30° latitude. The tall north-western continental region is preserved, but, instead of terminating entirely by 280° longitude, we notice by 60° and 30° latitude, two incipient strokes, as if Glareanus wished to indicate a continuation westward. The nomenclature includes, in addition to the names given by Stobnicza, the following : “Tropicus Cancrī, Oceanus Occidentalis, Tropicus Capricornī, Gigant. Insula.” The word “Parias” has been added on the north-western continental region, and the Cantinean Newfoundland, which is nameless in Stobnicza, bears here the inscription : “Litus incognitum.” The name “Isabella” has been transferred from the continent to the next island, and the island adjoining the latter is called “Spagnolla.” Finally, the two continents are joined together as in the original Cracow map.

We are indebted to Dr. Kohler, Librarian of the Munich University, for a copy of that most interesting map, the projection of which differs so materially from the one which Glareanus advocated in his *Geographia liber unus*, Basel, 1527, and so often reprinted⁵⁶⁴ that we place it after the latter date.

No. 181. THE GILT OR DE BURE GLOBE.

It is a globe preserved in the Geographical Department of the Paris National Library.⁵⁶⁵ The sphere is made of copper, gilt, and very neatly engraved, while all names and inscriptions are in small capitals artistically stamped with a puncheon. The title reads as follows :

“NOVA ET INTEGRA VNIVERSI ORBS DESCRIPTIO.”

The globe bears neither date, name of maker, place where constructed, dedication, nor coat-of-arms, and is unmounted, hanging by a string passed through a hole pierced from pole to pole. It is hollow, and has been opened, but nothing could be seen inside. The inscriptions are nearly all in the Latin language. The latest inscribed datum

⁵⁶⁴ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 142.

⁵⁶⁵ Geographical Department, No. 387 *bis*. It was purchased in 1836 for 48 francs, from DE BURE, who stated that it came from the collection of Mr. BURTON.

Hence the name “Burton” or “De Bure globe” sometimes given to it, although now usually called “Le Globe doré:—The Gilt Globe,” on account of its very bright and gilt surface.



THE PARIS GILT GLOBE

is "Terra francesca," given to the region now corresponding to New England, and which being followed by the words: "nuper lustrata:—lately found," leads to the conclusion that the cartographer borrowed his information in this respect from a prototype constructed not long after the return of Verrazano to France (1524). Jacques Cartier explored those shores in 1534; but if the words "nuper lustrata" did refer to his first voyage, the Pacific coast in this most elaborate and detailed globe, would, like the maps of Ribeiro (1529) and others anterior to 1534, mention Tumbez or Peru, a country from which Francisco Pizarro had brought to Spain, in the spring of 1528, most marvellous accounts, immediately printed in Germany and Italy, and vases of solid gold. Nor should we forget that the designation of "Francesca," as applied to the present site of New England, or of New York, was inscribed on maps, and adorned with a French flag, seven years at least before the first expedition of Jacques Cartier. For instance, as we have already shown, in the Maggiolo map of 1527, and less than five years after the latter date in the *Tabula novarum insularum*, which Sebastian Munster constructed for the *Novus Orbis* which was published at Basle in 1532. "*Nuper lustrata*," therefore, applies to a French exploration of the north-east coast of America, accomplished before 1527. This exploration can only be the transatlantic voyage of Verrazano; as we know of no other at or prior to that period under the French flag. Nor would the mere fishing expeditions of Normandy or Breton smacks have been acknowledged on maps by a display of the royal standard of France, particularly across the mainland.

The globe contains a number of long inscriptions, which, with the hope of finding data enabling us to ascertain further the precise time when it was constructed, we have carefully examined. Those which were supposed to throw light on that point are the following:

"Qui hanc insulam explorarunt ad intima nomine boniea [bimini?] alias aganeo fonte perhennio adeo nobilem fabulantur ut eius fontis a qua epota senes reviscant teste Petro Martire."

This allusion is to be found in the Second Decade of Peter Martyr, lib. x., f^o. 42, written in December, 1514, and first published in 1516.

"Jamaica: hec et Hispaniola dicta bonam eius partem nunc hispani incolunt qui avri fodinas possident habet lignum gviacvm."

The supposed merits of Guaiacum wood, as a panacea for *lues venerea*, were made known in Central Europe⁵⁶⁶ during the year 1517.

“De his terris et insulis [Cozumel and Yucatan] lege Cortesivm . . . Themixtitan oppidum superiores memorie prodiderunt in lacu. salso collocaivm vrbemque ne vecias claritudine et amplitudine multum à te celere imperatoris orient. hic esse regiam domos magnificentissima finitimarvm omnivm regionvm gentivm ditionem mira svnt et prope fidem excedentia qve scriptores de huius et imperatoris et magnitudine opis. et dominatio ne perhibet plvra lege apvd Ferd. Cortesivm.”

The writings of Cortés referred to are the translation into Latin of his second and third letters published at Nuremberg⁵⁶⁷ in 1524. As the reader will perceive, there is no information set forth in those legends which did not circulate all over Europe in printed books before 1527.

Across the South American continent we read “America inventa 1497,” which betrays the direct influence of the accounts of the four voyages of Vespuccius, as published by Waldseemüller in his *Cosmographiæ introductio*, at St. Diey in Lorraine in 1507. What corresponds now with the Peruvian region, exhibits also only one name: “Cattigora Prov.,” which the cartographer doubtless imagined to be American, as is seen from the word “Prov[incia]” added by him, but which is only a remnant of the Ptolemæan nomenclature. The voyage of Magellan is depicted with a thread-like itinerary, on which, south of Madagascar, is inscribed: “Illa linea ex Sibilla dvcia hispanorvm navigationem ostendit.” The Gulf of Mexico is called “Sinvs S. Michaelis,” and the Caribbean Sea, “Mare herbidium,” evidently on account of the floating beds of seaweeds (*Sargassum natans*) found in those regions, and already indicated on that sea by Juan de la Cosa, under the designation of “Sato de uerbos.” The course of the Amazona is traced to a very long distance, and made to issue in several wide streams from a range of high mountains. This representation is not, as so often stated,⁵⁶⁸ the result of the exploration of Orellana (1541), since it figures already in the Weimar map of 1527, and in the Finæus cordiform mappamundi of 1531. The fact is, that if we ever find cartographical delineations of Spanish origin even thirteen years older than the Ribeiro planisphere, they will be seen to exhibit those geographic features regarding the mighty stream and its supposed sources and tributaries. The reason is that these details were

⁵⁶⁶ *Supra*, No. 133, p. 510.

⁵⁶⁷ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No.

⁵⁶⁸ Particularly as regards the manifold and extensive branches, in the Nancy Globe.

furnished to Pedrarias Davila in July, 1514, when ranging the northern coast of South America on his way to Darien :

“Ibi didicere Maragonum fluuium è montibus nivalibus descendere, angerique inter labendum magna fluminum aliorum copia in eum cadente : propterea ingens est, quia è longinquo ad mare fluit per terras aquosas :—There owre men learned that the ryuer Maragonus descendeth from the montaynes couered with snowe cauled *Montes Niuales*, or *Serra Neuata* : And the same to bee increased by many other ryuers whiche saule into it throughowte all the lowe and waterlye regions by the whiche it runneth with so longe a tracte from the sayde montaynes into the sea.”⁵⁶⁹

A continuous belt of antarctic lands encompasses the South Pole, and bears the inscription “Regio Patalis.”

A feature to be noted particularly in this globe is the blending of America with Asia, north of the equator, precisely as we see it depicted in the diminutive hemispheres of Franciscus Monachus, and, as we have inferred from Schöner’s description of his own globe of 1523, initiated in the latter. This resemblance makes it incumbent on the critic to ascertain the origin of that peculiar configuration in the Gilt Globe. In other words, was the globe, now lost, which Schöner constructed in 1523 the prototype of the “Globe doré”?

We believe that the “Globe doré” is a derivative either of Schöner’s globe of 1523, or of one which was constructed by him soon after that date. Our opinion is based upon the perfect resemblance existing between the configurations of the Gilt Globe and those of Schöner’s globe of 1533, which we assume to be mainly a repetition of the lost globe of 1523. Another reason is that the nomenclature of the Gilt Globe is identical with that of Schöner’s globe of 1533, from “Terra florida” to the “Regio Patalis.” The difference exists only in the names of the north-east coast. That is, the Lusitano-Germanic nomenclature on the coast line, from Florida to the Baccaaos, which we find in the Gilt Globe, is no longer to be seen in Schöner’s globe of 1533. It is this omission or excision which prompts us to look for the prototype of the Gilt Globe in an early derivative of Schöner’s globe of 1523, rather than in his globe of 1533 itself. The reason is that, when constructing the globe of 1523, Schöner gives us clearly to understand that his new geographical ideas were limited to the regions south of the tropic of Cancer, and at the west, where he thought that America was joined to Asia ; thus making of the two worlds only one continental mass. This, necessarily, led him to connect, on the

⁵⁶⁹ ANGHIERA, Decad. III., lib. v., f° 55, recto ; EDEN’S translation, p. 117.

Atlantic side, the vast countries which he had theretofore depicted as separate, and to set forth an unbroken line of coasts from Labrador to the Strait of Magellan. But he had no reason, in 1523, for modifying the Lusitano-Germanic nomenclature inscribed along the north-eastern section. The probability is, therefore, that his globe of 1523 exhibited the configurations and names which we notice on the north-east of the globe of 1533, but that it maintained the Cantinean nomenclature already existing in all his former globes, which, for motives as yet unexplained, he omitted in his globe of 1533, preferring to delineate a nameless coast. We can find no other reason to explain the extreme resemblance which exists between the "Globe doré" and Schöner's last globe.

Be that as it may, the prototype of the Gilt Globe dates from about the year 1527, as can be seen from the reference to discoveries accomplished by the French on the north-east coast of America, and which we have shown to be results of Verrazano's voyage. It became the progenitor of an important series of globes and cordiform maps, as will be seen from the following comparative table.

| NORTH-EAST COAST : | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Bacclearvm regio, | C. rasvm, G. F. | R. de la Parma, G. |
| G. N. W. F. S. ⁵⁷⁰ | Terra francesca nuper lustrata, | C. arlear, G. N. W. |
| Los Cortes, G. N. W. ⁵⁷¹ F. | G. N. ⁵⁷² W. F. | C. litar, G. W. |
| | C. d. lago, G. W. ⁵⁷³ | |
| GULF OF MEXICO : | | |
| Terra florida, G. N. W. F. S. | R. panuco, G. W. F. | Themistitan, G. N. W. F. S. |
| C. baxo, G. N. W. F. | Cham Fl., G. | Mangi, G. F. |
| R. de S. Spiritv, G. W. F. S. | Sinvs S. michaelis, G. W. | S. crvcis, ⁵⁷⁶ G. |
| R. areticos, G. | Acylvacam, G. W. S. | Calco, G. W. F. S. |
| R. reates, G. F. | Amcel, G. F. ⁵⁷⁴ | Sacrificiorvm insule, G. W. |
| R. arbaleda, G. W. F. S. | S. michael, G. W. F. S. | C. nipoal, G. W. ⁵⁷⁷ F. |
| R. d. palma, G. F. | Hispania nova, G. W. ⁵⁷⁵ | Sevila, G. F. S. |
| Tamacho provincia, G. N. W. F. | R. Messigo, G. W. F. S. | Almeria, G. N. F. S. |

⁵⁷⁰ These capital letters are explained as follows :—

G. for the Gilt Globe.

N. for the Nancy Globe.

W. for the Wooden Globe.

F. for the single cordiform map of FINÆUS.

S. for SCHÖNER's globe of 1533.

⁵⁷¹ "Corte reales." in Nancy and Wooden Globes.

⁵⁷² The Nancy Globe omits "nuper lustrata."

⁵⁷³ "Lago del odro," in Wooden Globe.

⁵⁷⁴ "Amcel" and "St. Michael" are not one and the same, although the single cordiform of FINÆUS inscribes "Amcel vel S. Michael pr." In that locality St. Michael

is a very old name derived doubtless from the "Sinus S. Michaelis," apparently the first name given to the Gulf of Mexico. "In Sinus Sancti Michaelis à nostris appellato," says ANGHIERA (Decad. III., lib. vi., f^{os} 56 and 57). On the other hand "Amichel" is the name which was first given to the country discovered for Francisco DE GARAY in 1519. ("Provincia Amichel," in Turin and Cortés maps.)

⁵⁷⁵ "Hispania maior" in Wooden Globe.

⁵⁷⁶ Several of those names marked G. have been omitted in the adjoining facsimile owing to want of space.

⁵⁷⁷ "Cempoal" in Wooden Globe.

| | | |
|------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Navtal, G. | P. S. Ivan, G. | Canibales, G. F. S. |
| S. petro, G. F. | Catamia | R. Grisalva, G. N. W. F. S. |
| Teflor, G. N. F. | R. de Alvarado, G. F. S. | C. Antoni, G. F. S. |
| Gacacvla, G. F. | R. de qvciv, ⁵⁷⁸ G. W. S. | C. de lvgras, G. ⁵⁷⁹ F. |

FROM YUCATAN TO BRAZIL :

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| P. de gratia, G. F. S. | Parias, G. F. | Cvrtana, G. N. ⁵⁸⁰ W. F. |
| Ivcatane et zipangris, G. N. W. S. | Mare herbidivm, G. | Vallis famosa, G. ⁵⁸¹ F. S. |
| Cozumella ins., G. F. S. | Dariena, G. N. W. F. S. | Cvmana, G. N. W. |
| Beragva, G. W. | Sinvs Vrabe, G. N. W. F. S. | Pariona, G. ⁵⁸² W. F. S. |
| Moriona, G. F. S. | Dabaiba, G. | R. dvlcis, G. F. S. |
| Ciamba, G. | Abastagana, G. F. | Mormatan, G. N. ⁵⁸⁸ |
| Palmaria reg., G. W. F. | C. S. Marthe, G. F. S. | Arbaled., G. F. S. |
| | R. Forno, G. F. S. | R. d. Savi, ⁵⁸⁴ G. F. S. |
| | R. grand, G. F. S. | |

SOUTH-EAST COAST :

| | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| S. Rocho, G. W. F. S. | Mons. pasqvalis, G. F. S. | P. S. Sebastia., G. N. F. S. |
| C. S. Crvc., G. W. F. S. | R. Cananea, G. N. F. | Cananor, G. N. F. S. |
| Mar. d. Gra., G. F. S. | C. Frio, G. N. F. | Terra de los fvmos, G. F. |
| S. Avg., G. W. | R. S. Luciae, G. F. S. | Tres punctas, G. F. |
| R. Real, G. N. W. F. S. | Serra S. Thomae, G. F. S. | C. S. Mathia, G. F. |
| Monfregoso, G. F. S. | R. Iordan, G. F. S. | Sinvs Ivliani, G. W. F. |
| R. brasili, G. F. S. | C. S. Marie, G. F. S. | P. S. Ivliani, G. W. F. S. |
| Porto Real, G. N. F. | C. S. Antonii, G. F. | C. S. Crvcis, G. F. S. |
| | Gigantvm regio, G. W. F. | |

ANTARCTIC REGIONS :

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|----------------------------|
| Terra d. sier, ⁵⁸⁵ G. F. | C. deseado, G. F. | Mare Magellanicvm, |
| C. de los fvegos, G. F. | Stricto de Magella., G. W. ⁵⁸⁶ F. | G. W. ⁵⁸⁷ F. S. |
| Serras de violas, G. F. | | Regio patalis, G. W. F. S. |

Although the nomenclatures, as appear in the above table, show a remarkable similitude between the names inserted in the Gilt Globe and in the simple cordiform map of Finæus, which was not published until 1536, the fact that the former sets forth certain names, such as R. de la parma, C. Arlear, C. litar, C. d. lago, R. areticos, which belong to the Lusitano-Germanic nomenclature, and others, among which must be noted the important Cape St. Augustine, none of which figure either in

⁵⁷⁸ "De qualq" and "Coqualquo" in FINÆUS and the Turin map. "Coniqualko" in Wooden Globe.

⁵⁷⁹ *Sic pro* "C. de Higueras."

⁵⁸⁰ "Curiana" in Nancy Globe.

⁵⁸¹ "Valle umbrosa" in the Maggiolo of 1527. It is Curiana which HOJEDA called "Valfermoso;" NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 32.

⁵⁸² "Paricura" in MAGGIOLO and Wooden Globe is

the Paricora region of Peter Martyr.

⁵⁸³ "Morma" in Nancy Globe.

⁵⁸⁴ "Silva de Servi" in MAGGIOLO. "Pvnta de Servi" in VERRAZANO. It may be the "P. de Saulo" of SCHÖNER.

⁵⁸⁵ Terra desierta.

⁵⁸⁶ "Fretum magellanicum" in Wooden Globe.

⁵⁸⁷ "Oceanus Magellanicus" in Wooden Globe.

the simple or in the double cordiform maps of Finæus, prove that the maker of the Gilt Globe has not copied the French cosmographer.

The reader will not fail to notice also on the north-east coast, precisely in the same place where they figure on the Cantino, Canerio, and Waldseemüller maps and Schönerean globes, but coupled with designations of a much later period, the following names: "Rio de la Parma, C. Arlear, C. Litar, C. baxo, C. d. lago." Lack of space evidently prevented the cartographer from inserting the remainder of the Cantinean nomenclature, as several names belonging to the latter are to be found in other globes, the configurations and lists of which prove them to be of the same family as the present.

The workmanship and gilding of that globe is excellent, and such as might have been executed in Italy, France, or Germany, during the first half of the sixteenth century; but from the formation of the letters, which, as we have said, were punched, and not engraved, critics are unable to state positively where it was constructed. A *lapsus* from the engraver, however, permits us to consider the globe as the work of a German artist. All the names and legends are in the Latin language, with these three exceptions. Where we should read: *Aquæ Pannonicæ*, *Brunsviga* (*Brunsvicum* or *Mesuium*), and *Vindobona*, the cosmographer has unconsciously caused the artist to inscribe, in German: *Baden*, *Braunschweig*, and *Wien*.

No. 182. PARMENTIER.

Maps made by the Dieppe navigator, Jehan Parmentier :

"Parmentier estoit bon cosmographe et geographe, et par lui ont esté composez plusieurs mappes monde en globe et en plat et plusieurs cartes marines sur lesquelles plusieurs ont navigué seurement."⁵⁸⁸

Parmentier also made a map of the world, which Desmarquetz says was the first mappamundi constructed by a Frenchman.⁵⁸⁹ Those maps were necessarily finished before April 28, 1529, which is the date of his sailing from Dieppe, with *Le Sacre* and *La Pensée*, for a voyage from which he never returned.⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁸ Ch. SCHEFER, *Le Discours de la Navigation de Jean et Raoul Parmentier*; Paris, 1883, 8vo, p. ix.

⁵⁸⁹ DESMARQUETZ, *Mémoires chronologiques pour servir à l'hist. de Dieppe*; Paris, 1785, 12mo, Vol. II., p. 10.

⁵⁹⁰ Jean Parmentier died December 3, 1529, and, with his brother, was buried at Sumatra: "afin que le nom

desdicts Parmentiers ne demeure ensepvely avec leurs corps en la dicte isle de Sumatra," says CRIGNON (PARMENTIER, *Description nouvelle des Merveilles*; Paris, 1531, 4to, introd.). Yet in his *Plainte sur le trespas de Jean et Raoul Parmentier*, he speaks of "le corps de Raoul qui jecté fut en mer."

1529.

No. 183. ZUAN PIERO DE MARIN.

Engraved mappamundi, of which no copy is known to exist. It was copyrighted by the Senate of Venice, May 10, 1529. The privilege begins as follows :

“ Havendo Zuan piero de marin fatto uno mappamondo cum tutte le isole loci et navigatione da novo trovate, opere non fatta mai da altri mai per lui solo cum el suo ingegno della quale accio che altri servino et li togliano il premio che alle fatiche sue conviene solamente ha supplicato alla Signoria nostra quella gratia:—Whereas John Peter de Marin having made a mappamundi with the islands, localities, and navigations [to] newly-discovered [countries], a work which, he being the first who made it, and with his own ingenuity Now therefore”⁵⁹¹

This is necessarily different from the engraved mappamundi which Fernando Columbus bought at Venice in 1527 (*Supra*, No. 176).

No. 184. RIBEIRO IN WEIMAR.

It is a map of the World, 2173 by 891 mm., entitled as follows :

“ Carta universal en que se contiene todo lo que del mundo Se ha descubierto fasta agora : Hizola Diego Ribero Cosmographo de Su Magestad : Año de 1529. La qual Se divide en dos partes conforme à la capitulacion que hizieron los catholicos Reyes de españa, y El Rey don Juan de portugal en la Villa de Tordesillas : Año de 1494.”

It is preserved in the Grand Ducal Library at Weimar. The part relating to America has been facsimiled and published by Dr. Kohl, with an excellent introduction, to which we beg to refer the reader.⁵⁹²

This map was based apparently upon data borrowed from the *Padron Real* kept in the Casa de Contratacion at Seville, but it must not be viewed on that account as possessing an official character. Nor do we think that it was a sailing chart used by pilots frequenting the New World. The reader should consider Ribeiro's present map only as one made to give the generality of readers an idea of the geography of the world, and of the kind which that cartographer, as well as a number of others living then in Seville, designed to order, and ornamented according

⁵⁹¹ State archives in Venice ; *Senato Terra reg.* 25 c. fo 132. We are indebted for this curious indication to Mr. Charles EPHRUSSI ; for we could obtain nothing but empty words from the present custodian of those archives.

⁵⁹² KOHL, *Die beiden ältesten General-Karten von Amerika* ; Weimar, 1860, large folio, with facsimile of the portion of the two Weimar maps which relate to the New World.

to the price paid for the same. It differs from its Weimar companion by the additions of geographical data on the Pacific coast, and several inscriptions of importance. Thus, on the "Tierra de Labrador," we read:

"Esta tierra descubrieron los Ingleses no ay en ella cosa de prouecho:—This country was discovered by the English, and there is nothing in it worth having."

On Newfoundland there is the following legend:

"TIERRA DE LOS BACALLAOS laqual descubrieron los corte reales y aquy se perdieron—hasta aora no an allado cosa de prouecho mas de la pescaria de bacallaos que son de poca estima:—THE LAND OF CODFISH discovered by the Corte Reals, and where they were lost. Up to this time nothing of value has been found there, except the fishing of codfish, and these do not amount to much."

On the present New England States we notice particularly:

"TIERRA DE ESTEVAM GOMEZ, laqual descubrió por mandado de su mag [estad] el año de 1525; ay en ella muchos arboles y fructas de los de españa y muchos Rodouallos y salmone y sollos: non han allado oro:—THE COUNTRY OF ESTEVAM GOMEZ, which he discovered by order of His Majesty. It contains numerous trees and fruits [like those] of Spain, much rodovallo [a kind of fish], salmon, and soles. No gold has been found."

On our Western States, but relating only to the east coast:

"En toda esta costa del nort son los Indios de mayor estatura que no los de sancte domingo ni de las otras islas mantienense de maiz y pescado que ay enn mucha abundancia y caça de de [sic] muchos venados y de otras animalias viste[n]se de pelejas de lobos y de Raposos y zorras."

"Everywhere on this northern coast the Indians are taller than those of Santo Domingo and other islands. They feed on maize [Indian corn], and fish, which they have in great abundance; they hunt much game and other animals, and wear the skins of wolves and foxes."

On the present Southern States, south of Virginia:

"TIERRA DE AYLLON: el qual la descubrio y boluiendo la a poblar porque es tierra muy dispuesta par dar pan y vino y todas las cosas de españa falleçio a quy de dolencia:—THE COUNTRY OF AYLLON, which he discovered and went back to settle, as it is well appropriated to yield breadstuff, wine, and all things of Spain. He died here of malady."⁵⁹³

On the northern seaboard of the Gulf of Mexico:

"TIERRA DE GARAY: en toda esta costa y la del liçenciado ayllon y la tierra de esteuan gomez no se espera de allar oro como en la nueua españa por estar ya muy desuiada del tropico:—THE COUNTRY OF GARAY: All over this coast and that of the Licentiate Ayllon, and the land of Estevam Gomez, there is no hope of finding gold as [is done] in New Spain, because it is too much out of the way of the tropic."

⁵⁹³ October 18, 1526: "E passo de aquesta vida dia de Sanct Lúcas, á diez é ocho días de otubre de aquel año

de mill é quinientos é veynte y seys."—OVIEDO, *Historia General*, lib. xxxviii., cap. i., Vol. III., p. 628.

On the mainland, back of the Gulf of Mexico :

“NUEVA ESPAÑA dixose asi por que ay aquy muchas cosas que ay en España ay ya mucho trigo que an lleuado de aca entanta cantidad que lo pueden ya cargar para otras partes ay aquy mucho oro de nacimiento :—NEW SPAIN, thus called, because it contains many things [of the kind found] in Spain. Wheat was sent thence [to Spanish ports] in such quantities that it could be re-shipped [from Seville] to other parts. It contains much native gold.”

On the north-east coast of South America :

“CASTILLA DEL ORO : dixose asi por que aqui se halla mucho oro los Indios son mas belicosos de lo que son los de sancto domingo ni de las otras partes porque usan las flechas y hierua aqui esta un pueblo que se dize S. marta donde se alla mucha cantidad de oro por la tierra adentro aqui tienen los alemanes su gouernacion dende cabo la uela hasta cumana que seran . 140. o. 150 leguas.”

“THE GOLDEN CASTILLE, so called because much gold is found there. The Indians [of that region] are more warlike than those of Santo Domingo and other parts, because they use poisoned arrows. Here there is a locality called St. Martha, where large quantities of gold are found in the soil. Within it, the Germans have their territory, [extending] from the Cabo de la Vela to Cumana, from 140 to 150 leagues.”

Inside of the Venezuelan and northern coasts of Brazil :

“En toda esta costa dende el Rio dulce hasta el cabo de san Roque no se a allado cosa de prouecho esta costa fue una o . 2 . vezes bojada luego que se descubrieron las Indias y despues aca no no [*sic*] a buelto a ella el Rio de marañon es muy grande y entran en el nauios por agua dulce y 20 leguas en la mar toman agua dulce.”

“All over this coast, from the Rio dulce to the Cape of San Roque, nothing of account has been found. Once or twice, since the discovery of the Indies, the coast has been ranged, but since, no one has returned thither. The Rio de Marañon is very large, and vessels enter it to fill their casks, and twenty leagues [from coast] in the sea, they take in fresh water.”

In the centre of the mainland of Brazil :

“TIERA DEL BRASIL : Aqui no se alla otra cosa de prouecho mas del brasil que no les costa mas de hazerlo cortar y traerlo a las naos lo qual hazen los Indios por poca cosa comen carnes humanas seyendo enemigos.

Aqui tiene el Rey de portugal en pernãbuco una fatoria donde tiene mucha cantidad de brasil cogido para las naos que van acargar.”

“THE COUNTRY OF BRAZIL. Here, the only thing of value is the brazil [dyewood], which costs only the trouble of cutting and carrying to the vessels, which the Indians do for very little. They eat the flesh of their enemies. Here, the King of Portugal has at Pernambuco a factory where is a large quantity of brazil-wood collected for shipping on board vessels sent for the purpose.”

Over the entire area of the region of the rivers of La Plata :

“Esta tierra descubrio Juhan de Solis en el año de . 1515 . o . 16 . donde aora esta sebastian gaboto en una casa fuerte [*sic pro* fuerte] que alli hizo es trã muy despuesta para dar pan y vino en mucha abundança el Rio es muy grandisimo y de mucha péscaria cren que ay oro y plata en la tierra adentro.”

“This country was discovered by Juan de Solis in the year 1515 or 1516. There Sebastian Gaboto [*sic*] now is, in a fort which he has constructed. It is very well appropriated for yielding breadstuff and wine in great abundance. The River is extremely large and abounding with fish. The belief is that there is gold and silver in the interior.”

South of the river La Plata, near the apex of the continent :

“TIERRA DE PATAGONES: Los que abitan en esta t[er]ra donde allo el estrecho fernam de magallae son hombres de grandes cuerpos casi gigantes vistense de pieles de animalias la tierra es esteril y de ningun provecho. Aqui estovo fernam de magallae seis meses surto en el puerto de San Juliam que esta en 50 grados donde venyan los Indios a las naos los quales gustando del pan y del vino que en los naos les dieron se venian tantos que aborreçian no vieron aqui casas abita[n] en los cãpos ay aquy muchos abestruzes usan flechas los Indios.”

“THE COUNTRY OF PATAGONIANS: Those who inhabit that land, where Fernam de Magellan found the strait, are men of large bodies, almost giants, covered with skins of beasts. The land is steril and of no value. Here Fernam de Magellan stayed six months, especially in the port of St. Julian which is by 50 degrees. There, Indians came on board, and having tasted the bread and wine which was given to them, manifested abhorrence for the same. No houses were seen. They live in the open air. There are many ostriches.⁵⁹⁴ The Indians use arrows.”

On the mainland, bordering the Pacific coast :

“PERU: Esta tierra d' peru descubrio francisco piçarro en el año de 1527 . aqui allo oro y plata q. Rescato la Jente es de mas Razon que las de las otras partes tienen obejas de que hazen paños tienen grandes cibdades muradas y grandes casas de oraçio donde van a adorar a sus ydolos quando no llueue van en procision a ellas.”

“PERU. This country of Peru was discovered by Francisco Pizarro in the year 1527. Here was found gold and silver with which they trade [?]. The natives are more intelligent than in other parts. They have sheep, with which they make clothes, and they have large walled cities and large praying houses, where they go in processions to adore their idols.”

The new names are numerous, although the present map proceeds from the same prototype as the anonymous Weimar chart of 1527. We notice the following :

NORTH-EAST COAST AND FLORIDA :

| | | |
|-----------------|------------------|---------|
| R. de Montañas | R. de S. Iago | C. Roxo |
| Cabo de Arenos | C. Traffalgar | Canico |
| Tierra de Gomez | R. del principe | Atalaya |
| | R. de Cõcibicion | |

GULF OF MEXICO :

| | | |
|--------------------------|---|--------------------|
| Tierra de Garay | C. de Cacones ⁵⁹⁶ | R. de S. anton[io] |
| Ostia | S. p ^o . y S. pa. ⁵⁹⁷ | R. de Grijalva |
| Tierra de gigantes | R. de Cãpual ⁵⁹⁸ | R. de S. Pablo |
| Malabrigo ⁵⁹⁵ | Is. de Sacrificios | Rio de Xpianos |
| C. Bravo | Sierras de St. Martin | Zarcas (island) |
| | Triangulo (island) | |

⁵⁹⁴ *Rhea Americana*, smaller than the real ostrich, which is found only in Asia and Africa.

⁵⁹⁵ Malabrigo :—Bad shelter.

⁵⁹⁶ Cape of Breakers.

⁵⁹⁷ Sant Pedro and Sant Paulo.

⁵⁹⁸ The “Cempoala” of CORTÉS.

YUCATAN AND NORTH COAST OF S. AMERICA :

| | | |
|--------------------|---|--|
| Chãpa | Penedo de S. pedro | Rio de Uruay |
| R. de Lagartos | Baxos de Juã de braga ⁶⁹⁹ | R. de caracana |
| P. de cotoche | G. del aguada | R. de parana |
| Yrua | R. de Canas [Canoas?] | Rio del Epiti |
| La roca [partida?] | Y ^a de S. Catali[na] | R. de paraguay |
| S. Cruz | C. do J ^o . de lixboa ⁶⁰⁰ | Ys ^a de R ^o alvarez ⁶⁰¹ |
| | Y ^a de Xpõal Jaques ⁶⁰² | Tierra de los baxos |

ON THE PACIFIC COAST :

| | | |
|-----------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| P. de baxos | C. de S. niculas | R. de la cõcepçio |
| S. petro | B. de S. lucas | Salinas de la çibdad |
| Las uelas | S. xpõal (island) | de tunbez |
| P ^o de piñas | Ancõ d' sardinas | C. de nieues ⁶⁰⁴ |
| Rucan | B. d' S. mateo | Ysletas de S. antonio |
| C. d' fartoa | C. de S. franc ^o | Y ^a del gallo |
| P ^o dulce | S. barbara | C. de S. Maria |
| R. de S. Juã | C. de la buelta | Y. de buena vista |
| Y ^a d' S. esteuã | S. elena ⁶⁰³ | P ^o de mal abrigo |
| Madalena | Y. de S. tiago | Sierra morena ⁶⁰⁵ |
| Y. de S. Roque | P ^o y prouincia de la cibdad de chinchax | |

No. 185. RIBERO IN THE PROPAGANDA.

Although this map of the world is the work of the same cartographer as the preceding one, and also dated 1529, it presents sufficient differences to be described separately. It is on a larger scale than the Weimar copy, as it measures, from the northern extremity of Labrador to the Tierra del Fuego, 1010 mm. instead of 700, for the same number of degrees of latitude. It is also greatly ornamented with trees, birds, animals, and Indians, and bears three escutcheons, viz.: Della Rovere's, and on its right and left, Chigi's, but one of these is quartered with Rovere's.⁶⁰⁶

⁵⁹⁹ We have failed to ascertain anything about that Juan DE BRAGA, apparently a Portuguese mariner.

⁶⁰⁰ Joam DE LISBOA was a Portuguese pilot, who visited Brazil so early as 1506. *Diario de Pero Lopez*, p. 87, note.

⁶⁰¹ Rodrigo ALVAREZ was one of the pilots of Sebastian CABOT in his expedition to La Plata. (SANTA CRUZ, *Islario*, MS.)

⁶⁰² Christoval JAQUEZ was a Portuguese captain, who captured a number of French ships off Bahia in 1526, and not in 1503, the year in which he was erroneously believed to have commanded the expedition in which

VESPUCCIUS accomplished his fourth voyage. See JABOATAM (A. de St. M.) *Novo orbo Serafico Brasilico*, Rio de Janeiro, 1858, 8vo, pp. 47, 222; VARNHAGEN, *As primeiras negociações diplomaticas*, in the *Memorias do Instituto historico e geographico Brasileiro*, 1842, p. 127.

⁶⁰³ Rio de S. Elena in Weimar of 1527.

⁶⁰⁴ Nuestra Señora de las Nieves, August 5,

⁶⁰⁵ Provincia de la Sierra Morena, in the Propaganda copy.

⁶⁰⁶ This leads us to think that the owner was the Marquis Agostino CHIGI, son of Lorenzo, who apparently married a DELLA ROVERE.

The inscriptions differ in some respects from those of the Weimar Ribero. On the "Tiera del Labrador," we read: "Laqual descubrieron los Ingleses de la uilla de bristol," which clearly indicates the discovery accomplished by John Cabot, but ascribed by Ribero to Sebastian, who was in 1529 his superior in the service of the Castilian Crown, and from whom he certainly gathered most of his data concerning the north-eastern regions.⁶⁰⁷ On the mainland of Canada there is inscribed: "Tierra nova de Cortereal," and on the Country of Estevam Gomez: "El mantimiento de los Indios es maiz, son de grande estatura:—Maize is the food of the natives. They are of large size." Thus making of two original legends, one only. The inscription referring to Ayllon is more detailed, and reads:

"Aqui yua a poblar el licenciado ayllon el qual salio de s. domingo o de p^o. de plata⁶⁰⁸ donde embarco su gente e lleuaron tan pocos mantimyentos y la jente de la tiera se retyraron [?] adentro con myedo asy que benido el inuierno de hambre y de frio se murio mucha de la jente y asy estando un este trabajo acordaron de se bolver a la española."

"Here went the licentiate Ayllon to settle the country, for which he sailed from S. Domingo, or Puerto de Plata, where his men were taken on board. They took with them very little provisions, and the natives fled into the interior from fear. So that when winter set in many of them died of cold and hunger . . . They determined to return to Hispaniola.⁶⁰⁹

This is the earliest statement which we possess of the sad fate of Ayllon, and of his last expedition to Chicora (the present Carolinas).

In the Magellanic regions, the legend adds:

"Unos dos dellos [Yndios] se vinieron a las naos y dixieron que los lleuesen los quales despues morieron en la mar:—Some of the Indians came on board, and asked to be carried [away, and] they died afterwards at sea."

According to Pigafetta, those Indians, so far from having left of their own accord, were treacherously chained and kidnapped.

The nomenclature in the present subject is also more ample than in the Weimar copy, combining the names in the latter with many which are in the Weimar map of 1527, but giving a few new ones. We notice on what seems to be the apex of Cape Breton island, besides the "Tierra de los Bretones," a cape called "C. del breton," which may be the "C. de berton" of Maggiolo. In the large bay corresponding with our Gulf of St. Lawrence, mention is made of an "arciepelago," which may refer to our "Iles de la Madeleine," borrowed apparently from some Portuguese

⁶⁰⁷ *Supra*, pages 19 and 22.

⁶⁰⁸ "Dedonde salió mediado el mes de Julio del año de mill é quinientos é veynte y seis años."—OVIEDO, *Historia General*, lib. xxxvii., cap. i., Vol. III., p. 627.

⁶⁰⁹ Out of five hundred men, less than one hundred and fifty escaped. OVIEDO, *Historia General*, lib. I., cap. xxii., Vol. IV., p. 337. See, *supra*, Book Eighth, chapter ii., pp. 198—213.

map of the Fagundes expeditions. On the north-east coast there is a "Rio solo," and, on the Pacific coast, what the Weimar Ribero calls: "R. de la concepcion" is named here: "R. de la acension."⁶¹⁰

No. 186. MAP OF NICARAGUA.

This first special map of Nicaragua is mentioned, but too succinctly, by Pedrarias Davila, as follows:

"Como parece par la figura que envio à V. M. que hizo Pero Miguel y Pedro Corço :— As may be seen from the map [Pedrarias Davila] sent to Your Majesty, and which was made by Pero Miguel and Pedro Corço."⁶¹¹

Pedro Corço was the pilot of Marin Estete, and the discoverer, with Fernando de la Serna, of the Rio Chagres⁶¹² in 1527. As to Pero Miguel, he acted an important part in Davila's war with the King of Urraca⁶¹³ (which seems to be another name for Veragua) in 1520.

No. 187. HIERONYMO DA VERRAZANO.

It is a map of the world, 2600 by 1300 mm., signed "Hieronemvs de Verrazano faciebat;" and preserved, framed, in the Library of the Propaganda Fide at Rome, to which it was bequeathed by Cardinal Stefano Borgia in 1804, with his entire museum.

The name of Hieronymo we have shown⁶¹⁴ to be that of the brother of Giovanni da Verrazano, who lived in Normandy, at Honfleur, or at Rouen, in 1526. The map, however, was made three years later, as it contains this legend:

"Verrazana siue Gallia nova quale discopri 5 anni fa Giovanni di Verrazano fiorentino per ordine et comandamento del Chrystianissimo Re di francia :—Verrazana or the new Gaul, which Giovanni di Verrazano, a Florentine, discovered five years ago by the order and command of the most Christian King of France [Francis I]."

That is, it was constructed five years after the voyage accomplished by Verrazano between the end of December 1523, and the beginning of July 1524. The fact that all the names and inscriptions are in the

⁶¹⁰ A reduced facsimile of the entire map has been published lately in London.

⁶¹¹ *Relacion de la Tierra que le envia á Su Magestad.* Cibdad de Leon. 15th of January, 1529, written by Pedrarias DAVILA. MS. Archivo de Indias, *Papeles*

escogidos, r. 5, f^o 223. DE PERALTA, *op. cit.*, p. xi.

⁶¹² OVIEDO, Vol. IV., pages 61, 217. NAVARRETE, *Bibliot. Maritima*, Vol. I., p. 431, Vol. II., p. 547.

⁶¹³ HERRERA, Decad. II., lib. ix., cap. xvii.

⁶¹⁴ *Revue Critique*, Paris, No. of Jan. 1, 1876, p. 22.

Italian language, indicates that the map was not made in France nor for Frenchmen, but in Italy, where Hieronymo Verrazano probably returned after the death of his brother, who was hanged as a pirate at Colmenar de Arenas, in Castile, by the order of Charles V.,⁶¹⁵ in November 1527, without leaving any posterity."⁶¹⁶

As we have already stated, when describing the third Maggiolo map (*supra*, No. 173), the planisphere of Verrazano proceeds from a prototype akin to the one used by the Genoese cartographer. And, if the north-eastern configurations in both are similar to those of the Weimar charts, the nomenclature is much richer and widely different. In Maggiolo and Verrazano it abounds particularly with French names (Italianised), viz.: *Diepa* (Dieppe), *Lungavilla* (Longueville), *San Germano* (Saint Germain), *Angolemma* (Angoûleme), *Tolovilla* (Tourville), *Vendomo* (Vendôme), *Orlean* (Orléans).⁶¹⁷ It is also worthy of notice that while ninety-eight names are inscribed along that coast in the Verrazano chart, the map of Ribeiro, which was made at the same time, exhibits only forty-eight, not more than eight of which are to be found in the former. This disparity shows that Hieronymo Verrazano did not borrow his nomenclature directly from a Sevillan map. Nor can it be said that those names are imaginary, or were coined by him, as we find thirty-five of them in the third Maggiolo map, which was constructed two years before by a Genoese cosmographer whom we have no reason to suppose had any interest in such a deceit.⁶¹⁸ Nor should we forget that Vesconte de Maggiolo could not be favourable to Francis I. in 1527, which is the year when the troops of the French King besieged the city, and after taking it, pillaged the palace.

⁶¹⁵ Bernal DIAZ, *Verdadera Historia*, cap. clix., p. 206; BARCIA, *Ensayo Chronologico para la Historia de la Florida*, fo. 3, and especially H. C. MURPHY, *The Voyage of Verrazano*, pp. 162-162, for conclusive documents communicated by the late Buckingham SMITH; the Spanish text of which, however, has not been published.

⁶¹⁶ On the 11th of May, 1526, Giovanni VERRAZANO in executing a power of attorney, calls Hieronymo VERRAZANO "his brother and heir:—Jerome de Varasenne son frere et heritier," which could not be the case if Giovanni had had any children then living. He soon afterwards went to sea, and as we have said, died on the gallows within the next eighteen months.

⁶¹⁷ We must doubtless add to the list: *Luisa* (Louise, de France?), *Navarro* (Navarre), *Le figle de navarra* (Les fils—or infants—de la Navarre), *belvedere* (le belvédère). MAGGIOLO gives two additional names: *Nor-*

manvilla (Normanville), and Lorto de rucelay (Le Jardin de Rousselay).

⁶¹⁸ A phrase of Annibal CARO, although jocular, shows that, at least in 1537, VERRAZANO was already noted for his discoveries in the New World, of which he had made a map: "A uoi Verrazano, come a cercatore di nuoui mondi, e de le marauiglie d'essi, non posso ancora dir cosa degna de la uostra carta, perche non hauemo passate terre, che non sieno state scoperte da uoi, o da uostro fratello.—Di Castro, a li xij. di Ottobre MDXXXVII," in *De le lettere familiare del comendatore Annibal Caro*, Venetia, Aldo Manutio, MDLXXIV., 4to, p. II. It should be noted that, in 1537, nothing had yet appeared in print concerning Verrazano's maritime discoveries, although, under the name of Juan FLORIN, he is mentioned by ANGHIERA for his piratical exploits (Epist. 774, 782, 804, printed in 1530).

This is the first Italian map which inscribes the name: “*Tierra America*,” placed here across Venezuela. Brazil is called Verzino, which is synonymous, and the site of our United States is named “*Nova Gallia, sive Ivcatanet*,” which last word is unintelligible.

The new names are the following:

NEWFOUNDLAND AND NORTH-EAST COAST:

| | | |
|---|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| Terra nova sive le molve ⁶¹⁹ | Bonivetto | Tolonvilla |
| Monte de trigo | Vendomo | Angolemne |
| C. das basas ⁶²⁰ | Belvedere | Lampruneta |
| Rio dos ramo | Monte morello | La victoria |
| C. despada ⁶²¹ | C. de Monte morello | San germano ⁶²³ |
| Baia de Sancta Ioanna | Orlean | Capo d'Olimpo ⁶²⁴ |
| Rio Santant ⁶²² | Santanna | Punta de cerui ⁶²⁵ |
| Rio della pescaria | Annellina sirtis | Comana |
| La pescaria santantonia | C. delle basse | Punta del ulivo |
| Oranbega | Palavisina | Punta de calami |
| San Severino | C. del refugio | Livornno |

A much reduced photo-lithograph of the entire map has been inserted in the works of Messrs. Brevoort⁶²⁶ and Murphy on Verrazano. A wood-cut outline, which embraces the east coast from Florida to Greenland, and gives nearly all the names inscribed in that region, has been published in Signor Desimoni's *Tavola parallela*. See, *supra*, pages 219—221.

1530.

No. 188. GEMMA FRISIUS' GLOBES.

They sold at Louvaine and Antwerp in 1530, with his work *De principiis Astronomiæ et Cosmographiæ*, on the title of which we read “*Væneunt cum Globis*.”⁶²⁷ Gesner mentions those globes with others: “*Io. Schoneri, Dryandi et Gemma Frisij, Globi impressi sunt*.”⁶²⁸ One or two of the sets of gores which we have described, the configurations and nomenclature of which resemble the map of Apianus, may have been intended for the present globes of Gemma Frisius. Gemma also made a map of the

⁶¹⁹ Newfoundland, or the Land of Cod-fish.

⁶²⁰ Capo dos baxos (?),—The Cape of Shoals.

⁶²¹ Capo d'Espera (?),—The Cape of Hope.

⁶²² Rio Sant Antonio.

⁶²³ G. de Germano, in MAGGIOLO.

⁶²⁴ Jovium Pormtorius, in MAGGIOLO.

⁶²⁵ Selva de Cervi, in ULPPIUS.

⁶²⁶ J. CARSON BREVOORT, *Verrazano the Navigator*, New York, 1874, 8vo.

⁶²⁷ “*Louanii apud Seruatium Zaffenum et Antverpiæ apud Gregorium Bontium. Anno M.D.XXX. mense octob.*” *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, Additions, No. 92, p. 102.

⁶²⁸ GESNER, *Pandectarum*, 1548, fo. 110.

world, which he dedicated to Charles V., and published at Louvaine in 1540: "Charta, sive Mappamundi id est Orbis totius descriptio, Carolo V. dicata . Lovanii, 1540."⁶²⁹ This geographer, whose real name was Régnier, and who exercised the medical profession, is said by Teissier to have had this map honoured with some correction from Charles V. himself.

No. 189. THE INGOLSTADT APIANUS.

According to Baron Nordenskiöld, to whom we are indebted for this information, this map measures 552 by 394 mm. It is dedicated to one Leonard van Eyk, and bears, on top, two diminutive maps of the world, one entitled *Observatio Ptolem.*, the other *Observatio Vespu.*, and, we believe, as a general title: *Petri Apiani Universalior Cogniti Orbis Tabula.*

"Elle parut séparément, sortie de la presse privée d'Apianus, à Ingolstadt en 1530, mesurant 21¾ sur 15½ pouces."⁶³⁰

No. 190. THE ANTWERP APIANUS.

It is said to be precisely like the mappamundi of 1520, but to bear the following title:

"*Tipus Orbis universalis iuxta Ptolemei Cosmographi traditionem et amrici [sic] Vespuccii alior[um]que lustrationes a Petro Apiano Leysnico et elucubrando. MDXXX. Ghebruct t'atwerpen by mo peter de vales de guldenhant.*"

We once saw⁶³¹ that map inserted in a copy of the edition of Peter Martyr's Decades published at Alcalá in 1530. The Heber copy⁶³² of that work and edition, and, it seems, the Murphy one,⁶³³ likewise contained a copy of the said map.

No. 191. FRIESS—PRUGGER.

It is a small globe engraved on the title-page of an extremely rare tract, which is a translation or paraphrase of Lorenz Friess' *Carta Marina*, written by Nicolas Prugner.⁶³⁴ It represents the New World, and bears the inscription: "neuw welt."

⁶²⁹ FOPPENS, *Bibliotheca belgica*, p. 331.

⁶³⁰ Dr. J. VAN RAEMDONCK, *Orbis Imago*, Saint Nicolas, 1886, 8vo., p. 21.

⁶³¹ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 154, page 276.

⁶³² *Bibliotheca Heberiana*, Part VI., No. 215.

⁶³³ Murphy Catalogue of Sale, No. 1607.

⁶³⁴ *Hydrographiæ, hoc est, chartæ marinæ totiusque orbis, brevis sed dilucida descriptio*; Argentorati, Joannes Grunigerus excudebat anno MDXXX. 4to, 16 leaves. We are indebted for these details to Mr. Ludwig ROSENTHAL, of Munich.

No. 192. LORENZ FRIESS.

Twelve engraved maps, which are described as follows :

“Twelve engraved maps which were not published till 1530.—Under the title of *Carta marina navigatoria Portugalensium*. Friess says [?] that he drew his information in these maps from original sources, but he does not name these sources, and Kohl thinks the maps indicate the work of Waldseemüller. The main inscription on the continent is “Das nÿv erfunde land.”⁶³⁵

We are unable to state whether the above differ from the *Carta Marina* inserted in the editions of 1525 and 1527 of the *Uslegung der Mer-Carthern*.⁶³⁶ As to the edition of 1530,⁶³⁷ we have not yet seen a copy with a map.

No. 193. THE SLOANE MAP.

In an anonymous MS. of the British Museum (Sloane MSS., 117), entitled: *De principiis astronomicæ*, there is a map consisting of two leaves, measuring each 211 by 290 mm., each leaf being folded double. That map is dateless, anonymous, and incomplete of the southern continent. Where the south should commence, we read: “Hic ultra 55 g. extendit.” The configurations and nomenclature for its north-east coast clearly indicate a map derived either from the last globe of Schöner, of 1523, or from the Carondelet sphere constructed by Franciscus Monachus, also lost; that is, one wherein America is represented as an eastern prolongation of Asia. The inscriptions are :

| | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| Campestria bergi | C. baxa | Baccalearum regio |
| Desertum | Terra florida | C. Rasum |
| R. d. S. spu (Rio de S. Spiritu) | Terra franciscana nuper lustrata | Mare glaciale |

West of Cape Race, we read “Viridis insula.” The island of Cuba is called “Cuba”; and we have heard it stated that the map had been tampered with at an early period.

No. 194. MAP ENGRAVED ON COPPER.

It was for sale, and described by the famous Libri as follows :

“Mappemonde engraved on copper, between 1530 and 1540, by an unknown engraver. 12 by 8½ inches. Peru is marked, but not Chili. The North American continent is extremely narrow.”⁶³⁸

⁶³⁵ WINSOR, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. II., p. 220.

⁶³⁶ *Supra*, No. 160. In the *Uslegung* the configurations and names are precisely those of Waldseemüller.

⁶³⁷ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 151; *Additamenta*, No. 90.

⁶³⁸ *Libri Catalogue of Objects of Art and Virtue*; London, 1864, No. 139.

We are inclined to think that the present map is identical with the one which is described in the catalogue of a well-known Paris dealer, lately deceased, as follows; but which we have not seen:

"No. 162.—2908. Carte géographique gravée sur une plaque de cuivre. Forme circulaire. Cette carte est une sorte de demi-mappemonde embrassant l'hémisphère boreal de la terre. Elle parait tre suivant une projection stereographique. Diametre du cercle 0^m 259."

No. 195. WOLFENBUTTEL MAP B.

It is a portion of a planisphere, 2210 by 750 mm., based in every respect on a map of Ribero akin to the copy in the Propaganda, but of smaller dimensions. It is also ornamented with representations of animals, groves of trees, and large birds. The legends have been modified in a few particulars, but worth mentioning nevertheless. Thus on the "Tiera nueva de los bacallaos," we read:

"Esta tiera fue scubierta por los portogesos no ay en ella cosa de prouecho mas que los bacallaos que es pescado y muy bueno. Aqui se perdieron los corte Reales:—This country was discovered by the Portuguese. It contains nothing of value, except cod, which is a very good fish. Here the Corte Reals lost their life."

In the inscription on Labrador, after relating, like the Propaganda copy, that it was "descubierta por los Yngleses de la uila de bristol," the legend adds the following detail, which is not found in any other map:

"E por que el que dio el lauiso della era labrador de las illas de los acares le quido este nombre:—And as the one who first gave notice [of the country, or who first sighted it,] was a labourer of the Azores islands, they gave it the name [of Labrador]."

It is generally supposed that the designation was due to the Indians brought from the north-east coast by Gaspar Corte Real in 1501, and who were sold in Lisbon as labouring slaves. Biddle was the first who advanced this etymology, which is based upon the passage in the letter of Pietro Pasqualigo, as published in the *Paesi*:

"Seranno per excellentia da fatiga, et gli meglior schiaui se habia hauti sin ora:—They will prove excellent for fatigue, and the best slaves ever had."⁶³⁹

A remarkable peculiarity is the large island: "I. de S. Iuhan," placed within the Gulf of St. Lawrence, as in the Verrazano map, which, with the general configurations, leads us to think that the maker of the latter borrowed his profiles from the same prototype. The spelling of the name

⁶³⁹ *Paesi novamente ritrovati*, lib. vi., cap. cxxvi.

“Iuhan” instead of “Iuan,” is one of Ribero’s orthographical peculiarities, and we are now inclined to believe that a chart made by him existed soon after 1529, which contained the said island of “S. Iuhan,” and additional names, particularly along the coasts of South America. In this Wolfenbüttel B, we notice the following new names :

GULF OF MEXICO AND ISTHMUS :

| | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| Angla de racones | P ^a de lucal | De la binora |
| Torre blanca | Triunfo de la [cruz] | De la orosa |
| Villa rica lanieza | R. de perdidosas | C. de isleos |
| Celto dulce de cristianos | Sierras de S. Cristobal | Cerabaro |
| St. Giles | C. de honduras | P. bõ Retrete |
| | Aclapoco | |

COASTS OF SOUTH AMERICA :

| | | |
|----------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Caparara | Paraguohua | Aruça prouincia |
| Ramado | Y ^a de guaymacara | Angla de la aguada |
| Seturnia | Sinu piari ⁶⁴⁰ | Baya barrilles ⁶⁴¹ |
| Pueblo de p. lanoato | P ^o sanches | Y. de barbara |
| | R. de Janeyro | C. del norte |

PACIFIC COAST :

| | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| R. de marissmas | G. de isleos | R. de S. Julian |
| G. de fonseca | P ^a de la candelaria | P ^o de la tonnia |
| R. de possysson ⁶⁴² | C. de la afrorita ⁶⁴³ | P ^o de la gallea |
| Las voltas | R. de pablo | P ^o viejo |
| P ^o primero | P ^o de rio duro | C. de S. lorenico |
| | Golfo de S. Catalina | |

Finally, in the region of the large rivers which empty into the Rio de la Plata, we read “El Gram rio de Parana.” The map is preserved in the Grand Ducal Library at Wolfenbüttel, and was purchased by the Duke Augustus of Brunswick-Lunebourg (1604—1666). Hence the mark, “94 et 95. Aug.”

1531.

No. 196. GLOBE OF GEMMA AND MIRICA.

We only possess the privilege, which was granted to those two geographers at Gand by the Emperor Charles V., for ten years.

⁶⁴⁰ “Golfo de Paris,” in RIBERO, apparently from the famous cacique of that name. See LAS CASAS, Vol. IV., page 226.

⁶⁴¹ It is the first time that a part of this mysterious

name “Baya” carries a meaning, viz: “The Bay of Casks.” *Barril* means also a sort of large stone bottle.

⁶⁴² Other maps have here “de perdycion.”

⁶⁴³ “De la Favorita,” doubtless.

“De la part de Gemma Phrisius et Gaspard de Mirica [Van der Heyden] nous a été remontré comme ilz aient composé et inventé ingénieusement certain globe en forme et figure d'une sphere cosmographique lequel a l'utilité et proffit des estudians ils ont fait insculpter et desirans faire imprimer avons octroyé pendant le temps de dix ans Gand, le xxiiij jour de may l'an de grasce mil v^e. xxxj.”⁶⁴⁴

This globe is doubtless different from the one which sold in 1530 (*supra*, No. 188), as Gemma would not have applied in May, 1531, for a privilege to sell a globe which was already in the market.

No. 197. ORONTIUS FINÆUS.

It is a double-folded homeoterial engraved mappamundi, 420 by 290 mm., divided at the equator, constructed in Paris by Orontius Finæus, and bearing, within a scroll, the following title:

“Nova, et integra vniversi orbis descriptio.”

In a small square frame, we read this address to the reader:

“Orontivs F. Delph. ad Lectorem.

Offerimvs tibi, candide Lector, uniuersam orbis terrarum descriptionem, iuxta recentium Geographorum et Hydrographorum mentem, seuata tum Aequatoris, tum parallelorum ad eas quæ ex centris proportione, gemina cordis humani formula in plano coextensam: quarum læua borealem, dextra uero australem Mundi partem complectitur. Tu igitur munusculum hoc liberaliter excipio: habetoque gratias Christiano Wechelo, cuius fauore et impensis hæc tibi communicauimus. Vale, 1531, Mense Iulio.”

“Orontius F. of Dauphiné to the reader.

We offer thee the description of the entire terrestrial globe, according to the most recent geographers and hydrographers, in preserving the proportion of the equator and parallels relative to those which start from the centres, and expand on a plane in accordance with the double shape of the heart. . . . Accept this little gift, and thank Ch. Wechel by whose liberality and at whose cost it is communicated to thee. Farewell. . . . July, 1531.”

Below the scroll there is a coat of arms, which exhibits the lilies of France, quartered with three dolphins; that is, the escutcheon of Francis, Duke of Brittany, then heir-apparent to the throne of France,⁶⁴⁵ and who died in the year 1536.

Although Finæus, in his addresses to the reader (1531, 1536, 1541), never fails to allude to recent information obtained from hydrographers,

⁶⁴⁴ PINCHARD, *Archives des Arts, Sciences et Lettres*; Gand, 1863, Vol. I., p. 135.

⁶⁴⁵ ANSELME, *Histoire généalogique*, Vol. I. page 131. It is worthy of notice that many French maps of the time are implicitly dedicated, like the present, not to the King, but to the Dauphin. Cf. the Harleian and Descellier planispheres (*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, pp. 198, 210, 218).

The fine French portolano, dated 1543, and belonging to H. Y. THOMPSON, Esq., bears across “Le Canade” a flag with the same escutcheon, applying, necessarily, to the next Dauphins, respectively, Henry and Charles. If, on the other hand, the cordiform map of 1536 bears the royal arms exclusively, it is because its original was made for FRANCIS I., when already King.

our opinion is that he has only borrowed data from some pre-existing globe; and that the projection was always his chief thought and object. What is the model globe which he has followed servilely? So far as our elements of discussion permit us to enquire into the matter, there are two globes which may be supposed to have furnished Finæus with the geographical configurations and names inscribed in his mappamundi. They are Schöner's of 1523, and the sphere which Franciscus Monachus constructed for Archbishop Carondelet in 1525. Unfortunately, those globes are lost, and cannot be described in detail. All we know is that they certainly joined America with Asia, north of the equator. But, judging from the reduction of the latter in *De Orbis Situ*, and Schöner's globe of 1533, both exhibited configurations which can be easily recognised in the double cordiform mappamundi of Finæus, especially when this is reduced to Mercator's projection.⁶⁴⁶ As to the nomenclature, the following table shows that it is the same in Finæus and Schöner's globe of 1533, which we assume to be based upon his lost globe of 1523.

| SCHÖNER. | FINÆUS. | SCHÖNER. | FINÆUS. |
|-------------------------|--------------------|----------------|----------------------------------|
| Bachalaos | Baccalar. | Mexico | ..... |
| Terra florida | Terra florida | Almeria | Almeria |
| Rio de S. spiritu | R. de S. spir. | Seuilla | Seuilla |
| ..... | P. de areticos | R. d. Aluara | R. d. aluarado |
| R. Arbal | R. arbaledas | Canto | ..... |
| ..... | R. d. palma. | ..... | Insule sacrificior. |
| ..... | Tamacho P. | R. de Qua. | R. de qualq° |
| ..... | R. panico | ..... | S. Andre |
| ..... | ..... | ..... | Oatcalca ⁶⁴⁷ |
| R. S. lore ^a | ..... | R. d. Griua. | R. de grisa. |
| Tamara | ..... | C. S. Antho. | C. S. ãto. |
| Laont | ..... | Iucatan | Iucatans |
| Tangut prov. | Tangvt | Cozumella | ..... |
| Cannibali | Cābalu | C. de Higueras | E. . s de Higeras ⁶⁴⁸ |
| S. Michel | Prov. S. Michaelis | P. de gratias | P. de grã |
| Calco | Calco | Arifes | Arifes |
| Cathay | Cathay | Morion | Moriona |
| Vel Culmana | Vel culnã | ..... | Parias |
| Temistita | Temistitã | Dariena | Dariena |
| Messigo | Messigo | Furna | Furna |
| ..... | Mansi | Sinus Urabe | Sinus Vraba |
| ..... | S. petro | Urabe | Vrabe |

⁶⁴⁶ Such a reduction was executed by our late friend J. Carson BREVOORT, and is very useful.

⁶⁴⁷ "Cempoal," in FINÆUS' single cordiform map.

⁶⁴⁸ "Sinus de Higeras," *ibidem*.

| SCHÖNER. | FINÆUS. | SCHÖNER. | FINÆUS. |
|---------------|---------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| C. Martha | S. martha | Mont. fregoso | Monte fregoso |
| C. d. gratia | C. de grã | R. Brazil | R. Brazil |
| R. forno | R. forno | Barossa | Barossa |
| Vallis famosa | Vallis famosa | Pasqualis mons. | Mons Pasqualis |
| Pariano | Pariona | R. S. Lucie | R. S. lucie |
| Angla | Angla | C. S. Thomae | C. S. thome |
| R. dulce | R. dulce | R. Jordan | R. Iord. |
| Arbaledo | Arbaledo | C. S. Maria | C. S. marie |
| P. de Santo | P. de Saulo | R. S. Sebas. | R. S. Sebast. |
| S. Roch | S. rocho | Cananor | Cananor |
| ..... | S. Michael | C. Julian | S. Juliani |
| C. S. Crucis | C. S. crucis | C. S. Crucis | C. S. Cru. |
| Maria de gra. | Maria de gr. | Mare Magellanicum | Mare Magellanicum |
| R. Real | R. Real | Regio Patalis | Regio Patalis |

Several critics have advanced the opinion that it was Schöner who copied Finæus. This hypothesis seemed plausible so long as geographers believed that Schöner's globe of 1533 marked his first evolution in the graphic descriptions of America. But now that the elements of the globe which he constructed in 1523 are shown to have been inferences predicated upon the voyage of Magellan; and that those inferences caused him to consider the New World, not as one or several separate continents, as he had theretofore taught and believed, but as a mere continuation of Asia, north of the equator,⁶⁴⁹ Schöner, so far back as 1523, must have already represented America and Asia as one solid mass, precisely as in the globe of 1533. Nor is it necessary to believe that it was that globe of 1523 in particular, which Finæus took as a model. Schöner was *par excellence* a globe maker; and it is scarcely admissible that he remained from 1523 until 1533 without constructing spheres. On the other hand, if he did execute globes during that period, they must have exhibited the configurations initiated in 1523; and it may possibly be one of those which Finæus copied.⁶⁵⁰

⁶⁴⁹ See *supra*, No. 147, p. 525.

⁶⁵⁰ SCHÖNER knew the works of FINÆUS, and speaks of him in commendable terms: "Est etiam uir apud Lutetiam in Gallijs, Orontius, homo multe et diligentis lectionis" (*Tabule astronomica*, f. lxxix., recto, in the *Opera mathematica*, Norimb., 1551, fol.) "Hac autem in parte summas tribuimus doctissimis uiris D. Orontio Fineo Delphinati et D. Petro Appiano in descriptione cordis Cosmographici, D. uero Gemmæ Frisio in globoso

corpore, quos hac in re consulendos potius duximus, quam quod fastidiosa prolixitate libri animo studiosorum obstreperemus" (*Opera mathematica*, leaf inserted between ff. cxliiii. and cxlv.). But this does not prove that SCHÖNER borrowed his geographical information from FINÆUS. The reference is to the mode of constructing globes or projections, and the first allusion to it was written only in 1536, whilst the other seems to be of a later date still.

The present map was engraved at the cost of Christian Wechel, a Swiss publisher in Paris. But although it is sometimes found in the edition of the *Novus Orbis* published in 1532 in that city,⁶⁵¹ we are no longer inclined to think that it was engraved expressly to accompany the latter publication. For not only is there no edition of the *Novus Orbis* known to have been published by Wechel, but the map figures as a separate title in all the catalogues of the works of Orontius.⁶⁵² Besides, in 1532, the privilege was granted to the latter himself for ten years. The probability is that the map sold separately, and was inserted in the *Novus Orbis* of 1532 only by amateurs, who wished to add it to the book. The plate nevertheless does not seem to have remained the property of Orontius Finæus; for when Wechel, like Jean Roigny, caused copies of the Paris edition of the *Pomponius Mela* of Vadianus⁶⁵³ to have title pages printed with his mark in 1540, he added to these the present map, after a new address to the reader in his own name had been engraved and inserted in the map as follows :

“Excudimvs, lector studiosè, ueram & absolutam totius orbis descriptionem ex optimis quibusque et Geographis et Hydrographis bona fide comportatam : quæ ad gemini humani cordis imitationem in plano exprimitur ut in corpore spherico, uix possit absolutius. Ac cor sinistrum Borealis : dextrum Australis plage situm, apta lineamentorum proportione representat. Ex scuto Basiliensi M.D.XL.”⁶⁵⁴

“We have engraved, studious reader, this true and complete description of the entire world according to the best geographers and hydrographers, which, in imitation of a double human heart is exhibited on a plane as exactly as possible for a spherical body. The left heart represents in a just proportion the northern shores, the right one, the southern shores. At the Basle escutcheon, 1540.”

1532.

No. 197. BARTOLOMEO OLIVES.

Atlas in the Royal University Library at Pisa, composed of eleven maps, the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth of which exhibit American configurations. These maps measure 290 by 370 mm., and one of them bears the following inscription :

⁶⁵¹ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 173.

⁶⁵² *Infra*, No. 224.

⁶⁵³ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima, Additions*, pp. 133, 134, Nos. 126 and 127.

⁶⁵⁴ That is, the store bearing as a sign the arms of the city of Basle, which was the establishment of Christian Wechel in *Vico Iacobæo*; for in *Vico Bellouacensi*, the sign represented Pegasus. In our *Excerpta Colombi-*

niana, p. 301, *Des enseignes d'imprimeurs*, we have shown that these signs were neither trade marks nor traders' signs, as they are now, but simply marks corresponding with the number of the house in the street; for in those days the houses in Paris bore no number. That is the reason why we see the same bookseller often change his sign; which means only a removal of his business to some other street, or house in the same street.

“1532 in Messina nel Castello del Salvador, Bartolomeo Olives, Maiorchino :—1532 in Messina, in the Castle of Our Lord, Bartolomew Olives, of Majorca.”⁶⁵⁵

We have before us a copy of the seventh, eighth, and ninth maps. The first of these represents only Newfoundland, but in such a manner as not to allow the reader to see whether it adheres to the mainland. We notice four new names, which are given to adjoining islands, viz.:

Diablo S. Cruz Breton Illas de plasansa.

Map eighth represents the Brazilian elbow, beginning with “Cabo de Palmar.” Map ninth is the north-east coast of South America, beginning with New Granada. Map tenth represents Yucatan and both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts about the equator.

We do not reproduce the other new names, because they seem to be interpolations of a much later date than the map itself. For instance, in map tenth the entire coast, from east to west, of “Rio de las amesonas” is traced, whilst on the mouths of the mighty stream we read: “Posterior descubrio dende su nasimiento francisco de orellana el Año 1544.” These additions may be the work of Bartolomeo Olives himself, as we have maps of his making, dated: “Venessia adi 17 de Junnyo anno 1559,” 1561, and even “Año 1583 Bartolomé Olives Mallorquin en Misina en el Castillo del Salvador,” as well as 1584.⁶⁵⁶ The latter dates, however, lead us to think that there have been two cartographers of the name of Bartolomé Olives, as we have received the assurance that the present atlas is really dated 1532, whilst the annotation “Posterior descubrio” confirms that date. Admitting that in 1532 Bart. Olives was only twenty-one years of age, he would have been seventy-three years old when delineating the atlas of 1584. This is not impossible, but seems to us improbable, owing to the minute and neat configurations and lettering in the same. The probability is that there were two Bartolomeo Olives, father and son.

No. 198. BASLE “NOVUS ORBIS.”

It is a map of the world, 550 by 370 mm., usually found in the *Novus Orbis* published at Basle⁶⁵⁷ in 1532. The title is simply:

Cosmographicvs Vniversalis.

⁶⁵⁵ It was first made known by Prof. Gustavo UZIELLI; *Elenco degli atlanti* . . . Roma, 1882, p. 241. No. 414.

⁶⁵⁶ *Elenco*, Nos. 421, 428, 437, 438.

⁶⁵⁷ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 171.

The frame is square, but the mappamundi is oval, and in the space between the curve and angles there are finely engraved scenes, ornaments, and fantastical monsters. Within the oval, on the right of the reader, there are two frames about 80 by 90 mm., each containing a long inscription. The first begins with the word INDIA, the second with the word SCVTARVM (*sic pro* SCYTARVM).⁶⁵⁸ The New World is divided into two sections, the configurations of which resemble those adopted by Schöner in all his early globes; and certainly proceed from a Lusitanian prototype akin to Canerio. The northern part is a narrow and elongated continental land, deeply indented north of the tropic of Cancer, and bearing only one legend, viz.: "Terra de Cuba." North-easterly of the same, but far in the open sea, there is a deeply indented island, named "Terra Cortesia," which is Newfoundland, as depicted in the early Lusitanian charts. The southern part is also continental, drawn broad near the equator, but contracting on both sides by 20° south latitude, and forming thenceforward only a narrow strip. The names inscribed are "Parias, Canibali, America Terra Nova, Prisilia," and then, in large capitals, ASIA, printed from type inserted in the block.

This mappamundi served also for the *Novus Orbis* printed at Basle⁶⁵⁹ in 1537, but it differs from the above in the word ASIA being printed in smaller type. Finally, the plate was used again for the edition of the *Novus Orbis* published at Basle in 1555. But this time the word ASIA was suppressed altogether from the South American continent, and the title, which, being placed in all the editions outside the border could easily be changed, has been altered by the addition of a word, and reads as follows: *Typus cosmographicus universalis*, whilst the word in the small frame reads: "Scytarvm," instead of "Scvtarum." It is worthy of notice that this latter issue (that is, with the word *Typus* added to the title, and the word ASIA suppressed in the South-American continent), is not unfrequently found in bound copies of the Basle *Novus Orbis*⁶⁶⁰ of 1532, and even in the Cologne edition of the *De Insulis nuper inventis Ferdinandi Cortesii ad Carolum V. Narrationes*.

That map is usually ascribed to Sebastian Munster, owing to the facts that the title of the *Novus Orbis* announces a map: "cum tabula

⁶⁵⁸ If our memory serves us right.

⁶⁵⁹ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 223. GROSLIER'S own copy was seen at the sale of the library of the Duke of HAMILTON, in 1883; No. 187.

⁶⁶⁰ This is probably the reason why Dr. NORDENSKIÖLD and Mr. MÜLLER, of Amsterdam, have published that issue in facsimile, believing it was the first edition, whilst in reality it is the third.

cosmographica," and that the work contains a disquisition from Munster relative to a mappamundi: "Typi cosmographici et Declaratio usus," where he speaks as follows:

"Non licuit quidem singularum regionum et quarumlibet insularum indicare situm, quum tabulæ angustia id minime pateretur nec id etiam instituerimus:—We have found it impossible to indicate the position of all the regions and of all the islands, because the narrowness of our map did not allow of it, and that was not our object."

It may be said that Munster seems to speak here as the mouthpiece of all the parties concerned in the preparation of the *Novus Orbis*; that his disquisition enables the reader to ascertain what was the exact character of the configurations in the map which was actually published in 1532, with the Basle edition of that work, and that the present map differs absolutely from those which Munster adopted only three or four years afterwards, first for his *Tabula novarum insularum*, and then for his *Typus universalis*. In the present instance the delineations recall, as we have said, the globes of Schöner, and in the other the Maggiolo and Verrazano maps. Nor should we fail to notice that the two latter maps were already in existence since 1527 and 1529. On the other hand, it is not absolutely impossible that Munster may have drawn the present map in or before 1532; and, having afterwards obtained more accurate data, thrown those first configurations overboard, and constructed with his new information the *Tabula novarum insularum*, and the *Typus orbis universalis*.

Reverting to the mappamundi which we are now describing, its editions may be set forth under three heads, viz.:

A. Title: *Cosmographicus universalis* (without the word *Typus*?), and with ASIA in large letters. This is the first edition, and belongs to the Basle *Novus Orbis* of 1532.

B. Title: also *Cosmographicus universalis*, but the word ASIA is in small characters. This is the second edition, and is invariably found in complete copies of the Basle *Novus Orbis* of 1537.

C. Title: *Typus cosmographicus universalis*, with the word Asia omitted from the New World altogether. This is the third edition, and it belongs to the Basle *Novus Orbis* of 1555.⁶⁶¹

No. 200. OVIEDO'S HUYAPARI.

This map describes the exploration of the mouths of the Rio de Huyapari (Orinoco) by Diego de Ordaz, Alonso de Herrera, and Geronimo Dortal or Ortál, which commenced from Paria, June 23, 1532.

⁶⁶¹ We must confess that in the above classification we have been guided chiefly by the *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, and find ourselves unable to confirm our description of A., that is, whether the word *Typus* has really been omitted in the title. At first sight it seems to be an omission on our part.

“Este nombre Huyapari que los chripstianos dan á este famoso rio, ovo origen de los chripstianos que con el piloto Johan Barrio de Quexo avian ydo á le descubrir desde Cubagua que le llamaron assi mucho tiempo antes que el capitan Diego de Ordaz se ocupasse en esta empresa :—That name of Huyapari given by the Christians to that famous river, owes its origin to the Christians who with the pilot John Barrio de Quexo, went from Cubagua to discover it, long before the undertaking of Diego de Ordaz.”⁶⁶²

A facsimile, 550 by 280 mm., is inserted in the Madrid edition of Oviedo, and we borrow from it the following new names :

| | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| R. gunaguanari | R. de finoco | Rio de bega | P. de paria |
| Rio bininio | R. de tiznados | R. neueri | Rio de huyapari |
| R. de la portuguesa | Rio de guarico | Golfo cariacó | Rio e prouincia de |
| R. de pao | Pueblo de Catalina | Cosa de la discordia | arnaca |
| R. de Nirua | Rio de Barrancas | R. amana | Rio de carcanaca |

Oviedo's maps are extremely important, as being not only legibly written, which enables us to ascertain the true orthography of names in other charts, but as containing legends of an historical or descriptive character. We will here copy a few :

“Aqui estan las pueblo e señorío de la Reyna Orocomay laqual no se sirue sino de mugeres :—Here are the village and domain of Queen Orocomay, who only employs females.”

“Aqui mataron a al^o de herrera teniente del gou^{or} dortal :—Here they killed Alonso de Herrera, the lieutenant of Governor Dortal.”

“Junto a este rio en el pueblo de Catalina prendio geronimo dortal a Ju^o de arguello e lo hizo a horcar por sus meritos :—Near that river, in the village of Catalina, Geronimo Dortal seized Juan de Arguello, and had him hanged according to his deserts.”

NO. 201. MAP OF MEXICO.

It is a map which was sent by the Audiencia of Mexico, July 5, 1532, to the Empress Isabella, wife of Charles V. :

“La descripcion i razon desta tierra i de las personas de las Conq^a i Pobe^a enbiamos . . . A los Indios que diesen pintadas sus tierras i pueblas . . .”⁶⁶³

NO. 202. GUZMAN'S CONQUESTS.

Map mentioned in a letter sent by the Judges (“Oidores”) to the Empress, July 10, 1532.

“Con la descripcion va la pintura de la tierra que N[uiño] de Guzman conquisto.”⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁶² OVIEDO, *Historia General*, lib. xxiv., cap. iii., Vol. II., p. 216-223.

⁶⁶³ Muñoz Transcripts, Vol. LXXIX., f^o. 118 vo.

⁶⁶⁴ Muñoz *ibidem*.

For the conquests, or alleged conquest, of that ferocious "conquistador," see Herrera, Decad. IV. and V., who calls him "sin servicios ni experiencia," and charges him with having falsely pretended to have discovered Xalisco. For two years, however, he explored those regions.

No. 203. JOHANN ZIEGLER.

It is one of the maps forming the appendix of the first edition of a collection of his works, published at Strasburg, in 1532, by Petrus Opilionem.⁶⁶⁵ The map is anonymous. West of Iceland there is a large continent bearing these names and legends:

"Inde continuatur littori terræ Baccallaos, Terra baccalaos, Vltiora incognita Gronlandia, Hvetsargh Promont."

What Ziegler calls "Schondia" embraces such northern regions as Greenland, Iceland, Lapland, &c.; and it is whilst thus illustrating those countries with a map that he happens to notice the east coast of the new continent. His intention, as expressed on page 85 of the *Opera varia*, was to write a special work "concerning the northern parts of the world, of which the ancients knew nothing whatever." His knowledge about Greenland was derived from two bishops who had lived in that country, and whom he met at Rome; whilst what he says as regards America is borrowed from Peter Martyr.

The present map is also to be found in Ziegler's *Terræ Sanctæ*, published at Strasburg in 1536. It has been facsimiled by Nordenskiöld, No. XXXI.

No. 204. ROSELLO.

Mappamundi on the last double leaf of one of the editions of a titleless *Isolario*,⁶⁶⁶ printed at Venice or Florence, apparently in 1532. It is 380 by 180 mm., and signed: "F. Rosello Florentino fecit." In the prologue of the *Isolario*, which is in rhyme, the following verse gives the name of the author of the book.

⁶⁶⁵ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, Nos. 167, 173, 217.

⁶⁶⁶ 4to (not folio), 28 ff., signat. A-H, printed in Roman characters, except the verse on the map, which is in small B.L. BRUNET, Vol. I., col. 679, l. 67, describes the La Vallière copy which was announced in the cata-

logue (III., No. 3696) under the title of *Carte del mare Egeo in rima, 1532*. This title is also on the back of the Paris National Library copy (*Y non porté, Rés.*), and was likewise given by LIBRI (*Choicer portion*, No. 266), but to what seems to be the first edition, which, however, like the second, is titleless.

| | |
|--|---|
| <p>Per me bon Venitian Bartolomeo Per aprobar questa opereta fata per me Bartolomeo da li sonetti intendo de monstrar con veri effetti quanto che londa egiea habia cercatha Et se ho piu volte ogninsula chalchata e porti e vale e scogli sporchi ei netti col bosolo per venti o[ho]i capi reti</p> | <p>col stilo in charte ciaschuna segnata Quindece volte intrireme son statto ufficiale e poi patrone in nave merce di mei signor chonor mhã fatto Bis con el bembo e tre pexari me haue sopranzo longo e prima el bon donato tre Loredami a do viazi graue Laltro fu piu suave Querini baxadona e barbarigo Venier Rimonde Zorzi e Mocenigo</p> |
|--|---|

Tiraboschi,⁶⁶⁷ Libri,⁶⁶⁸ and others, on the sole authority of Quadrio,⁶⁶⁹ consider this Bartolomeo as being identical with Bartolomeo Zamberti, who, born at Venice in 1477, died in 1485. If so, the mappamundi is, of course, an addition with which he had nothing to do. Melzi, however, says⁶⁷⁰ that our Bartolomeo, who took the surname “da li Sonetti:—He who wrote sonnets,” was simply a seafaring man, first simple sailor, and afterwards master of a ship, who amused himself with describing in poor poetry the countries which he had visited, and was not the poet Bartolomeo Zamberti mentioned by Sansovino. From the fact that his sonnets allude not only to the islands, but to the western coasts of Europe and Africa, without ever referring to the New World,⁶⁷¹ not even in the verse surrounding the map which depicts it, we infer that Bartolomeo wrote before the discovery of America. As to that map, it is oval, well engraved, and, although the general aspect recalls Bordone’s mappamundi, is a different production altogether. It bears the following title in black letter, which applies both to the text and map:

“ Figura & Scrittura in somma di tutto lo habitato. Finis M.DXXXII.”

The continent of North America bears the inscription “Terra de Castelle,” and, in a large river emptying into the Atlantic: “Rio de fo . . .” On the southern continent we read: “Terra S. Crvcis sive Mvndvs Novvs,” and notice a wide stream running from north to south, evidently intended for the Amazona. Neither the 171 verse in Italian, printed on the margin of the map, nor the map itself, are in the first edition of the *Isolario*; but it contains the woodcuts of islands, from different blocks,

⁶⁶⁷ TIRABOSCHI, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, 1794, Vol. III., pp. 523, 1466.

⁶⁶⁸ *Choicer portion of the Libri library*, 1859, No. 266.

⁶⁶⁹ QUADRIO, *Storia d'ogni poesia*, Bologna, 1739, 4to, Vol. IV., p. 48.

⁶⁷⁰ G. M. *Dizionario di opere anonimo*, Vol. I., p. 115.

⁶⁷¹ The nearest we could find was this verse:

Parte del nostro habitato universo
dalla aurora tren per sue confine
la terra ignota onde esce apollo terso . . .

and, in the copy before us, with the manuscript addition of many names and ornaments. There is a sketch of Rosello's map in the atlas of Santarem, who does not indicate its source. Nor have we been able to ascertain anything about that Florentine cartographer, or rather engraver.⁶⁷²

No. 205. THE MARACAYBO REGION.

This map accompanied a relation sent to Charles V., concerning, apparently, the events which led to the death of the German governor of Venezuela. It measures 240 by 100 mm., and exhibits the "Laguna de Maraycabo," the "Siera de los Bvbvres," the "Siera Nevada," and the course of the "Rio Grande." Between the southern shore of the laguna and the first chain of mountains, we read: "Aqui mataron al gouv^r. ambrosio:—Here they killed Governor Ambrosio." This governor was Ambrosio Alfinger, the agent of the Welsers of Augsburg, to whom Charles V. by way of retribution for heavy loans, had bestowed the province of Venezuela, to be held as an hereditary fief from the crown of Castile, and which they still possessed so late as 1555. He was killed by the Indians⁶⁷³ in the summer of 1532. Oviedo added a copy of this map to his *Historia General*, because, said he, it differs materially from the one made by Alónso de Chaves: "porque . . . es muy diferente de la carta." It has been reproduced in facsimile, and inserted in Vol. II. of the Madrid edition of Oviedo. The new names are the following:

| | | | |
|-------------------|------------|----------------------|--------------|
| R. Yaxo | Pauxoto | Sierra del nieve (?) | Xuara |
| R. oryno | Xiriguanas | Camiruas | El pasaje |
| La ramada | Pacabucys | Maracaybo | Pueblo viejo |
| Macayde | Tamara | Tierra despoblada | Catafio |
| Buredes coronados | Cometi | Pemenos | Paraguana |
| | Condaguas | Aruacanas | |

1533.

No. 206. SCHÖNER'S WEIMAR GLOBE.

This globe is apparently made of wood or pasteboard, measuring 261 mm. diameter, depicted by hand, but neither signed nor dated. *Supra*, page 519, there is a copy of the western hemisphere, to which we beg

⁶⁷² The only cartographer whose name approaches "Rosello," is Pietro ROSELLI or ROSELI, a Majorcan, it seems, who constructed charts so far back as 1464.

LELEWEL, *Géographie du Moyen Age*, Vol. II., p. 108.

⁶⁷³ OVIEDO, *Historia General*, lib. xxv., caps. i.-v., Vol. II., p. 270-284.

to refer the reader.⁶⁷⁴ There is a tract of Schöner's bearing this title :

“Opusculum Geographicum ex diversorum libris ac cartis summa cura et diligentia collectum, accommodatum ad recenter elaboratum ab eodem globum descriptionis terrenæ:— Geographical tract extracted from diverse books and maps, with great care and diligence, and arranged for the recently elaborated globe of the description of the earth.”⁶⁷⁵

It is dated “ex urbe Norica Id. Novembris Anno xxxiii.,” that is, from the city of Nuremberg, November 13, 1533; but we do not know exactly when and where it was printed, as neither the title-page nor the last leaf contain printer's mark, date, or place of printing. It is very probable, however, that the book came out of a Nuremberg press, Frederick Peypus' or Johannes Petrus'. The tract is dedicated to Frederick of Saxony, and was written in elucidation of a terrestrial globe which Schöner had constructed at the same time for that prince. It is very generally believed⁶⁷⁶ that one of the globes preserved in the Grand Ducal Library at Weimar (ex-Militar Bibliothek), and which we are at present describing, is a duplicate, if not the globe itself, mentioned in the above-quoted *Opusculum*. We should state, however, that the Weimar sphere in question bears on its stand the date of “1534.” This may arise from the tract and globe having been issued probably in January, 1534, which is only six or seven weeks after the date in the text. And as to Schöner being the maker, we entirely share Dr. Wieser's opinion, justly expressed in the following remarks :

“Die Uebereinstimmung zwischen ihm und dem *Opusculum geographicum* Schöner's von 1533, welche Schrift sich wiederholt auf einem *neuen* Globus bezieht ist so gross, dass an dem Datum und der Autorschaft gar nicht gezweifelt werden kann.”

We can even go further, and add that the expressions used so far back as Schöner's tract of 1523, which we have quoted and will soon repeat, bespoke the configurations exhibited in this globe. By referring to our observations concerning Schöner's globe of 1523 (*supra*, page 525), it will be noticed that, in the *Opusculum*, he makes this statement :

⁶⁷⁴ We are indebted to the liberality of His Highness the Grand-Duke of SAXE WEIMAR and to the enlightened kindness of Dr. LEIDENFROST for that copy, and we gladly avail ourselves of the present opportunity to reiterate our most sincere thanks. Dr. WIESER, in his valuable work on the Strait of Magellan, had already reproduced the southern hemisphere of the present globe of SCHÖNER, which greatly aided us in ascertaining the origin of the American configurations used by Orontius

FINÆUS in his mappamundi of 1531. See, *supra*, No. 197, page 582.

⁶⁷⁵ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 178.

⁶⁷⁶ WIESER, *Magalhaes-Strasse*, p. 77. The remarks of SANTAREM, *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, Paris, 1847, page 322, and of HUMBOLDT, *Examen critique*, Vol. II., page 28, show that the globe of SCHÖNER considered to be of 1533, is no other than the present.

“Modo vero per novissimas navigationes factas, anno post Christum 1519 per Magellanum ducem navium Invictissimi Cæsaris divi Caroli versus Moluccas insulas . . . eam terram invenerunt esse continentem superioris Indiæ, quæ pars est Asiæ:—But very lately, thanks to the recent navigations accomplished in 1519 by Magellan, the commander of the ships of Charles V. sent to the Molucca islands, it has been ascertained that the country [of America] belonged to the continent of Upper India, which is a portion of India.”

The most noticeable peculiarity in the globe of 1533 is the blending of the New with the Old Continent; and, as the surprising inference just quoted is thus shown to have been the starting point of a new evolution in the cosmographical ideas of Schöner, which dates, therefore, from the time when he first heard of the discovery of the Magellanic passage, we are constrained to believe that the globe of 1523 already exhibited such a geographical configuration. A consequence to be drawn from this fact is, as we have already remarked, that it was not Schöner who copied Finæus, but the reverse. Our theory is that this globe of 1533 is an improved reproduction of the one which the Nuremberg mathematician constructed in 1523, now lost. The later modifications were doubtless introduced in the north-east coast, but several years before 1533, as we find them already in the double cordiform mappamundi published by Finæus in 1531. The nomenclature of the present globe will be found in the comparative tables added to our description of the “Globe doré,” or Gilt Globe, *supra* No. 181, pages 566-567.

1533.

No. 207. SEBASTIAN CABOT.

This manuscript map is mentioned in a letter which Sebastian Cabot wrote from Seville to Juan de Samano, June 24, 1533:

“Tengo acabada la carta que V^d me mandó, no he podido antes por la muerte de mi hija i dolencia de mi muger i mia.

Veran por ella los SS. del Consejo como

“I have finished the map which you ordered from me. I could not do it sooner, owing to the death of my daughter,⁶⁷⁷ and my wife's⁶⁷⁸ illness as well as my own. The Lords

⁶⁷⁷ In the last will and testament of William MYCHELL, a London chaplain, who came originally from Brighthelmston in Sussex, which was executed May 7, 1516, there is the following legacy: “Lego Elizabeth filie Sebastiani Caboto filiole mee iii^{li} iij^d” This Elizabeth is probably the daughter of our CABOT, and according to the above, who died in June, 1533. If so, she was born in England before 1512, as that is the year when her father left that country to settle in Spain, where he removed his family shortly after October: “A traer su

mujer i casa.” (*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xviii., p. 332.) General Meredith READ has kindly secured at our request a copy of the above-mentioned will, the original of which is preserved in the Principal Registry of the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice. There are no other authentic references known of a child of Sebastian CABOT; although several families claim to descend from him.

⁶⁷⁸ Her name was Catalina MEDRANO, and she settled in Spain with her husband in 1512.

se puede navegar por redondo por sus derrotas como se hace por una carta, i la causa porque nordestea i noruesta la guja, i como es forzoso que lo haga, i que tantas quartas ha de nordestear in noruestear antes que torna a bolverse acia el norte, i en qué meridiano, i con esto tendra Su. Magestad la regla cierta para tomar la longitud . . ." (Carta de Sebastian Gaboto, que dirigió el día San Juan de 1533 al Secretario Juan de Sámano).

of the Council will see by that map how one can navigate circuitously by its rumbs as marked on charts, and the cause why the needle turns north-eastward and north-westward, and why it is necessarily so, and how many points of the compass the needle must go over north-eastward and north-westward before returning to the north, and . . . the meridian (?). With this, His Majesty will have a sure rule for ascertaining the longitude . . ." ⁶⁷⁹

That is, evidently, the map (and not the one afterwards engraved under the date of 1544) which was offered for sale after the death of Juan de Ovando, the president of the Council of the Indies, in September, 1575.⁶⁸⁰ That map has disappeared, but, if ever discovered, it will prove interesting to compare its north-eastern configurations and legends with those of the Paris planisphere of 1544.

There is another one which would be not less curious to examine, should searchers have the good fortune to find it. We allude to the mappamundi in two parts which Cabot sent from London, November 15, 1554, to Charles V., by Francisco de Urista :

"Asi mismo lleva el dicho Francisco de Urista para que V. M. las vea, dos figuras que son un mapa mundi cortado por el equinocio por donde V. M. vera las causas de la variacion que hace la aguja de marear con el polo, y las causas porque otra vez torna a volver derechamente al polo artico." ⁶⁸¹

No. 208. MAPS BY NATIVES.

They seem to have been maps of Cuednavaca, and are mentioned in a letter addressed to the Empress Isabella, wife of Charles the Fifth, February 9, 1533 :

"Los Indios de Cuednavaca [in Guatemala?] han venido con pinturas de los demasiados tributos, de las tierras que les toman :—The Indians of Cuednavaca have come with maps of the countries from which they took the additional tributes." ⁶⁸²

No. 209. MAP FOR ALLOTTING INDIANS.

It is referred to in a letter of June 6, 1533, addressed by the Count Manrique and others to Charles V.:

⁶⁷⁹ Muñoz MSS., preserved in the Madrid Academy of History, Vol. LXXIX., f^o 287, recto.

⁶⁸⁰ *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 151.

⁶⁸¹ *Collect. de documentos ineditos para la Historia de España*; Vol. III. (1843), p. 512.

⁶⁸² Muñoz Transcripts, Vol. LXXIX., f^o 313.

“Ha venido la descripción e informaciones para el repartimiento i reformation general de la Nueva España. El obispo conviene allá: irá al punto, o esperará a V. M. . . .”⁶⁸³

Perhaps this was only a list, although Indians were usually allotted to the Spanish settlers in accordance with the locality of the estate.

No. 210. BOTELHO PEREIRA.

It was a mappamundi, embracing all the discoveries which had then been accomplished, and constructed by Diego Botelho Pereira, who presented it to King João II., when that cartographer first came to Portugal from Cochin, his native place.

“Por elle ser muito curioso et pratico na Geografia, et saber fazer cartas de marear fez huã grande, em que descreveo tudo o que do Mundo era descubierto, et a uppresentou à el Rei Dom Joaõ [II.]:—Being quite ingenious and versed in geography, and skilful in the making of charts, he made one describing all that which had been discovered of the world, and presented it to King Joaõ.”⁶⁸⁴

1534.

No. 211. RAMUSIO'S NEW WORLD.

It is a map of North and South America, which measures 840 by 1070 mm., and containing a privilege worded as follows:

“M.D.XXXIIII. Del mese di Dicembre. La carta uniuersale della terra ferma et Isole delle Indie occide[n]tali, cio è del mondo nouo fatta per dichiarazione delli libri delle Indie, cauata da due carte da' nauicare fatte in Sibilia da li piloti della Maiesta Cesarea. Con gratia et priuilegio della Illustrissima Signoria di Venetia p[er] anni XX.”

The present rare map was found inserted in a bound copy of the Italian abridgment of Pedro Martyr and Oviedo, published by Ramusio, in 1534, at Venice.⁶⁸⁵ This, together with the fact that the map is printed on thin paper,—so as to be folded more easily,—and the direct reference in the title of the book to the effect that it was made for elucidating the work itself: “Fatta per dichiarazione delli libri delle Indie,” authorise the opinion that the said map may have formed part of Ramusio's *Libri delle Indie*. On the other hand, as we have examined twenty-three copies of that work, several of which were in their original binding, without finding that map or traces of its having been bound with any of them, it may

⁶⁸³ Muñoz Transcripts, Vol. LXXIX., f° 295, recto.

edition of 1615, folio, page 362.

⁶⁸⁴ João DE BARROS, *Quarta Decada da Asia*, Madrid

⁶⁸⁵ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 190.

also be that the map was published separately, by the same publisher, although made to sell with and to accompany the *Libri*.

This valuable map, together with a smaller one inserted in Ramusio's latter work, were extracted from two Spanish charts, one of which belonged to Peter Martyr, and was made at Seville by Nuño Garcia de Torenó; whilst the other was the work of one of the Emperor's pilots, also residing at Seville, but whose name is not given:

“Insieme con le tauoli particolari cauate da due carte da nauicare di Spagnuoli, delle qvalli vna fu di Don Pietro martire . . . et fu fatta per il Piloto et maestro di carte da nauicar Nino Garzia de Loreno [*sic*] in Sibilìa. L'altra fu fatta similimente per vn Piloto della Maesta del imperadore in Sibilìa.”

The data furnished by Garcia de Torenó were necessarily anterior to 1526, since the map once belonged to Peter Martyr, who died on the 23rd or 24th of September of that year. The other elements were inserted at a later date, as the map exhibits the Peruvian coast, which does not figure on the Weimar chart of 1527. On the other hand, this Peruvian coast is carried southward only as far as the city of Tumbez, whilst the Ribeiro chart, which is dated 1529, exhibits the Pacific sea-board 6° further south, to what it calls the province of Chinchax. *A priori*, one would see in this extended configuration a proof that the Ribeiro map is of a later date than the Ramusio one, and, consequently, that the latter was constructed in 1528. But a study of the facts shows that Ribeiro cannot have possessed Peruvian data older than those which were used for the Ramusio map.

All the information gathered concerning the Peruvian coast during Pizarro's first exploration reached Europe when he brought it himself, on his landing at Seville in the summer of 1528. He did not return to Peru until January, 1530, sailing southward from Panama only one year afterwards, in January, 1531. Now, the Ribeiro map is dated: “Año de 1529.” It follows that the legends marked on the same to the south of Tumbez, viz.: “C. de S. Maria, Y. de buena villa [vista?], P^o. de mal abrigo, Sierra morena, Y. de S. Roque,” and “Prouincia de la cibdad de Chinchax,” are points which were visited by Pizarro in 1527, and must be placed north of the Port of Sancta (by 9° south latitude), which was the extreme limit reached at that time. If the cartographer of Ramusio fixes his Peruvian terminus at Tumbez⁶⁸⁶ (by 3° 26' S. lat.), it is because

⁶⁸⁶ As the reader is aware, Tumbez is the place where PIZARRO landed in 1527.

his map being a mere abridgment, he thought fit to mark Tumbez only, on account of its being the place which produced the greatest impression on the Spaniards during their first exploration of the Peruvian coast.

The general context of this map shows that it belongs to the Sevillan Hydrography, and to be of the same family as both the Weimar charts. The only copy known is in the Lenoxiana copy of Ramusio's *Libri*. It has been reproduced by Nordenskiöld, No. LXVII.

No. 212. RAMUSIO'S "SPAGNVOLA."

This map measures 190 by 260 mm., and is inserted in the above-mentioned *Libri delle Indie*. We notice on the north coast the designation "Isabella Vecchia," which occurs on no other map of the time.

No. 213. JOACHIM VADIANUS.

Mappamundi semi-oval, 400 by 230 mm., belonging to the *Epitome* of Vadianus, published in folio at Zurich, in 1534,⁶⁸⁷ and bearing the following title, date, and place where printed:

"Typvs cosmographicvs vniversalis. Tigvri Anno. M.D.XXXIIII."

In this map the configurations of the New World proceed from the same prototype as the mappamundi of the 1532 Basle *Novus Orbis*, if not directly from the latter; but it bears only two inscriptions, viz.: "Terra de Cuba" and "America," whilst it omits altogether the island of Cuba or Isabella, and the West Indian archipelago.

In Conrad Gesner's catalogue of the works printed at Zurich by Froschover,⁶⁸⁸ mention is made of a map bearing this title: "Typus Cosmographicus universalis, in tabula chartæ unius." It seems to be presented as belonging to the edition of Vadianus' *Epitome* which was published in 1548, although the latter is only an octavo. Further on, Gesner again speaks of such a map, but adds that it is "in tabula folij magnitudine," and also to be found in Stumpf's *Chronick*, which was published in 1548. We are unable to say whether those maps differ from the one of 1534. With regard to the latter, judging from the catalogue of maps bequeathed

⁶⁸⁷ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 189. The 8vo edition published under the same date does not contain any map, unless afterwards inserted.

⁶⁸⁸ *Catalogus librorum quos Christophorus Froschoverus Tiguri publicavit*, in GESNER'S *Pandectarum*, Tiguri, 1548, fol., among the preliminary leaves, f^o. 110.

to a Louvain college by Viglius de Zuichem in 1585,⁶⁸⁹ it could be obtained separately. We were in hopes to find at St. Gall, where they preserve the MSS. of Vadianus, some information concerning the data used for that map or for his geographical works, but the Bibliotheca Vadiana contains nothing of the kind. The present has been reproduced by Nordenskiöld, No. LXVI.

No. 214. GASPAR VIEGAS.

It is a Portuguese manuscript chart of the Atlantic Ocean, 1000 by 580 mm., framed and preserved⁶⁹⁰ in the Geographical Department of the Paris National Library; but it formerly belonged to the State Archives, which indicates its having been in France for many years. The map bears the following inscription:

“Gaspar Viegas. Out^o. 1534.”⁶⁹¹

This name is absolutely Lusitanian, as well as the caligraphy and nomenclature; but, notwithstanding researches instituted in Portugal, we could obtain no information concerning that cartographer, or other maps signed by him, except one cited below. Nor is he mentioned in any book.

The National Library possesses three other maps,⁶⁹² but relating to Europe (one also signed by Viegas), which must have belonged, with the present map, to the same atlas. We imagine that it contained, besides, a map devoted exclusively to America, or a mappamundi exhibiting all that was known, in 1534, of the New Continent; since the chart which we are now describing delineates but a small portion of the New World, exhibiting only, after the style of such nautical charts, the extreme profiles of the Atlantic coasts, east and west. At the north, there is only Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, with Cape Breton island. At the south, the coast extends from two or three degrees west of the Maranham to about two degrees south of La Plata.⁶⁹³

That map is, nevertheless, extremely interesting on account of the date of 1534, which is the year of the first voyage of Jacques Cartier, and showing, therefore, the knowledge which the Portuguese possessed of

⁶⁸⁹ PINCHARD, *Archives des Arts, Sciences, et Lettres*, Gand, 1863, Vol. II., p. 311.

⁶⁹⁰ Geographical Department, No. 18,772.

⁶⁹¹ For *Outubro* or October.

⁶⁹² Geographical Department, Nos. 18,773, 18,775, and 18,778.

⁶⁹³ “Mr. le Capitaine de frégate MOUCHEZ qui a été chargé par le gouvernement français de continuer en les perfectionnant les travaux de l’Amiral ROUSSIN [on the coast of Brazil] a été émerveillé comme moi de l’exactitude comparative d’un pareil monument géographique,” says Ferdinand DENIS.

that region previous to the first north-eastern exploration accomplished by the St. Malo seaman. What is remarkable is the fact that Viegas gives certain exact configurations, particularly about the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which all his predecessors have ignored, and which remained unknown even to his successors during many years. Withal, we hesitate to recognise the gut of Canso in the canal which separates from the continent his great oceanic island, and consequently, in the latter, Cape Breton. That insular configuration in Viegas' map, as in Verrazano, Gutierrez, and all the maps of the time, we take to be only an imaginary island, or some portion of the mainland detached from the continent by the fancy or erroneous notions of the early cartographers. Otherwise, it would be impossible to understand how a cosmographer, in possession of geographical data sufficiently exact to give the outline of Cape Breton island, should have made his canal run from north to south, and omit such an island as that of Prince Edward, which covers a million-and-a-half of acres, and certainly could not be avoided by a navigator when issuing out of that gut into the great gulf.

As a matter of course, Newfoundland is yet joined to the continent; and we are unable to say whether the large indenture called "R. das poblas" is intended for the Bay des Chaleurs, or for the mouth of the St. Lawrence river, and the "Rio Pria" for the latter, or for the Saguenay. The new names are :

NEWFOUNDLAND AND GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE :

| | | | |
|----------------|-------------------------|----------------|---------------|
| Baia das Rojas | C. da tormenta | C. da Volta | Costa châ . . |
| Rio Real | C. de piloto | Rio fromoso | R. das poblas |
| S. Maria | C. do Batal | Rio da traveça | R. da gente |
| S. Andre | C. do Mazcato | Rio pria | S. paulo |
| | S. pedro ⁶⁹⁴ | | |

NORTH COAST OF S. AMERICA :

| | | |
|----------------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| B. de S. Joam | Costa aprelada ⁶⁹⁷ | Costa dalloeste |
| Costa vista | C. do parte | G. dos negros |
| B. de Ilheo | C. apelado ⁶⁹⁸ | <i>Terra</i> de S. lucia |
| Costa Cuza ⁶⁹⁵ | Amgra d. todos los pnts ⁶⁹⁹ | C. Corco [Corso or Corço] |
| C. das baixas | R. da nobõ [?] | Sierra de S. migel |
| B. de diego leste ⁶⁹⁶ | B. de dos bracs ⁷⁰⁰ | B. das tartarugas |
| P. de S. marçal | R. da corsa ⁷⁰¹ | |

⁶⁹⁴ That portion of the coast has been published in reduced facsimile by Dr. KOHL, *Discovery of Maine*, plate xviii^a.

⁶⁹⁵ "Costa coxa :"—The Crooked Coast.

⁶⁹⁶ Diego's Bay, east.

⁶⁹⁷ From "aprazivel :"—The Fine Coast.

⁶⁹⁸ The Fine Cape.

⁶⁹⁹ The Bay of All Points.

⁷⁰⁰ The Bay of the Two Arms.

⁷⁰¹ Rio da Corça :—The Bay of the Hind.

BRAZILIAN COAST:

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|------------------------------|
| Rio primo ⁷⁰² | R. de S. Clara | G. do Ilheo |
| Terra cortada | C. dos perilyo parro [?] | . . . dayorcas [d'ajorcas ?] |
| Tinhare [?] | Curpare | R. das begoares |
| C. da brolljo ⁷⁰³ | <i>Porto</i> de S. Vicente | Sete ilhas |
| Baixos dos parguetos ⁷⁰⁴ | Baia dos dragos | Rio de S. Salvador |
| Bõa vigia | Rio de mtia ^o de rourra [?] | |

South of the Rio de la Plata, three names may prove useful to note, viz.: "C. de S. amt^o [Antonio?], Costa de correntes, C. talhado."

No. 215. THE HAVRE CATALAN ATLAS.

It is preserved in the City Library at Havre, and is composed of thirteen maps, 400 by 230 mm., on parchment, roughly designed, while the nomenclature is chiefly in the Catalan language. Five of those maps are devoted exclusively to American regions.

The configurations and names in the Newfoundland map proceed from a Lusitanian chart, like Reinel's or Kunstmann No. 1, but after they had passed through a Sevillan one. This is shown by the fact that if the present map omits certain names inscribed by Reinel, it gives five which are not in the latter, viz.: "C. de boauista, Illa de fogo, Rio fermoso, *Terra* de bertones" and "Ilha de Juan Estevez" ("Santa Cruz" in Reinel). Now these are all inserted in the two Weimar and in the Wolfenbüttel charts, which certainly belong to Seville. And, as several of those names do not figure in Viegas, we are of opinion that the maker of the present atlas has copied, at least for his Newfoundland region, not a Portuguese, but a Lusitano-Spanish map.

The Gulf of Mexico chart depicts the entire coast from Florida to "Cabo de canxines," which is the "Punta de Caxines" discovered and named by Columbus during his fourth voyage. In that portion of the map, great stress will doubtless be laid on the configuration of Yucatan, which is represented in the form of a large semi-circular island, placed nearly two degrees from the continent. This point requires investigation.

The Portuguese maps connected Yucatan with the mainland at the earliest date, as is shown by Kunstmann No. 4. The separation is a

⁷⁰² "Rio primo" is followed by "Rio Segundo," omitted here as being in Kunstmann No. 4.

⁷⁰³ "C. de abrolho:"—The Rocky Coast. In the map

of Chaves, such as it is described by OVIEDO, there is "Baxos de Abrejos."

⁷⁰⁴ The Shoals of small Sea-breems.

Spanish idea, the origin of which it is difficult to ascertain, as the coasting accomplished by Hernandez de Cordova in 1517, which extended from Cape Catoche to Campeche, and that of Juan de Grijalva in 1518, which ranged the western seaboard as far as the Mexican regions, fixed in the minds of Castilian mariners the peninsular character of Yucatan; as is seen by the earliest map representing Yucatanic lands (Garay's, 1519). But in the Cortes map (1524) "Yncatam" begins to appear as a complete island. This erroneous configuration is then adopted by the Sevillian Hydrography, and continues to figure in its maps for several years in the insular form, and to be placed at a relatively great distance from the sea (Weimar No. 1; Maggiolo of 1527; Verrazano, the Gilt Globe, &c.). It is only in 1529 that we begin to notice a change, when Ribero elongates Yucatan, and narrows down the distance which separated it from the mainland; but a strait is still maintained between the two. The conclusion is that the Gulf of Mexico, Caribbean sea, and Yucatan in the Havre Atlas proceed also from the Sevillian Hydrography, most likely from some derivative of the prototype of Weimar No. 1.

The names which seem new to us are, in Florida, "Rio" instead of "Baya de Juan Ponze"; in Honduras, "Baya de Xagua"⁷⁰⁵; and in Mexico, "Rio de la Xagua." The "Valireano" is perhaps the "Valdalmerigo" of the Turin and Laurentiana maps. We notice on the peninsula of Yucatan several names which do not occur there on any other map, viz.: "Toriblanca," "Ditionado," and "Rio de S. Joan." The first two are the "Torre blanca" and "P. deseado," which in Wolfenbüttel and Weimar No. 1 are correctly inscribed on the mainland.

The importance given, or about to be given, to that Atlas makes it incumbent on us to ascertain its approximate date. We have already given the reasons which lead us to believe that the maps of Newfoundland and of the Gulf of Mexico proceed from Sevillian charts, apparently of the year 1527. We must now examine the map of the east coast of South America, and likewise find when it was drawn.

The configurations and names of the La Plata region in that map show a date posterior to 1529, beyond a doubt. It was Juan' Diaz de Solis who, in 1515, discovered, or was the first navigator to explore, for thirty leagues, the estuary of the mighty river. Solis named it "Rio de

⁷⁰⁵ Xagua is a designation which we find only in the lib. vii.), but as referring to a locality in the island of Decades of Peter Martyr D'ANGHIERA (Decad. III., Hispaniola.

Sancta Maria";⁷⁰⁶ but cartographers called it, for more than a quarter of a century afterwards, "Rio Jordan."⁷⁰⁷ Mariners, however, designated that river as the "Rio de Solis."⁷⁰⁸ Its Indian name was "Hurnai" or "Huruai."⁷⁰⁹ The first time we see the denomination of "Rio de la Plata," or rather, "Rio da Prata," is in the letter of Luiz Ramirez,⁷¹⁰ dated from its banks, July 10, 1528; but the name did not commence to appear in maps until long afterwards.⁷¹¹

The present map bears none of the above names. It only inscribes at the junction of the Parana with the Uruguay, "Rios de plata." That is, the Catalan cartographer, strictly speaking, means only to convey the impression that silver is found in the several rivers which form the great estuary. We are convinced that, in reality, he had in view the name of "Rio da Prata"; but, to remain within the literal meaning of the designation, we shall only endeavour to ascertain when it was alleged, for the first time, that the mighty stream drifted silver ore, or that this metal was found in the neighbouring regions.

Gomara makes the name of Rio de la Plata date from Solis, not in the course of the expedition of 1515, but of a preceding one of 1512, undertaken, he says, with one ship, and at his own cost:

"Costeo legua por legua el año de . 12, a su propia costa . . . anduvo hasta ponerse casi en cuarenta grados . . . topo un grandísimo rio que los naturales llaman Paranaguazu, . . . Vido en él muestra de plata, y nombrólo della:—He ranged the coast, league after league, in the year 1512, at his own cost . . . almost as far as 40°, and fell in with an immense river, called by the natives Paranaguazu, and having in it evidence of silver, he so named it."⁷¹²

Gomara, in the first place, is by far the most unreliable historian to be found in the whole list of those who have written concerning the New World. Then, the above statement is, with the exception of the name "Paranaguazu," which he has taken from Oviedo,⁷¹³ a surmise of his own. Gomara also borrowed the account of a voyage made by Solis in 1512 from Oviedo, who has likewise been copied by Herrera;⁷¹⁴ but

⁷⁰⁶ LAS CASAS says that he cannot imagine why that river was called in his time (1561) La Plata: "Solis descubriendo aquél [30°] el rio que agora dicen de la Plata, no sé por qué ocasion." He adds that SOLIS named it "el Cabo y rio de Sancta Maria." Lib. iii., cap. lxxxiii., Vol. IV., p. 270.

⁷⁰⁷ Turin, Weimar, and Maggiolo of 1527.

⁷⁰⁸ PIGAFETTA, *supra*, No. 143, p. 516.

⁷⁰⁹ OVIEDO, lib. xxiii., cap. ii., Vol. II., p. 174, and legend 7th in the Cabotian planisphere of 1544.

⁷¹⁰ *Revista Trimensal*, 1852, Vol. XV., p. 14.

⁷¹¹ Atlases of B. AGNESE (1536-1564).

⁷¹² GOMARA, *Historia de las Indias*, in Vedia's edition, page 210.

⁷¹³ OVIEDO, lib. xi., cap. x., Vol. I., p. 405.

⁷¹⁴ OVIEDO, lib. xxiii., cap. i., Vol. II., page 167; GOMARA, *Hist. de las Indias*, page 211; HERRERA, *Decad. IV.*, p. 169. Our impression is that OVIEDO, whose statement is the fountain head in this instance, has mistaken this supposed expedition for that in which SOLIS was associated with Vicente Yañez PINZON, and which returned to Spain November 14, 1509 (Muñoz MSS., Vol. LXXV., f° 239). This went to Brazil, but certainly not so far south as La Plata.

those three historians are entirely mistaken as regards a voyage by Solis, undertaken at that time. In 1512, Juan Diaz de Solis was in Spain, where, on the 25th of March, he had received the appointment of Pilot-Major, in the place of Vespuccius. On the 30th of August following, he was at Logroño. And if it be true that at the latter date a transatlantic expedition was being fitted out at Lepe, and of which Solis had to be the principal captain, it was composed of three ships, equipped by the Spanish government, and intended to sail only in March, 1513:

“Este [one Ourives, a Portuguese, called in Spain Juan Anriquez] me dise que armavão os tres navios em Lepe, e que o João Diz [called elsewhere in the same letter, “João Diz de Solis, piloto”] hia por capitão principal . . . e que avião de partir em Março.”⁷¹⁵

Silver is mentioned for the first time in connection with the country of Solis in an averment of Diego Garcia, who in 1527 claimed to be the discoverer of the La Plata regions, and to have brought thence, fifteen years before,—that is, so far back as 1512,—a large quantity of silver: “De donde trajo gran porcion de plata.”⁷¹⁶ But that was a vain boast, so far as the remote time of the discovery was concerned, and intended to forestall the forthcoming statements of Sebastian Cabot. What may be true, is the bringing of silver to Spain, when Garcia returned in 1527, as Herrera, who has had access to certain official documents on the subject,⁷¹⁷ mentions the fact, and adds that it was the origin of the name given to the river:

“Tambien Diego Garcia huvo alguna cantidad de plata de los Indios, desde donde se llamò este Rio de la Plata porque fué la primera que se traxo à Castilla de las Indias:—Diego Garcia also obtained a certain quantity of silver from the Indians, hence the name of Rio de la Plata [The River of Silver] because it was the first time silver had been brought from the Indies.”⁷¹⁸

⁷¹⁵ Letter of Juan Mendez DE VASCONCELLOS, in NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 128.

⁷¹⁶ MS. of the Archives of the Indies at Seville. *Lista de los objetos que comprende la Exposicion Americanista*; B, No. 761.

⁷¹⁷ HERRERA seems to have consulted CABOT's official report, now lost (Decad. IV., p. 168). The Paris Jesuits “Collège de Clermont,” possessed the following MS.: “*Relacion de la Entrada de Sebastian Gaboto al Rio de la Plata*; 4to, 59 ll.” When to get out of debt that institution was permitted, in the last century, to sell its famous collection of MSS., the above figured still in the inventory (*Catalogus manuscriptorum Cod. Colleg. Claramontani*; Paris, Saugrain, 1764, 8vo, No. DCCCLI., p. 324). The collection was then sold to Gerard MEERMAN, who, after great difficulties, and the abandonment

of 37 MSS., was permitted to carry it to Holland (H. OMONT, *Document sur la vente des manuscrits du Collège de Clermont*; Paris, 1891, 8vo, 9 pp.). But when Jean MEERMAN sold his father's library in 1824, the Cabotian MS. had disappeared; as it is not mentioned in the *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum quos reliquit vir. nob.*; Johan MEERMAN, 1824, *sine loco*, 8vo. We have made great efforts to discover it, but there are no traces of the MS. either at Paris, Cheltenham, or The Hague, where many of MEERMAN's codices are being preserved. It is interesting to note that a portion only of what MEERMAN bought for \$3,000, has since been purchased by the Royal Library at Berlin for 375,000 marks.

⁷¹⁸ HERRERA, Decad. IV., lib. i., cap. i., p. 3, and lib. viii., cap. xi., p. 168.

In reality the notion spread in Europe only in consequence of the expedition of Sebastian Cabot. We find it for the first time in documents of the period now extant, in the above cited letter of Luiz Ramirez, dated "Do Rio da Prata, 10 de Julho de 1528," and as follows: "En esta tierra havia mucho oro y plata." Sebastian Cabot in his report to Charles V., doubtless also expatiated on that circumstance, as in the seventh legend of his own map, he says that in the country there are large mountains from which silver is extracted in infinite quantities: "En las mismas sierras, sacan infinita plata."⁷¹⁹ Besides, it was on seeing specimens of precious metals sent by Cabot, that Charles V. at Toledo, in October, 1528, determined to colonise the newly-found region: "Vistas las muestras de los Metales, i ensaiados, acordò de mandarle socorrer, para que se poblase aquella Tierra del Rio de la Plata."⁷²⁰

The designation of "Rios de plata," inscribed on the Havre atlas, shows therefore that the map of the La Plata regions cannot have been designed, at all events, before the autumn of 1527. This is confirmed by the fact, that in the angle formed by the river called in modern maps "Rio de la Plata" and the Rio Uruguay, the Havre atlas inscribes "San Salvador." Now that is the designation given by Sebastian Cabot himself to the port⁷²¹ where he constructed a fortress in 1527. But there are proofs that the Havre map is of a more recent date still. Let us, for instance, examine the "Rios de plata" in that map, and ascertain whether such cartographical representations can date from the expedition of Solis. Here is, first, Cabot's version of Solis' discovery:

"Llaman los Indios a este gran Rio el Ryo huruai [*sic*], en Castellano el Rio de la plata toma este nombre del Rio hurnai [*sic*] el qual es un Rio muy caudaloso que entra en el gran Rio de Parana descubriolo Ioan Diaz de Solis piloto mayor de los catholicos reyes de graciosa memoria y descubrio hasta una isla que el dicho Joan Diaz puso nombre la isla de Martin Garcia, porque en ella entierro un marinero que se decia Martin Garcia, la qual dicha isla esta obra treynta leguas arriba de la boca deste Rio."

"The Indians call that great river the Huruai river. In Spanish the Silver River is so called from the Huruai river, which is a very abundant stream which enters the great Parana river. It was discovered by Juan Diaz de Solis, Pilot Major of the Catholic Kings, of glorious memory, and he discovered it as far as an island to which the said Juan Diaz gave the name of the Island of Martin Garcia, because a sailor called Martin Garcia was buried there. The island is situated thirty leagues above the mouth of the river."

⁷¹⁹ Jean et Sébastien Cabot, doc. xxxiii., p. 356.

⁷²⁰ HERRERA, Decad. IV., lib. iii., cap. i., p. 39.

⁷²¹ "En el puerto que llaman de S. Salvador,"—HERRERA, Decad. IV., lib. viii., cap. xi., p. 169. The letter of Luis RAMIREZ was sent from San Salvador.

Cf. OVIEDO, Vol. II., p. 172, and *Rutier for The River Plate*, in HAKLUYT, *Principal Navigations*, Vol. III., p. 729. See also BIDDLE, *Memoir of Cabot*, pp. 145, 149. The above description of SOLIS' discovery is taken from the legend in Cabot's planisphere.

According to Cabot, then, the terminus of the exploration of Solis was only thirty leagues from the sea. That is, it was limited to a portion of the coast which did not extend even to the conflux of the Parana and Uruguay. In fact, the first maps locate the "Tierra de Solis" within the elbow between the latter river and the sea, by 33° — 35° of their own scale of latitudes (Weimar charts, and Wolfenbüttel B.). It follows that a map intended to depict the discoveries of Solis could only represent the wide estuary which we call the Rio de la Plata, and must have ignored altogether the large rivers which empty themselves into the latter, more than two hundred leagues from the sea. Now, what do we see depicted on the Havre Atlas? First, the isthmus formed by the Uruguay and Parana, and the latter, carried so high as its 16° latitude, with the very numerous tributaries, windings, islands, and peculiar configurations, which only such an extensive expedition as Cabot's is represented to have been could have ascertained to exist. And what should also be noted is the fact that those geographical details are precisely as we see them depicted, for the first time, in the map which Ribero made in 1529, and that no one else in Europe could have known before.

If thus far, we have reached the year 1529 as the date before which those configurations cannot have been made to figure on a map, perhaps the nomenclature of the Brazilian regions can carry us to a more recent period yet.

When examining the special map of Brazil in the Havre atlas, the critic notices the fulness of the list. Where Ribeiro in 1529 inscribes only forty-four names, here there are seventy-four, nearly all different from those given by that cartographer. Being a Portuguese by birth, who removed to Spain only after he had finished his cartographical education, and who continued to be apprised of the progress of geography in Portugal, as is shown by his aiding to translate in 1524 the book of Duarte Barbosa, it is curious that he should not have been better informed on the subject of Brazilian explorations, if, in 1529, the rich nomenclature which marks Brazil in the Havre atlas, had already figured in maps. The surprise ceases when we notice nearly all those new names in the map of Gaspar Viegas. And what shows further the contemporariness of the Brazilian maps in the Havre and Viegas atlases, is that they both terminate their southern coast nearly at the same point, by 37° latitude; although then Magellan had already crossed the great

Strait, and his maps depicted the coast line sixteen degrees further. Now, Viegas' map is dated 1534.

Our conclusion is that the Havre atlas proceeds from a prototype which was constructed with Lusitano-Spanish maps of about the year 1527 for the regions north of the equator, and with a purely Portuguese chart for the countries south of the same; and as we have no reason to think that the Havre atlas, as it stands, is of a prior date than the Viegas map, we place it after the latter.

The caligraphy and design are too crude to be the work of a professional cartographer; while the astonishingly bad spelling, and the desinenence of the names, prove that it is a rough copy made by some ignorant pilot, Catalan by birth, and doubtless for his own use. Its present condition shows that it has drifted about for a long time without a cover, and suffered deteriorations, which were stopped only a few years ago, when a French bookbinder bound the stray leaves in morocco leather. Our impression is that the atlas originally contained also a mappamundi.

No. 216. MUNSTER'S FIRST MAP.

It is a map of the world, 340 by 270 mm., with this title:

"Tabula nouarum insularum, quas diuersis respectibus Occidentales & Indianas uocant."

We have seen the present inserted in several copies of the Basle 1532 *Novus Orbis*, in lieu of the mappamundi which really belongs to the latter publication. It represents both sides of the American continent, without a single break, from the Canadian regions to the Strait of Magellan. The northern part bears no special designation, but we read on the southern: "Nou[us] orbis," and, besides, in German type: "Die Nüw Welt." The names are the following:

| | | | |
|------------------|-------------------|----------------|------------------|
| Francisca | Canibali | Cvba | Antila |
| C. Britonum | Regio Gigantum | Hispaniola | Dominica |
| Terra florida | Corterat | Sciona [Saona] | Insulæ Margueri- |
| Chamaho [Tamaho] | Panuco | St. Paul | tarum |
| Beragua | Insul. Tor ucarum | Iamica | Fretum Magaliani |
| Catigara | Iucatana | Cozumela | Mare pacificum |

Two legends should be noted, viz.: "Insula Atlantica quam uocant Brasil et Americam," and "Parias abundat auro et margaritis." Nowhere is a large or small caravel depicted. That map was doubtless published separately. There are a number of issues or copies exhibiting differences

introduced by means of movable types, or engraved additions for the later editions. In the *Ptolemy* of 1540 the title is: *Novæ insulæ XVII. Nova Tabula*; the No. XVII referring to the map itself. It lacks the German inscription, but sets forth a rough engraving of a large caravel sailing in the Pacific, close to the southern American continent. The map was faithfully reproduced in the *Ptolemy* of 1545, except a change in the number, which this time is XXVI. In the first edition in German of Munster's *Cosmographia* (Basle, 1544), the map bears the title of *Die neue Inseln so zu vnsern zeiten durch die Künig von Hispania im grossen Ocano gefunden sindt*; and in the first French translation: *La table des isles neufves les quelles on appelle isles d'occident & d'Inde pour diuers regardz.*⁷²²

This poor map was constructed with geographical and graphic elements borrowed, directly or indirectly, from the prototype which served to make the third map of Maggiolo and the Verrazano planisphere. But where the separation existing between America and Asia is incompletely indicated in the latter, here we find it boldly asserted by an indented coast, washed by a sea the opposite shore of which bears the names of "India superior, Cathay," and "Quinsay." The affinity between this *Tabula* and the third Maggiolo and Verrazano maps is shown by the western delineation of the northern coast, with its elbow north of Mexico, and deep indenture back of the Carolinas; by the relatively great distance which separates Yucatan from the main land; by Florida, called "Terra florida;" and by the name "Francisca" inscribed on the site of the United States.

We ascribe this map to Sebastian Munster chiefly for the following reasons: It is always found, and as belonging originally to the same, in all his editions of Ptolemy,⁷²³ and of his *Cosmographia*; then, on the title-page of Munster's first Ptolemy we read:

"Succedunt tabula Ptolemaicæ opera Sebastiani Munsteri nouo paratæ modo. His adiecta sunt plurimæ nouæ tabulæ modernam orbis faciem literis et pictura explicantes:— There have been subjoined Ptolemaic maps which are the work of Sebastian Munster, who has prepared them in a new manner. To these were added several other new maps setting forth the new configuration of the globe by means of descriptions and pictorial delineations."

One of these Ptolemaic maps is evidently the oval *Typus orbis universalis*; whilst among the additional maps describing the world, or

⁷²² Sebastian MUNSTER, *Cosmographie Universelle*, Bâle, Henry Pierre, 1552, folio.

⁷²³ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 240; *Additamenta*, No. 155.

parts of the same, under the new aspect imparted by transatlantic discoverers (as we understand the phrase), must be included the *Novæ Insulæ*. Unfortunately, the wording does not permit us to say positively that the latter *Tabula nova* is also the work of Munster. We believe, nevertheless, that he is also the maker of that map. Not only has Munster added it, as we have said, to all the editions which he published of Ptolemy and of the *Cosmographia*, without inserting any reference in those works to a single collaborator, but we should recollect that in the phrase: "Succedunt tabulæ Ptolemaicæ opera Sebastiani Munsteri nouo paratæ modo," he is declared to be the author of a Ptolemaic mappamundi "prepared in a new manner." What can that be unless it is the *Typus orbis universalis* of the Ptolemy of 1540, where the New World has been added? Now, the delineations of the American continent in the latter map, as well as the nomenclature: "Terra florida, Fretum Magliani," &c., have been copied entirely from the east coast of the New World in the *Tabula nouarum insularum* above described. This mappamundi Munster has also inserted in his *Cosmographia*,⁷²⁴ but with a new title, showing that it is really the map of the world which he called Ptolemaic:

"Ptolemaisch general tafel begreifend der halbein vndern weldt beschrybung:—Ptolemaean general table, and for that reason included in the description of the world."

We are unable to fix a positive date for the making of the *Tabula nouarum insularum*. Our impression is that it lies between 1534 and 1540; for we must suppose that if Vadianus, who lived so near Basle (at Zurich), had known of the configurations exhibited in Munster's map of the newly discovered regions, when he published his *Epitome* in 1534, the St. Gall cosmographer would have adopted them in preference to the crude and erroneous Schönerian data, borrowed, apparently, from the mappamundi belonging to the Basle *Novus Orbis* of 1532. On the other hand, the present issue is certainly anterior to that which accompanies the Ptolemy of 1540; as in the latter there is a large caravel sailing on the Pacific, cut in the block, which is not in our present No. 216.

Dr. Nordenskiöld has published facsimiles both of the *Typus Orbis Universalis* and of the *Tabula nouarum insularum*, the latter on a reduced scale, and taken not from the present, but from the Ptolemy of 1540.

⁷²⁴ *Ibidem*, Nos. 258, 300, and *Addit.*, Nos. 152, 179.

No. 217. MAGGIOLO'S PROJECTED MAP.

Map of the world, which Vesconte de Maggiolo, April 11th, 1534, contracted with Lorenzo Lomellino Sorba to make, and that the latter bound himself to have engraved. It was to be "un mappamondi o carta de navigare per tutte le parti del mondo."⁷²⁵ No copy of that mappamundi, either in manuscript or engraved, has yet been discovered.

1535.

No. 218. MARTIN FURTENBACH.

Globe made by Furtenbach for Raymond Fugger, which, after having figured in the collections of the Fuggers' castle of Kirchberg, entered the Vienna Imperial Library, it is not known in what year.

". . . . Quo eodem anno [1535] ab insigno mathematico Martino Furtenbachis ipsi (Raymundo Fuggero) dedicata et oblata fuit ingens illa admirandi prorsus artificij Sphæra totius Universi machinam tam ætheream, quam elementarem accuratissime exhibens, quæ nunc inter præcipua Bibliothecæ Cæsareæ ornamenta jure ac merito numeratur. Exornata ea undiquaque est varijs sublissimæ sculpturæ imaginibus, et suffulta Atlante qui dextera manu senet circinum, toto autem reliquo corpore et sinistræ manus subsidio eam incurvatus sustinet. Septentrionem versus affixa est ferrea lamina inaurata cum hac inscriptione :

*Viro Magnifico Dn. Raymundo Fuggero, Invictissimorum Caroli V. Imperatoris, Ferdinandi primi Regis Romanorum a Consilijs, prudentissimo, studiosorum Mecænasi, pauperum Christi asylo cantatissimo, Martinus Furtenbachius Abusiacus, Astrophilus typum hunc Cosmographicum universalem composuit atque dedicavit Anno a nato Christo M.D.XXXV."*⁷²⁶

This globe, which was described as an object of art, of large size, in gilt copper,⁷²⁷ could yet be seen in the Imperial Library at Vienna in 1734, but it has since disappeared, and we have vainly instituted researches in the Vienna palaces and galleries to find it.

No. 217. LYONS PTOLEMY.

Three maps inserted in the Ptolemy prepared by Servetus, and published at Lyons by the brothers Trechsels⁷²⁸ in 1535, viz.:

First: "Orbis . Typvs . Vniversalis . ivxta . Hydrographorvm . traditionem . exactissime . depicta . 1522 . L . F."

Second: "Oceani occidentalis seu Terre Noue Tabvla."

Third: "Tabvla moder. Gronlandiæ et Russiæ."

⁷²⁵ DESIMONI, *Elenco di carte*, No. 33, in the *Giornale Ligustico*, 1875, p. 65.

⁷²⁶ P. LAMBECIUS, *Commentariorum de Aug. Bibliotheca Cæsarea Vindobonensi*; Vindobonæ, 1665, fol., Vol. I., pp. 68-69.

⁷²⁷ KÖHLER, *Historische Münzbelustigungen*; Nuremberg, 1729-56, 4to, Vol. VI., p. 78, and KOLLAR'S edition of LAMBECIUS, *Vind.*, 1766, fol., Vol. I., col. 143, note A.

⁷²⁸ *Bibliotheca Americ. Vetustissima*, No. 210, p. 342.

They are simply the reductions of Lorenz Friess, and printed from the same blocks as those of the edition of 1522, with the titles in a scroll, which, as we have stated, were omitted in the edition of 1525, showing that this omission was the result of a band of paper having been placed over the blocks when printing the latter.

No. 220. CALIFORNIA.

It is a map filed in the Archives of the Indies at Seville with the *Acta de posesion de la Nueva España*, dated May 3, 1535. The heading in the original is only: *Figura de la tierra*; but the facsimile which was published at Madrid, 200 by 150 mm., bears this title:

“Facsimile de la figura de la Nueva tierra de Santa Cruz (California) descubierta por Hernan Cortés el 3 de Mayo de 1535.—Facsimile of the map of the New land of Santa Cruz (California) discovered by Hernando Cortés on the 3rd of May, 1535.”

We take this map to be identical with No. 297 of the Madrid “Exposicion Americanista,” stated to have been “sacada del proceso que sobre la dicha tierra le promovieron Nuño de Guzman, Pedro de Alvarado y otros.” It exhibits a pretty exact delineation of the entrance to the Gulf of California, with an eastern mainland covering, according to the scale inscribed on the map, from 20° to 27° north latitude, and in reality corresponding with the Mexican region which extends from about Manzanilla to the Cinaloa river, and, in Lower California, from the present Cape S. Lucas to the vicinity of the present Spiritu Santo.

The names inscribed on the islands and apex of Lower California are the following:

| | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| S. Felipe ⁷²⁹ | S. Yago ⁷³⁰ | S. Cruz ⁷³¹ | Perlas ⁷³² |
|--------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|

On the continent we read, beginning south:

| | | | |
|-------------------------|------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| De la pascva | Astatam | R. de S. mjgel | Petatam [?] |
| C. de corientes | Oyia metla [?] | Culnacam | De los Remedios |
| Vanderas ⁷³³ | R. de sprito Sto | R. grande | S. p ^o . |
| Xalisco | De la Sal | De los trabajos | S. pablo |

⁷²⁹ This name refers doubtless to the mountains of S. Felipe, so named by CORTÉS in 1535, from the day when he landed, says GOMARA, *Conquista de Mexico*, p. 427.

⁷³⁰ The name of “Santiago” was given by CORTÉS in 1535 to an island three leagues distant from S. Felipe; GOMARA, *loc. cit.*

⁷³¹ “Santa Cruz” was so named by Ortuño JIMENEZ, a “gran cosmografo,” who was chief pilot of Hernando DE GRIJALVA in the expedition sent by CORTÉS to find

traces of Diego HURTADO, and which sailed from Santiago in November, 1533: “y fué á una isla que la puso nombre Santa-Cruz.”—Bernal DIAZ, *Conquista*, cap. cc., p. 291. GOMARA, however, says that it was CORTÉS who gave the name to a bay in 1536.

⁷³² GOMARA thinks that the name of “Isla de Perlas” was given by Ortuño or Fortun JIMENEZ; *op. cit.*, p. 427.

⁷³³ The “Bahía de Banderas” was so named by Diego HURTADO in 1532, says GOMARA, p. 426.

In the map of the pilot Domingo del Castillo,⁷³⁴ made in 1541, which is the next delineation of California, we still find the following names, placed within the same latitudes as in the above :

| | | |
|------------------------------|----------|---------------------|
| P. de Perlas | Vanderas | R. de S. Miguel |
| P ^a . de Santiago | Xalisco | Sn. Po. i San Pablo |

In a manuscript map made by Joan Vingboons, in 1639, for the Netherlands West Indies Company,⁷³⁵ the above names have disappeared from Lower California, but on the mainland are yet inscribed :

| | | |
|------------------|--------------|----------------------|
| C. de Corrientes | R. de Pascan | St. Miguel |
| Petetlan | Culiacan | R. del Spiritu Santo |

The names which have persisted in our modern maps are :

| | | |
|---------------|--------------------------|--------------|
| C. Corrientes | P. Xalisco | R. San Pedro |
| Banderas Bay | R. Grande ⁷³⁶ | Culiacan |

An important feature in the map is its date, viz.: "the third day of May 1535," which is exact, although all historians, following in the wake of Gomara and Lorenzana, say that Hernando Cortés first went to California in 1536. Bernal Diaz states, more doubtfully: "en el mes de mayo de 1536 o 7 años, que ya no me acuerdo;"⁷³⁷ Gomara asserts that it was on the 1st of May 1536, "for which reason he named the place where he landed, 'Sierras de Sant Filipe.'" The truth is that Cortés sailed, from Compostella in New Galicia, on the 18th of April, 1535, and as we see from the map, reached the apex of Lower California on the 3rd of May following; which date is certainly correct, as Nuño de Guzman was informed of Cortés' doings and whereabouts by a letter written from California on the 25th of May 1535: "Embarcose á 18 de abril . . . al tiempo que me escribieron, que fué á 25 de mayo," do we read in Nuño de Guzman's letter dated: "Los Valles (in Nueva Galicia), á 7 de junio de 1535."⁷³⁸

No. 221. MARGARITA MAP No. 2.

Like the mappamundi of 1515, it bears the following title :

Typvs vniversalis terræ iuxta modernorvm distinctionem et extensionem per regna et provincia:—Representation of the entire earth, according to modern divisions in kingdoms . . "

⁷³⁴ LORENZANA, *Historia de Nueva España*, p. 325, publishes a facsimile of that map, taken from the original then preserved in the archives of the Cortés family. See also the photo-lithographic facsimile in the *Revista Científica Mexicana*, Mexico, 1880, Vol. I.

⁷³⁵ Large folio; in our own collection.

⁷³⁶ De Santiago or Tolatatlan.

⁷³⁷ Bernal DIAZ, *Conquista*, cap. cc., p. 291.

⁷³⁸ *Carta de Nuño de Guzman, adelantado de la Nueva-Galicia, sobre los asuntos de Cortés y descubrimiento de las Californias*; GAYANGOS, *Cartas de Cortés*, No. XXVI., p. 535.



THE PARIS WOODEN GLOBE
(Circa 1535.)

It is a new edition of the map which was first engraved for the *Margarita Philosophica nova* published at Strasburg in 1515.⁷³⁹ The present, which belongs to the Basle edition of that work printed in 1535,⁷⁴⁰ differs from its prototype by the omission of all the legends which were inscribed on the New Continent, except one, viz.: "Paria seu prisilia." The absence of the curious inscription "Zoana Mela" can scarcely be considered as a correction on the part of the cartographer, as he also omits the other names.

No. 222. THE WOODEN GLOBE.

It is made of wood, hence its name; and measures 200 mm. diameter. There is a hole in the middle through which passes an iron stem fixed on the stand. This globe, which was discovered in Italy ten years ago, is covered with a thick layer of paint, over which the configurations and names have been inscribed with a pen in a cursive handwriting. The calligraphy is very poor, and evidently not the work of a professional cartographer. This curious globe is preserved in the geographical department of the Paris National Library (No. 386).

The delineations and nomenclature proceed from a map belonging to the cartographical family which, as we have said, commenced towards the year 1523 to bridge over the configurations of the New World, as set forth in the Lusitano-Germanic maps, with delineations suggested, first by the voyage of Magellan (Schöner, 1523), and then by the conquests of Cortés (Franciscus Monachus, 1526). This is shown by the profiles of the north-east coast, from "Terra florida" to the "Baccalearum regio," and on which we find inscribed names which are also on the north-western continental region in Cantino and Canerio. These are:

| | | | |
|---------------|-----------|----------|---------------|
| Costa alta | C. santo | C. lutar | C. baxo |
| Ponta [roixa] | C. arlear | Caninor | Lago de lodro |

The austral lands bear an inscription somewhat surprising. The simply cordiform map of Finæus inscribes there: "Terra australis nuper inventa, sed nondum plene examinata:—The austral land, recently discovered, but not yet entirely explored." The Wooden Globe modifies the legend as follows: "Terra australis recenter inventa anno 1499 (*sic*), sed nondum plene cognita." That is, it gives the date of 1499 for the

⁷³⁹ *Supra*, p. 481, and facsimile, p. 312.

⁷⁴⁰ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 208.

discovery of the austral region. We are inclined to think that it is a reference to the voyage of Magellan, coupled with an erroneous rendering of the date in the account of Maximilianus Transylvanus: "Solut itaque Magellanus die decimo Augusti, Anno. M.D. xix."⁷⁴¹

The connection of this globe with those belonging to the class where the New World north of New Spain blends with Asia, is further shown by the names "Terra Francisca," and "Mare Catayum" given to the Gulf of Mexico. Its latest geographical datum is "Peru Provincia," and, within the borders of the latter, "S. Michaelis," that is, the colony which Pizarro planted in the valley of Tangarala in 1532, and to which he gave that name in acknowledgment of the miraculous assistance alleged to have been rendered to him by Saint Michael in his battles with the Indians of Puná.⁷⁴² As the news of the foundation of San Miguel commenced to circulate in Europe⁷⁴³ only in 1534, we ascribe to the globe the date of *circa* 1535.

No. 223. THE NANCY GLOBE.

This valuable object of art was originally presented to the shrine of the Virgin, at Sion, by Charles IV., Duke of Lorraine, in 1663. The globe is supported by a small statue of Atlas, forming a silver gilt and enamelled groupe measuring about 490 mm. for the total height. It was mounted, if not constructed, in Germany, as on the supports, the four cardinal points are inscribed as follows: "mitnacht, mitag, ufganng," and "nidergang." It is now preserved in the Nancy Lorraine Museum, in a glass case, which prevented us from comparing the nomenclature of the original with the engraved copy.

The configurations and nomenclature are based altogether upon the prototype used by the makers of the Gilt and of the Wooden Globe. The designation "Mare Cathayum," shows its near connection with the latter. Nor are the geographical data of a nearer epoch, as its most recent name is "Tangarara," in the "Perv Provincia," which, as we have said, corresponds to the colony of San Miguel, founded by Pizarro in 1532. It also inscribes on what we now call Canada: "Terra francesca." The Marañon, as in all the maps of that family, and in the Maggiolo portolano of 1527, as well as in the Weimar map of the latter date, is

⁷⁴¹ MAXIMILIANUS TRANSYLVANUS, *De Moluccis insulis*; Colonizæ, 1523, sm. 4to, recto of AA.

⁷⁴² CIEZA DE LEON, *Cronica*, cap. lv.

⁷⁴³ *Bibliot. Americ. Vetust.*, Nos. 193, 195, and 196.

made to run south and south-west to a great distance, and to issue from a large lake fed by streams coming out of a range of high mountains. This delineation, as we have already demonstrated,⁷⁴⁴ is anterior to Orelana's exploration by at least thirty years.

The late Mr. Blau gave an account of that globe and a stereographic projection,⁷⁴⁵ in 1835. See *supra*, Nos. 147, 172, 181, 195, and 198.

1536.

No. 224. ORONTIUS FINÆUS.

There is in the Geographical Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Paris,⁷⁴⁶ a single heart-shaped mappamundi, constructed by Orontius Finæus. It is engraved on wood, 570 by 500 mm., and bears the following undated title and abridged signature of Oronce Finé :

Recens et integra orbis descriptio.

Orontivs F. Delph. Regi mathematicus faciebat.

Within the border, in a square frame, is this address to the reader :

"Orontivs F. Delph. Regivs Mathematicarum interpres : Studioso Lectori, S. D. P.

Decimvs quintvs circiter agitur annus, candide Lector, quo vniversam Orbis terrarum designationem, in hanc humani cordis effigiem primum redegimus : Idque in gratiam Christianissimi ac potentissimi Francisci Francorum Regis, Mecœnatis nostri clementissimi. Quam dum videremus ipsi Regi, Polyhistori, ac non vulgari Geographo, valde placere, ab omnibus quoque (etiam exteris) laudari plurimam desiderabam eandem Orbis descriptionem vniversis Mathematicarum studiosis aliquando communicare. Quod, post varia fortunæ, ac studii nostri (quæ hactenus nobis impedimento fuere) discrimina, tandem nostro effecimus periculo.

"Oronce Finé, of Dauphiné, Royal Professor of Mathematics to learned readers :

About fifteen years have elapsed since I designed for the first time this mappamundi in the form of a human heart. I made it for the Most Christian and Mighty Francis, the King of France, my very kind protector. As that monarch, who is an adept in history and geography, and other persons (even foreigners) were pleased with that map, I have imagined to communicate it to all friends of mathematics. After many untoward and various circumstances, which, to this day, have thwarted my life and impeded my studies, I decided to publish it at my own risks and peril. And having corrected and augmented this

⁷⁴⁴ *Supra*, pages 550, 564, 565.

⁷⁴⁵ *Mémoires de la Société Royale de Nancy*, for 1835, printed at Nancy in 1836, 8vo, pages lxi-xiv, and 97-107.

⁷⁴⁶ Collection of D'ANVILLE, Portfolio I., map 63. The No. 64, mentioned in our *Cabot*, p. 181, note 3, and ascribed to Oronce FINE, is not the work of the latter. It is an oval mappamundi, inserted in a fool's hood, in lieu of a human face, and bearing among other inscrip-

tions the following : "Noscete ipsum o caput elleboro dignum," and on the ear-caps : "auriculas asini quis non habet." The map is very neatly engraved, and exact for the time, which is the third quarter of the sixteenth century. The New World is separated from Asia as in the map of MUNSTER, and denominated "America." The plate measures 480 by 355 mm. and is coloured. We know of no other copy of this curious map.

Itaque, plurimis recentiorvm hydrographorvm observationibus auctam & emendatam ipsius geographici cordis imaginem, tibi studiose lector, cunctisque bonæ voluntatis hominibus, cordato ac liberali præsentamus animo Lutecia Parisiorum."

cordiform geography by means of numerous observations made by recent geographers, I therefore offer it to ye, studious reader, and to all men well disposed
In Paris."

Now what was the exact date of that first manuscript map? Finæus speaks of Francis I. as still living. The French king died in 1547; the map, therefore, was made before 1532. But we can perhaps obtain an earlier year by referring to another inscription, which is engraved on the right of the reader, and which forbids any one to copy, counterfeit, or publish the map under a heavy penalty, by virtue of a privilege granted to Finæus for ten years, and enacted at Lyons: "Sub gravis mulcta, concesso apud Lugdunum diplomate luculenter expressa." Unfortunately, we have not the date of that official privilege, and can only derive it approximately.⁷⁴⁷

Francis I. was at Lyons in 1536, 1538, 1541, and in 1542 for the last time.⁷⁴⁸ If we take the earliest of these dates, and ascend fifteen years, the manuscript map referred to was made in 1521, and the printed one containing the above citation was published in 1536. But so as not to commit a *petitio principii*, it is necessary to ascertain whether a cordiform map of Finæus was actually published in 1536. We possess several notices of a cordiform map of Finæus, published in 1536 at Paris. Gesner, in 1545, describes one as follows:

"Orbis totius recens et integra descriptio ad cordis humani effigiem, auctore Orontio, impressa Parisijs, 1536, apud Hieronymum Gormontium in tabula, duabus chartis opinor."⁷⁴⁹

The last sentence indicates that Gesner gives his description from hearsay. Nicéron's title: "*Orbis totius recens et integra descriptio ad cordis humani effigiem; Parisiis, 1536,*"⁷⁵⁰ is clearly an abridgment of Gesner's, and we may feel certain that, like him, he has not seen the map.

The third notice is in the inventory of the maps bequeathed by Viglius de Zuichem, in 1575, to the college which he founded in Louvain,⁷⁵¹

⁷⁴⁷ It may have been also a general privilege, like the one of June, 1522, which is inserted in his collection of four mathematical treatises, entitled *Protomathesis*, published at Paris in 1532, folio.

⁷⁴⁸ We at first thought that 1542 was the date of the Lyons privilege. This would yield 1527 for the year when the manuscript map was first made; but the existence of a single cordiform mappamundi published before October, 1536, as proved by the *imprimatur* of the book containing such a notice, compelled us to abandon the dates of 1527-1542.

⁷⁴⁹ GESNER, *Bibliotheca Universali*, Tiguri, 1545, fol., f^o. 530, recto.

⁷⁵⁰ NICERON, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres*, Vol. XXXVIII., p. 193.

⁷⁵¹ This college, named after its founder, and also called the "College of the Golden Sheaf" (on account of VIGLIUS' coat of arms), was destroyed by a conflagration in 1576; and the collection must have been lost at that time; else remnants of it would be found in the University Library at Brussels, with the books of VIGLIUS which were saved.

where we read: "Integra orbis descriptio per Orontium, impressa Parisiis, anno 1536."⁷⁵² Is that map the present cordiform printed mappamundi?

Amongst the preliminary leaves of the commentaries of Finæus on Euclid, published at Paris in the autumn of 1536,⁷⁵³ there is a list of the works of the French cosmographer: "Quæ ab eo ædita et iam impressa sunt." From that catalogue we extract the two following items:

"1°. Vniversi orbis descriptio, gemina cordis humani figura, et unico papiri folio comprehensa.

2°. Eadem orbis designatio, ampliore et vnica humani itidem cordis effigie coextensa."

In the privilege for ten years, dated September 5, 1536, and printed on the back of the list, the first of those maps is further described in these words: "Redigez en forme de deux grands rondeaulx hemisphericques, la description geographicque de tout le monde." This is evidently the planisphere of July, 1531, published at Paris at the cost of Christian Wechel, and which is a double cordiform mappamundi.

The other map, described as being single heart-shaped, is apparently the present. The word "ampliore" in the above description, and the mention by Thevet "L'autre description du monde, soubz vn cœur, *beaucoup plus ample que la premiere*,"⁷⁵⁴ agrees with the dimensions of those two maps; the double-cordiform being 420 by 290 mm., while the present single heart-shaped one is 570 by 500 mm. Unfortunately, the latter, in the copy before us, is *sine anno*, and does not contain any mention of the printer, while Gesner, Nicéron, and the Zuichem inventory assign to it the date of 1536; Gesner even adding that the printer was Gilles de Gourmont. This discrepancy can be explained in supposing that Gesner made his description from a catalogue of Gourmont's publications issued in 1536,—although we have no knowledge of such a catalogue,⁷⁵⁵—and that the bibliographer who drew up the Zuichem inventory borrowed, as well as Nicéron, the date of 1536 from Gesner. If so, the present single heart-shaped mappamundi was issued in 1536, and its manuscript model, dating back fifteen years: "Decimvs qvintvs circiter agitur annus," was made by Finæus in 1521.⁷⁵⁶

⁷⁵² PINCHARD, *Archives des Arts, Sciences et Lettres*; Gand, Vol. II., 1863, 8vo, p. 311.

⁷⁵³ *Index operum ab Orontio Fineo, in the Sex priores libros geometricorum elementorum Euclidis Demonstrationes*; Paris, S. de COLINES, 1536, fol.

⁷⁵⁴ THEVET, *Les vrais portraits et vies des hommes illustres, grecs, latins et payens, anciens et modernes*; Paris, 1584, fol., f^o 565, r.

⁷⁵⁵ The fact that booksellers and printers already published catalogues of their own publications in the first half of the sixteenth century, is shown by the list of books printed by SIMON DE COLINES, which his son-in-law, CHAUDIERE, issued in 1548. GESNER, in his *Pandectarum* (Tiguri, 1548, fol.) mentions a catalogue of the books printed by FROSHOVER.

⁷⁵⁶ See *supra*, p. 511, No. 136.

As to the delineations for the New World, and the names in the present map, they are precisely those of the double-cordiform mappamundi constructed by Finæus in 1531. That is, the map represents the entire east coast from the cod-fish regions to the Strait of Magellan, unbroken, and thence north-westerly until about 15° north latitude. At that point, it is made to merge into China; thus forming beyond Mexico, a single continent with Asia, as in the 1523-1533 spheres of Schöner, in those of the monk Franciscus, and in the Gilt, Wooden, and Nancy Globes.

As we have already stated, the present map of Finæus and his double-heart mappamundi of 1531, although presenting the same geographical outlines, so far as the style of projection permits, are not derived from the same model. The nomenclature of the present, shows that it was copied from the same prototype as the Gilt globe.

We must be permitted to repeat that the famous inscription, "Terra francisca nuper lustrata," which is as conspicuous in this as in all the maps and globes of that cartographical family, does not refer to the voyages of Jacques Cartier, but to that of Verrazano, which terminated by the return of the Florentine navigator to Dieppe in July, 1524. Our assertion is based upon the fact that the portolano of Vesconte de Maggiolo, dated December 20, 1527, not only inserts on the same spot the name "Francesca," but adds close to it, the royal standard of France blazoned with the lilies.

In regard to the austral land, if we sketch its configuration (as given in the mappamundi of 1531), so as to give it the form which would be imparted by the projection of the present, it will be found to exhibit precisely the same elements. The names: "Regio patalis" and "Brasilie regio," together with the main legend, are to be found in both. The only difference is that in 1531, Finæus writes: "Terra australis recenter inventa, sed nondum plene cognita," while in 1536, he adopts the phrase: "Terra australis nuper inventa, sed nondum plene examinata."

The present map was reprinted several times⁷⁵⁷ before 1551, and even 1544, in his life time, since he died October 6, 1555. Withal there is only one copy known of that single heart-shaped map; but the engraved edition given in Italy a number of years afterwards, is frequently met with. The title of the latter is as follows:

⁷⁵⁷ "Index operum ab Orontio Finæo. 15. Eiusdem orbis amplior designatio, in vnicam humani cordis effigiem dudum coextensa, sæpissime impressa."—In his *Sex*

priores Libros Geometricorum Elementorum Euclidis; Paris, CALDENIUS, 1551, 4to. We do not know whether it is also in the edition of 1544.

Cosmographia universalis ab Orontio olim descripta . Ioannes Pavlus Cimerlinvs Veronensis in oes incidēbat . Anno 1566.

The configurations and nomenclature are precisely like those of the French original, but there are great differences in the ornaments and outside legends.

No. 225. SAILING CHART OF MENDEZ.

Map obtained by Fernando Columbus from Diego Mendez :

“Mando mas dos ducados de oro á los erederos de Diego Mendez de una carta de marear :—I order, besides, [to pay] two gold ducats to the heirs of Diego Mendez for a nautical chart.”⁷⁵⁸

This faithful servant of Christopher Columbus seems to have died in 1536, as we possess his testament made, apparently in *articulo mortis*, June 19, 1536,⁷⁵⁹ at Valladolid. We have vainly searched for that map in the Biblioteca Colombina.

No. 226. MAPS OF CHARLES V.

In the inventory of his valuables formerly preserved at Brussels, which Charles V. caused to be drafted, May 4, 1536, we notice the following items :

“Ung long livre en bois contenant huyt feuilletz de bois, parmy les deux clouans, auquel liure est figuré la mappa mundi.”⁷⁶⁰

This map was remitted to François de Valieres, but we see it figure again in the inventory of 1556. In 1545, Charles V. possessed, in the Netherlands, nineteen maps which, unfortunately, are described only as follows :

“Dix-noef quartes et painctures de cites, villes, et chasteaulx, faicts les unes sur linge et les aultres en parchemin.”⁷⁶¹

In 1556, he owned the following maps :

“— Une carte de tout le monde, mise sur toile, avecq vng grant aigle. — Une carte marine sur parchemin contenant les voyages que l'evêque de Baleuse [?] a fet aux Indes ; le dit evêque a donné à Sa Majesté.”

We have been unable to consult the inventories of maps and scientific instruments which the Emperor possessed in Spain. We know only of

⁷⁵⁸ Testament of Fernando, in *Fernand Colomb, sa vie, ses œuvres* ; p. 217.

⁷⁵⁹ NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 329.

⁷⁶⁰ Published by MICHELANT.

⁷⁶¹ PINCHARD, *Archives des Arts, Sciences et Lettres* ; Vol. II., p. 71.

the following item, borrowed from the inventory which was made at Yuste after his death: "Dos envoltorios de cartas, de pergamino, de discrepciones de Santa Cruz de Indias."⁷⁶² It is known, however, that, as late as 1635, there were still preserved at the Escorial a great many maps, globes, and nautical instruments, a number of which came originally from Charles V., and were the work of Apianus and other cosmographers:

"Non desunt globi, sphæræ, tabulæ, cosmographica omnis generis, astrolabia metallica, particularia, catholica, nonnulla ipsius Gemma Frisii manu, alia Petri Appiani, alia aliorum insignium artificum; annuli, armillæ variæ, et plurima supellex ejusdem rationis, bene multæ geographica et hydrographica descriptiones manu pictæ."

"There are [at the Escorial] globes, spheres, cosmographical maps of all kinds, astrolabes made of metal, general and particular, some constructed by Gemma Frisius himself, others by Petrus Apianus, others by different skilful artists, rings, armillary [spheres], and the like, as well as many geographical and hydrographical descriptions painted by hand."⁷⁶³

Claude Clément says, in addition to the above extract:

"Hic sphærarum, globorum tabularum atque instrumentorum mathematicorum haud vulgarium magnus numerus. Est unum inter reliqua a Petro Apiano ejus autore, oblatum Carolo V. imperatori"⁷⁶⁴

No. 227. ALONSO DE SANTA CRUZ.

His map was made by order of Charles V., according to Vanegas:

"Ora nuevamente Alonso de Santa Cruz, a petición del Emperador, ha hecho una carta abierta por los meridianos, desde la equinocial á los polos; en la cual, sacando por el compas la distancia de los blancos que hay de meridiano á meridiano, que da la distancia verdadera de cada grado, reduciendo la distancia, que queda, á leguas de linea mayor."⁷⁶⁵

This was apparently an application of the method which that celebrated cosmographer had invented for obtaining the longitude at sea, and which he communicated to the junta of pilots and scientific mariners appointed to regulate sailing charts in 1536, and of which he was a member.⁷⁶⁶ Oviedo seems to have made use of that map.⁷⁶⁷

⁷⁶² SIMANCAS, *Contradurias, 1a epoca, lego.* No. 145; quoted by PINCHARD, *loc. cit.* "Santa Cruz" doubtless means here the great pilot of that name. In those inventories, although entire libraries are described, we have not seen a single book or MS. relating to America; and as to curiosities from the New World, they are extremely rare. We notice, however, this curious item: "Une nappe que l'on dit estre faite d'escaille de poisson venant des Indes." This article also figures in the inventory of PHILIP II, drafted in 1569.

⁷⁶³ CLAUDIUS CLEMENT, *Musei sive bibliotheca . . .*

extractio . . . libri iv.; accessit accurata descriptio Regiæ Bibliotheca S. Laurentii Escurialis; Lugduni, 1635, 4to, p. 527.

⁷⁶⁴ SIEGMUND GUNTHER, *Peter und Philipp Apian, in the Abhandlungen der K. Böhm. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Vol. XI. (Math. natur. cl. No. 4); Prague, 1882, p. 47.

⁷⁶⁵ VANEGAS DE BUSTO, *Las diferencias de Libros que ay en el Universo*, Toledo, 1540, 4to, cap. xvi.

⁷⁶⁶ NAVARRETE, *Bibliot. marítima*, Vol. I. p. 27.

⁷⁶⁷ OVIEDO, *Historia General*, Vol. II., pp. 116.

As in the historical part of the present work, we have quoted several times the *Islario General del Mundo* of that celebrated cosmographer, it may prove useful to describe its manuscript copies, although the work was written only in 1560; but, let it be said, so far at least as Estevam Gomez is concerned, with information dating of the year 1526.

There are three manuscripts of the *Islario* of Alonso de Santa Cruz; the one which Navarrete⁷⁶⁸ saw in the Madrid Royal Library having disappeared within the last forty years. Two of those manuscripts are preserved in the Vienna Imperial Library (*MSS. Cod. Pal. Vindol.* Nos. 5542 and 7195). They both contain maps, and it is from the former that we have taken the text and map inserted, *supra*, page 242. The third manuscript is the own copy of Cardinal de Granvelle, the celebrated minister of Charles V. and of Philip II., and is preserved in the Besançon City Library, No. 460. It bears the *ex-libris* of the abbé J. B. Boisot, who in the second half of the seventeenth century bought the books which remained in the Granvelle palace at Besançon, and bequeathed them in 1694, with his own library to that city.

The learned Mr. Auguste Castan, who, at our request, has kindly examined that valuable MS., and compared its text with our own modern copy, tells us that it is on paper, of the 4to. size, covered with parchment, of 124 leaves, and bears the following title:

El yslario general de todas las yslas del mundo endresçado ala S. C. C. Mag^t. del Emperador y Rey nuestro Señor, por Alonso de Sancta Cruz, su Cosmographo maior.

Like the Vienna MSS., it contains a third and a fourth part, but no first nor second, unless the "Prologo sobre el yslario" and the "Breve introducion de Espera," are intended for those parts; and the maps are all wanting. The descriptions which interest us are all in the fourth part, viz.:

| | |
|---|---|
| Fol. 57.—Ysla de Sanct Johan, yslas de las Virgines | Fol. 90.—Sanct iohan y Barriquen |
| „ 58.—La Bermuda y yslas adiacentes à la tierra que descubrio el piloto Estevan Gomez | „ 98.—La Trinidad |
| „ 59.—Ysla de los Lucays | „ 101.—Yucatan con los adiacentes |
| „ 63.—La ysla española o sancto Domingo | „ 106.—Tenus Titan [<i>sic</i>] |
| „ 83.—Cuba | „ 113.—Yslas de los Golfos de Panama |
| „ 88.—Jamaico o Sanctiago | „ 115.—Yslas adiacentes a las provincias del Brasil |
| | „ 117.—Yslas adiacentes a las provincias de sanct Bicente y Cananea |
| | Fol. 120.—Tierra o estrecho de Magellanes |

⁷⁶⁸ NAVARRETE, *Coleccion de Opusculos*, Madrid, 1848, Vol. II, p. 82, note. His *Libro de longitudes*, however, is still preserved in the National Library at Madrid,

under the rubric of *Aa.97*. Our impression is that there is a fourth manuscript of the *Islario* in some public institution of Stockholm.

No. 228. JACQUES CARTIER.

Cartier's first voyage was from April 20 until September 5, 1534, whilst the second embraced from May 19, 1535, until July, 1536. Concerning the maps of Canada, his nephew Jacques Noel wrote to John Growte as follows :

"I can write nothing else unto you of anything that I can recover of the writings of Captain Iaques Cartier, my uncle disceased, although I have made search in all places that I could possibly in this Towne ; saving of a certain booke made in maner of a sea charte, which was drawne by the hand of my said uncle, which is in the possession of master Cremeur, which booke is passing well marked and drawne for all the River of Canada." ⁷⁶⁹

This "booke in manner of a sea chart" was evidently a portolano of the Canadian regions. Noel is called, in an official document dated January 14, 1588, "maistre pillote de nostre ville de Saint Malo, nepveu et héritier de deffunt Jacques Cartier," which proves that the latter left no posterity. Two of Noel's sons had with them in Canada, in 1587, Cartier's above-mentioned chart.

 No. 229. CLAMORGAN.

Map of the world made by Jean de Clamorgan, "seigneur de Soane, premier capitaine de la Marine du Ponent," and presented to Francis I.

"Ce grand Roy François qui receut de bon œil quelque chose du peu de scauoir qui est en moy, alors que ie luy presentay une Carte uniuerselle en forme de liure, sus un point non accoustumé de la figure en plan du monde, où estoyent les mers et terres assises en longitude et latitude, car par une seule face ne se peut demonstrier ne faire sans grandes fautes. Et commanda mondit liure estre mis en sa librairie de Fontaine-bleau." ⁷⁷⁰

It follows from this that it was a plane chart, with a new style of projection, crossed with longitudes and latitudes, and forming a sort of atlas. As to the date: "circa 1536," it is merely approximate on our part. Clamorgan must have been already in the French navy in 1529, as the last prince whom he served was Charles IX., to whom he dedicated the *Chasse du Loup*, where mention is made of his having occupied an important naval post during forty-five years: "L'espace de quarante cinq ans qu'ay exercé l'estat et charge de la marine." The map was presented to Francis I., who died only March 31, 1547; but, as Clamorgan

⁷⁶⁹ HAKLUYT, *Principal Navigations*, 1599-1600; Vol. III., p. 242.

⁷⁷⁰ CLAMORGAN, *Le Chasse du Loup* [nécessaire à la maison rustique?], Lyon, 1583, 4to, f^o 2.

spoke therein of Canada as a recent discovery: "car voyant le beau commencement que continuez de descouvrir la nouvelle terre François, Canada, Ochelaga et la Sagueue [Saguenay], sera baillé moyen plus aisé à tous de faire ladite nauigation," we infer that Clamorgan's map must have been constructed very soon after the first voyages of Jacques Cartier.

Although the greatest part of the Fontainebleau library has been preserved, and Clamorgan's map still figures in the inventory of 1682 (No. 6815), that monument of the early French cartography has disappeared.⁷⁷¹ Another work of his, viz.: *Traité sur la construction des navires et sur les navigations lointaines*, which may have contained some notice of the voyages of Verrazano and Cartier, is also lost.

No. 230. FIRST MAP OF CHILI.

It was ordered by Diego de Almagro from three pilots whose names we have failed to find mentioned anywhere.

"La Carta de Navegar quel adelantado hiço ver en Chile á tres pilotos."⁷⁷²

No. 231. CHAVES' PACIFIC COAST.

It was a map of the discoveries accomplished by Gil Gonzalés Davila and others. Oviedo mentions it *de visu* as follows:

"El quarto capitan é descubridor en la costa austral fué el capitan Gil Gonçalez Davila y el piloto Andres Niño, e lo que se acrescentó por su industria en la moderna cosmographia deçirlo he como la carta enmendadá lo platica é yo la he visto de la mano del cosmógrapho Alonso de Chaves. . . ." ⁷⁷³

Concerning map-making in Spain at that time, the following extract from Oviedo seems to indicate that he did not place implicit confidence in the latitudes and longitudes of Spanish cosmographers, including even Chaves, and preferred making the observations himself:

"Y por tanto para quel Chaves é los otros cosmógraphos de César enmienden sus patrones é pinturas de sus cartas de navegar, si me quisieren creer, diré lo que hallo en mis memoriales, que escribí, tomando por mi persona con el astrolabio las alturas en las partes que agora diré, en tierra é sosegadamente, é muchas veces."⁷⁷⁴

⁷⁷¹ DELISLE, *Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, Vol. I., p. 265; LELONG, *Bibliothèque Historique*, Vol. I., p. 208, No. 3,583.

⁷⁷² OVIEDO, *Historia General*. Vol. VI., p. 275.

⁷⁷³ OVIEDO, *op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 98.

⁷⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 112.

No. 232. GULF OF MEXICO.

This map exhibits also the coasts of New Spain, and belonged to Alonso de Santa Cruz. It was exhibited at Madrid⁷⁷⁵ in 1881, and is probably all that is left of the cartographical collection mentioned in the inventory drafted after his death in 1572, although those valuable documents were entrusted to his successor in office.

Santa Cruz left Spain for the Rio de la Plata with Cabot in 1526, and did not return until 1530. As he was appointed cosmographer of the Casa de Contratacion,⁷⁷⁶ July 7, 1536, that map may have come into his possession, or may have been drawn during the latter period. We nevertheless suppose it to be of the time preceding his voyage to La Plata, as it is during the conquest of Mexico that the greatest efforts were made, by clandestine mariners as well as authorised agents, to explore the Gulf of Mexico. Withal, everything depends on the technical characteristics of the map, which we have not seen.

No. 233. GLOBE OF DESCÉLLIERS.

This globe of the Dieppe cartographer is thus mentioned :

“ Pour ce qui est des cartes marines, je diray avec Mons^r. Dablon⁷⁷⁷ que le sieur Pierre des Cheliers, prestre à Arques, a eu la gloire d'avoir esté le premier qui en a fait en France. Aussi estoit-il un si habile géographe et astronome, qu'il fit une sphere plate au milieu de la quelle on voioit un globe qui representoit toutes les parties du monde.”⁷⁷⁸

We have no maps of Descelliers anterior to 1546, but, as we find a “ Pierre Deschelliers, prêtre à Arques en 1537,”⁷⁷⁹ who is evidently the same, and as all his known maps (three) were “ faite à Arques par Pierre Desceliers pebre,” we presume that some of his cartographical productions may date as far back as 1536.⁷⁸⁰ Those which we still possess are : (1) in the collection of the late Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, dated 1546, at Dunecht House ; (2) in the library of the Abbé Sigismund de Bubics, dated 1553, in Vienna ; (3) in the British Museum, dated 1550.

⁷⁷⁵ *Lista de los objetos que comprende la Exposicion Americana*, Madrid, 1881 ; B, No. 272.

⁷⁷⁶ NAVARRETE, *Opusculos*, Vol. II., pp. 61-87.

⁷⁷⁷ DABLON was a chronicler of the seventeenth century, whose works are still in MSS.

⁷⁷⁸ David ASSELINE, *Antiquitez et Chroniques de la ville de Dieppe* ; Dieppe, 1874, 8vo, Vol. II., p. 326. He also speaks of “ le sieur Pretot, surnommé le Sçavant,

qui excelloit en la pratique des globes.” This PRETOT is perhaps the BRETON, an excellent geographer of Dieppe, mentioned by Father FOURNIER, *Hydrographie*, Paris, 1643, fol., p. 506.

⁷⁷⁹ For DESCÉLLIERS' maps see *Jean et Sbastien Cabot*, pp 217, seq.

⁷⁸⁰ DE BEAUREPAIRE, *Recherches sur l'instruction publique* ; Rouen, 1870, 8vo, Vol. III., p. 197.

No. 234. CHELTENHAM MAPS.

In the sale catalogue of the then celebrated library of Guyon de Sardière, there is the following too brief item :

“Cartes (XII) marines de tout l’Univers, et dessinées en 1536 sur vélin. In folio.”⁷⁸¹

Many of the books and manuscripts of the sixteenth century belonging to that noted bibliophile, came originally from the library which Francis I. kept in his chateau of Anet. The above collection of maps is apparently one of the volumes which afterwards constituted No. 845 of the Meerman catalogue, viz.:

“Collection de cartes de tout l’Univers vraisemblablement dressées en 1536 et 1553 par [sic] Guyon de Sardiere [sic] et Baptiste Agnese à Venise ; 2 vols. d’une forme inégale, écrits et dessinés sur vélin en or et couleurs ; cuir d[oré].”⁷⁸²

It is at present No. 1912 of the Cheltenham catalogue. One of those two items is simply a portolano of Battista Agnese ; but the volume of folio size must be a different collection of maps, and we do not know whether it also found its way into the collection of Sir Thomas Phillips.

No. 235. BARBERINI PORTOLANI.

There are three such, all preserved in the Bibliotheca Barberiniana, at Rome, and they present identical configurations for the New World, in three maps, including the oval mappamundi.

One of these (*xliv. 40*) contains in the zodiacal ring, between March 10 and 15, this legend : “1536. Principium Martii æquinocialis.”

Another (*xlvi. 125*) is dedicated to Henry VIII., King of England, in these words : “Henricus Octavus, Dei Gratia Angliæ, Franciæ et Hibernis Rex. Fidei Defensor.” On the opposite page are delineated the arms of Great Britain. The last double leaf contains a miniatures representation of a library, intended for the Barberiniana. There are also the portraits of the three Barberinis who have founded or enlarged that library, and a long inscription ending as follows : “Breve sed accuratum utriusque orbis compendium observantias perpetuæ monumentum, obsulit, Barberinæ Gentis humillimus Cliens et alumnus D.D.” This inscription is signed “Georgius Conneius,” which has prompted the belief that he was

⁷⁸¹ *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de feu J. B. Denis Guyon, chevalier, seigneur de Charrière* [sic] ; Paris, 1759, 8vo, p. 130, No. 1253.

⁷⁸² *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum quos reliquit vir nobilissimus Johan Meerman, 1824.* Fourth part of The Hague catalogue, 8vo, p. 147.

the maker of the portolano, and that he had dedicated it to the Barberinis; but this was an erroneous interpretation.

The Barberinis mentioned in that inscription are—1^o Maffei, Cardinal in 1605, and Pope under the name of Urbain VIII.; 2^o his brother Francisco, Cardinal in 1627. On the other hand, the first dedication shows that the portolano was dedicated to Henry VIII., who reigned from 1509 until 1547, and that it was designed, therefore, between those two dates. Finally, the signer of the inscription is George Conn, a Scotch theologian settled in Italy, and who was sent as nuncio to the court of Queen Henrietta, the wife of Charles I., by Pope Urbain VIII. He remained in England from 1636 until 1639, when he returned to Rome, where he died January 10, 1640.⁷⁸³

We now see from the maritime routes traced in the semi-oval mappamundi, as well as from the configurations and workmanship, that it is the work of Battista Agnese, whose earliest production is of the year 1536, but who still made portolani in 1564. The present one, consequently, was executed between 1536 and 1547.

The third portolano (*xlvi. 81*) bears also the arms of the Barberini family, but it is evidently an addition of the seventeenth century, as that portolano was likewise drawn by Battista Agnese. Unfortunately, it contains no data enabling critics to fix the precise year when it was made.

The probability is that the one which contains the dedication to Henry VIII. was given by Queen Henrietta to Conn, who presented it to Urbain VIII., after causing the portraits and external illustrations to be executed by an Italian artist when he returned to Rome in 1640. We would have included these portolani exclusively in the list of Agnese's productions, but for the prevailing opinion that they are each of a different character and origin.⁷⁸⁴

No. 236. ATLASES OF AGNESE.

Battista Agnese was a very artistic cartographer of Genoese origin, who exercised his profession at Venice from 1536 until 1564. We possess atlases, dated and signed by him, of 1536, 1543, 1544, 1545, 1553, 1554, 1555, 1559, 1562, and 1564. There exist others which bear neither date

⁷⁸³ NICIUS ERYTHRÆUS [J. V. ROSSI], *Pinacotheca Imaginum illustrium doctrin.*; Lipsiæ, 1692, 12mo, pp. 132-133.

⁷⁸⁴ We are indebted to Mr. MALVANO for transcripts of parts of those portolani obligingly made from the originals at our request.

nor signature, but are certainly the work of Agnese, as the geographical configurations, nomenclature, caligraphy, dimensions, and ornaments, resemble altogether those of the atlases bearing his name. Besides, there is a peculiarity common to all, which is a sure test to determine among the atlases of small size made in Italy, in the middle of the sixteenth century, those which must be attributed to that cartographer. It is this: In the oval mappamundi we invariably see routes traced or dotted, in gold or in silver, or simply coloured, indicating the itinerary followed by ships sailing from Lisbon to the East Indies, and from Cadiz to the north and south of the New World.

The atlases of 1554, 1564, and that which is in the Wolfenbüttel Ducal Library, depict only two such routes. The first of these starts apparently from Lisbon, crosses the Atlantic, reaches the American continent about Darien, resumes its course on the other side, follows the south-west coast to Cape Horn, and from there traverses the entire Pacific Ocean. This bears the inscription: "El viage de andar a la maluche:—the travelling route to the Moluccas." The other route, which is the homeward voyage, starts from the Molucca islands, crosses the Cape of Good Hope, ranges the coast of Africa, and terminates at its starting point. This reads as follows: "Ritorno de la maluche:—the return from the Moluccas."

The following atlases, viz.: Correr Museum, Bodleian and Barberini (1536), Paris (1543), Marciana (1545), as well as the dateless ones of Munich, Montpellier, Turin, and Philip II., so called, mark a third itinerary. This route starts from Cadiz, crosses the Atlantic, reaches the isthmus of Panama, resumes its course on the Pacific side, and follows the coast to a point south of Tombez, and called "Pachirama." It is labelled: "El viazo de Peru:—the voyage to Peru."

The anonymous, but dated atlas of 1536 of Dresden, and the dateless ones of Paris, Vienna, Stockholm, and of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, exhibit, in addition, a fourth route. This starts from some port in Normandy, traverses the Atlantic, lands in Canada, where there is depicted an imaginary isthmus, resumes its course on the other side, and ends in Cathay. The inscription is: "El viazo de fransa:—the voyage from France." In the Bodleian, instead of a narrow isthmus, between the "Terra de Baccalaos," and the "Terra de las Bretones," there is a wide passage, corresponding to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, through which the itinerary is made to pass.

The scientific merit of the atlases of Agnese is very inferior to the artistic skill which they exhibit. In 1536, that cartographer adopted a type for their configurations, and from which, in nearly thirty years, he but little deviated. In 1564 as well as in 1536, the Pacific coast of the New World presents the same chasm between Peru and Cape Horn; and, to the last, he connects Newfoundland with the continent, although Gastaldi and Diego Homen were, in his days, designing or engraving maps also at Venice, for more than fifteen years, which maps showed the insularity of the great codfish emporium. Taking for our data the alleged Philip II. atlas, which is the most complete within our reach, we find that the maps which interest us are the following :

MAP I.—It is an oval mappamundi containing the itineraries above described. The continent of North America is entirely separated from the Asiatic, and exhibits, westerly and north-westerly, the peculiar elbow and trend eastwards which are so noticeable in the Maggiolo of 1527, Verrazano, and first Munster maps. Yucatan, as in these three, has the form of a large round island, cast into the sea, at a great distance from the coast; but it is the only one of that class which depicts the peninsula and vermilion sea of California. The great river of silver is denominated “Rio de la Plata,” and the estuary, Para and Uruguay, are represented as in Ribero. “Cuzcho” is inscribed, but in the centre of the southern continent. At the north, we notice “Ciuola, Tatonteach, Maruta,” and “Nacpa.”

MAP II.—It is a map of America, North and South, exhibiting the profiles of the Weimar charts; also with no west coast whatever north of Mexico. Yucatan, however, is the large circular island already noticed in the mappamundi. Yet, the present is not the prototype which Agnese has consulted for the latter; as it does not set forth the imaginary narrow isthmus depicted in the Canadian regions. Nor can it be said that in the mappamundi the alleged isthmus is an invention of Agnese, as it figures already in the Maggiolo of 1527, and in other maps.

MAP III.—It represents the entire Pacific coast, from a “Provincia de siera,” to a great portion of the western seaboard of the California peninsula, with a technical legend concerning the depth (“xi. braças”) of the “mar uermeio.” The limit is 40° north latitude of its own scale. Here again Agnese has copied a Sevillian chart, which is apparently the one he used for map ii.; but it differed from Ribero’s, as we read names which the latter does not contain, viz.: in Peru, “Rio de S. Miguell, C. Blanco, P. de S. Lorenzo,” and C. de Afrita” [?]. These, however, are not placed sufficiently far at the south, to indicate geographical data obtained in the course of Pizarro’s second expedition.

In fine, the atlases of Agnese possess no other merit than to be beautifully caligraphed or miniatures, not intended for use by mariners or scholars, and altogether objects of art, destined to be offered as presents, and to adorn the libraries of the rich. Those which still exist and have come to our notice, are the following :

1. March 10, 1536; twelve maps.—Correr Museum, at Venice.⁷⁸⁵
2. "1536 die martii."—Bodleian, Oxford.
3. "Baptista . agnessivs . ianvensis . fecit . venetijs . 1536 . die 13 octobr;" eleven maps and a zodiac.—British Museum; *Addit. MSS., No. 19,927.*
4. "Æquinocialis 1536;" 12 ll., nine maps, 211 by 300 mm.—Trivulziana, Milan, *Cod. 2160.*⁷⁸⁶
5. 1536. Sir Thomas Phillips' Collection, Cheltenham.⁷⁸⁷
6. 1536; twelve leaves, 290 by 190 mm.—Dresden Royal Library, *No. XLIX. 40 (or MSS. F. 140 b?).*⁷⁸⁸
7. 1536.—Biblioteca Barberiniana, Rome.⁷⁸⁹
8. "Baptista Agnese fecit, Venetiis, 1543, die 18 febr."—Huth Collection, London.
9. "Baptista Agnese fec., Venetijs, 1543, die 18 February."—Archives of the Duke of Coburg-Gotha.⁷⁹⁰
10. "Baptista Agnese ianuensi Die xii. Februarii Anno M.DXLIII.;" thirteen maps.—Bibl. Laurenziana, Florence, No. 241.⁷⁹¹
11. "Baptista agnese Januensis fecit uenetijs anno Domini 1543 die 25 Junij;" twelve maps.—Paris National Library, *B. 2624.*⁷⁹²
12. "Baptista Agnese Januensis fecit Uenetijs 1544 . die . 5 february;" ten maps (?).—Dresden Royal Library, *MSS. F. 140 a.*
13. "Baptista Agnese fecit Venetijs 1545, die 8 Maii."—Marciana, Venice, *MS. Cl. iv., cod. 499 (or 492?).*
14. "Baptista Agnese in Venezia al 1° Settembre 1553;" thirty-two maps.—Count Donà Collection, Venice.
15. "Baptista Agnese facit [*sic?*] Venetiis anno Domini 1554 die 15 Julii."—?
16. "No [*sic?*] Baptista palnese [*sic?*] fecit uenetiis anno Domini 1554 die 20 octobris rab [*sic?*];" thirty-six maps.—Marciana, Venice, *Cod. lxii. (or Class IV., cod. 6?)*
17. 1554; sixteen maps.—Collection of Count Gio. Batt. Giustinian, Venice.⁷⁹³
18. 1555.—In the now dispersed collection of Prince Labanoff, *No. 2067.*
19. 1559.—Collection of Mr. S. Perez Junquera, Madrid.⁷⁹⁴
20. "Baptista agnes. fecit uenetijs anno dni. 1564 die 25 mai;" eight maps, table, and zodiac.—British Museum, *Add. MSS. No. 25,442.*
21. 1564.—Marciana (?)⁷⁹⁵

The following atlases of Agnese are neither signed nor dated:

22. Fifteen leaves, ten double maps.—Paris National Library, *Fonds Latin, No. 18,249.*⁷⁹⁶

⁷⁸⁵ It is by mistake that under the date of March 10, 1536, the *Elenco* (Nos. 166 and 167) describes two such atlases. There is only one, which was purchased by Mr. BAROZZI for the Correr Museum, where it is to be found: *No. V., Classe Portulani.* It was discovered at Padua in 1881.

⁷⁸⁶ PORRO, *Catalogo dei Codici manoscritti delle Trivulziana*, p. 357.

⁷⁸⁷ Ex-Guyon de Sardièrre Collection, No. 1912.

⁷⁸⁸ Dr. K. HÄBLER kindly informs us that this Dresden atlas bears no inscription, but it contains on the equinoctial line in the plate representing a zodiac, the date of 1536.

⁷⁸⁹ See *supra*, No. 235, p. 625.

⁷⁹⁰ KOHL, *Documentary History of Maine*, p. 316, who describes *de visu*, both the present and that of the late Mr. HUTH, under the same date. See also KOHL, p. 298, and his plate xv., letter c.

⁷⁹¹ It comes from the MEDICI family, and is very fine.

⁷⁹² It comes from a PICCOLOMINI, of Sienna.

⁷⁹³ UZIELLI—AMAT, *Elenco*, No. 482.

⁷⁹⁴ "Hecho en Venecia en 1559, por Baptista Agnose" [*sic?*], do we read in the *Lista de los objetos de la Exposicion Americanista*, Madrid; No. B. 858.

⁷⁹⁵ MATKOVIC, *Alte Handschriftliche*, p. 10.

⁷⁹⁶ Comes from BIGOT, who probably purchased it in Italy at the close of the seventeenth century. It bears the arms and signature of "Dominicus de Bossis."

23. Twenty-two leaves.—Library of the Faculty of Medicine, Montpellier.
24. Dresden Royal Library.⁷⁹⁷
25. Ten maps.—Stockholm Royal Library.⁷⁹⁸
26. Fourteen maps.—Wolfenbüttel Ducal Library.
27. Ten maps.—Munich Royal Library, *Cod. iconogr.*, No. 136.⁷⁹⁹
28. Nine maps.—Collection of Baron Edmond de Rothschild,⁸⁰⁰ Paris.
29. Fourteen leaves, eleven maps.—Spitzer Collection, Paris.⁸⁰¹
30. Fourteen maps.—Collection of H. Y. Thompson, Esq., London.
31. Ten maps.—Collection of Count Malartic, Dijon.
32. Seventeen leaves, fourteen maps, 510 by 360 mm.—Archives of Propaganda Fide, Rome.⁸⁰²
33. Florence National Library, *Class XIII.*, P. *codex 5* (?).
34. Fifteen leaves.—Library of the King, Turin.⁸⁰³
35. Bibliot. Barberiniana, Rome, No. *xlvi.* 81.
36. " " " No. *xlvi.* 125.⁸⁰⁴
37. Twelve maps, 218 by 300 mm.—Private Library of the Emperor of Austria, No. 7984.
38. Library of the Glasgow University (?).
39. "Baptista Agnese ianuensis fecit venetiis 15- die Februarij;" K.K. Hofbibliothek, Vienna, *Codex membr.*, No. 623.⁸⁰⁵

There are, besides, counterfeits of the time, but very poorly executed.⁸⁰⁶

No. 237. THE BODLEIAN MAPPAMUNDI.

Map of the world which we find described as follows :

"It is an undated MS. in the Bodleian Library of an elliptical projection. The dotted line given for the Chili coast, and the indications of Pizarro's conquest of Southern Peru,

⁷⁹⁷ KOHL, *op. cit.*, plate xiv., p. 293; plate xviii., No. 3. It is probably identical with No. 168 of the *Elenco*, erroneously dated 1536, whereas, in reality it is *sine anno*.

⁷⁹⁸ It was formerly in the private collection of King CHARLES XV. of Sweden.

⁷⁹⁹ J. A. SCHMELLER, *Ueber einige ältere handschriftliche Seekarten der K. Bibliothek*, in *Abhandlungen der I. Cl. d. Ak. d. Wiss.* iv., Bd. Abth. 1, Munich, 1844, p. 255; PESCHEL, *Ueber eine italienische Weltkarte*, in *Elfter Jahresbericht* . . Leipzig, 1872, p. 59.

⁸⁰⁰ It is the smallest and most beautiful of all those atlases, with very fine miniatures borders,

⁸⁰¹ It is alleged to have been made for PHILIP II., on account of the arms of Spain being miniatures on the frontispiece, and of the legend: "Philippo Caroli. Aug. F. Optimo Princ. Providentia." SPITZER and WIENER, *Portulan de Charles-Quint donné à Philippe II.*; Paris, 1875; and FRANZ WIESER, *Der Portulan des Infanten*, Vienna, 1876. Mr. SPITZER caused it to be re-mounted, and altered its original shape and beauty.

⁸⁰² THOMASSY, *Les Papes géographes*, No. 14, p. 133.

⁸⁰³ It is a small 8vo. The recto of the first leaf contains the arms of Guido Ascanio SFORZA DI SANTA FLORA, who was cardinal from 1534 to 1564. This atlas is evidently the one cited by H. WUTTKÉ, *Jahresbericht des Vereins für Erdkunde*, Dresden, 1873, page 62, plate vii.

⁸⁰⁴ One of these was made for King HENRY VIII. of England; see, *supra*, No. 235, p. 625, for a full description of both.

⁸⁰⁵ It bears the reference: "Conventus Vienn. fratrum Discal. S. P. Augustini."

⁸⁰⁶ Paris National Library, Geographical Department, B. 2625. Baptista AGNESE has also made separate maps. There is one of Cyprus, which has been reproduced by SATHAS, *Monumenta Histor. Ellenic.* The map of Europe, 840 by 600, preserved in the Catania University Library, and described in the *Elenco* of Mr. UZIELLI, No. 196, bears the inscription: "Baptista Agnese fecit, Venetiis 1562, die 4 Februarii." For further details concerning that cartographer, see KOHL, *op. cit.*, pp. 292-295, and *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, pp. 188-194.

induced Kohl to place it between 1534 and 1536. It resembles the delineation in the American parts of Baptista Agnese of about this date."⁸⁰⁷

Not being described as forming part of an atlas or portolano, and bearing no date, we must consider until further notice, the present as distinct from the Bodleian Agnese dated "1536 die martii."

No. 238. ITALIAN PORTOLANO.

It is an atlas of seven maps, each of two leaves, 330 by 230 mm. The mappamundi exhibits a rough delineation of the New World, with configurations and a nomenclature apparently borrowed from Battista Agnese, but not the work of this cartographer, as it lacks the itineraries depicted athwart the world, which are the distinctive traits of his own atlases. The present is preserved in the British Museum, *Reg. 14 C.V.*, and has been kindly examined at our request by Miss L. Toulmine Smith.

No. 239. CHAVES' MODEL CHART.

Oviedo mentions that official map, now lost, in these words :

"Cartas modernas, en espeçial de la corregida nuevamente por mandado de Cèssar (del qual patron tengo una de la mano de Alonso de Chaves, uno de los cosmographos de Sus Magestades :—Modern maps, particularly the one which was lately corrected by order of Cesar [*i. e.*, the King of Spain or Emperor Charles V.], of which model I have [a copy] in the hand of Alonso de Chaves, one of the cosmographers of Their Majesties."⁸⁰⁸

"La carta moderna del cosmographo Alonso de Chaves, que nuevamente se corrigió y emendo el año que passó de mill é quinientos y treynta y seys años."

"La carta moderna, fecha por el cosmographo Alonso de Chaves, el año de mill é quinientos y treynta y seys años, despues que por el Emperador, nuestro señor, fueron mandados ver y examinar é corregir los padrones y cartas de navegar por personas dotas y experimentadas, que para ello fueron elegidas."

"The modern map of the cosmographer Alonso de Chaves which was newly corrected and improved last year one thousand five hundred and thirty-six."⁸⁰⁹

"The modern map made by the cosmographer Alonso de Chaves, in the year 1536, after the Emperor our lord had ordered that the models [*padron real* or *general*] and sailing charts should be seen and examined by learned and experienced persons appointed to that effect."⁸¹⁰

⁸⁰⁷ WINSOR, *The Kohl collection of early maps*, No. 51, p. 13; and KOHL, *Discovery of Maine*, p. 296, plate containing four maps.

⁸⁰⁸ OVIEDO, *Historia General*, lib. xxi., cap. ii., Vol. II., p. 116.

⁸⁰⁹ *Op. cit.*, cap. x., p. 149.

⁸¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, cap. xi., p. 151. On the other hand we know that it was yet in course of construction December 31, 1536, as then Alonso DE SANTA CRUZ and Diego GUTIERREZ, speak of the "patron que ahora se hace" (*Probanzas de Luis Colon en el pleito*; MS. of the Archives of the Indies).

This is confirmed by the deposition of Sebastian Cabot,⁸¹¹ viz.:

“Agora el licenciado Suárez de Carvajal, oidor del Consejo de las Indias, ha mandado recoger todas las cartas de marear, e que se haga un padron general para la navegacion:—The licentiate Suarez de Carvajal, a member of the Council of the Indies, has now ordered that all the sailing charts should be collected, and that a general model map for navigation should be constructed.”

Our interpretation of those extracts is that Chaves' map was only a copy of the *Padron General*, and, as we will show, more or less exact, if not modified by Chaves according to his own notions.

We have shown that the *Padron* alluded to was first ordered by Charles V., October 1526, and remained unfinished, so that May 20, 1535, Queen Isabella ordered Fernando Columbus to cause the royal cosmographers to proceed with the work.⁸¹² Diego Ribero was referred to by name in the cedula of 1526, in a manner implying that he held a conspicuous place among those professionals; but what is strange, is the fact that the Queen mentions him again, apparently as if she believed he was still living in 1535, although he had then been dead two years.”⁸¹³

The probability is that upon receiving the royal order, Fernando Columbus directed Chaves, who since April 4, 1528, was “Royal Pilot, Cosmographer, and Master Map-maker,”⁸¹⁴ to activate the work, in conjunction however with his numerous colleagues. We infer that they only finished the *Padron* commenced by Ribero; but Chaves must have altered it, since Oviedo in his description, alludes several times to differences⁸¹⁵ existing between the map of Ribero and that of Chaves. In one word, the Weimar charts do not reproduce exactly the *Padron General*, or the copy of it which Chaves made for Oviedo. That map was not a *mappamundi*, as, like the official model, it embraced only “the islands and continent which had been then discovered.” It was evidently of very large size⁸¹⁶

⁸¹¹ *Probanza* of December 31, 1536.

⁸¹² *Supra*, page 266.

⁸¹³ “Pagasele [viz., was paid the balance of salary due to him] hasta 16 Agosto 1533 en que [Ribero] fallecio.” Muñoz Transcripts, Vol. LXXVII., f^o. 165 vo.

⁸¹⁴ “Piloto, Cosmografo i Maestro de hacer cartas, astrolabios, i otras cosas para la navegacion.”—MUÑOZ, *op. cit.*, Vol. LXXVIII., f^o. 100 vo. The fact that CHAVES worked upon RIBERO'S map, may also be inferred from this phrase of OVIEDO: “A esto [la carta de Chaves] se acresçienta lo que paresçe por la carta del cosmographo Diego Rivero, de naçion portuguès, el qual

poco antes que fallestiesse, estando en serviçio del Emperador, como cosmographo de S. M., se le daba crédito en su offiçio, é yo le comunicué.”—OVIEDO, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

⁸¹⁵ “Demas de lo qual [CHAVES' map], en lo ultimo de la costa puse la opinion del cosmographo Diego Ribero . . .”—OVIEDO, Vol. II., pp. 112, 118, 119, 121, 148, 150.

⁸¹⁶ OVIEDO'S map of the Gulf of Nicaragua (*op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 98) which he made to correct CHAVES', measures 14 centimeters, and required to be at least of that dimension to embrace all the names and cartographical details enumerated.

Although Oviedo seems to blend together the geographical data which he has borrowed from Chaves with those derived from other sources, we deem it useful to give his nomenclature, beginning, as he does,⁸¹⁷ with the Strait of Magellan,⁸¹⁸ and following the east coast northwardly. This list has the very great advantage of giving the proper spelling of many names; but the new appellations indicate the existence then of American maps which are now lost.

FROM THE STRAIT TO LA PLATA :

| | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Rio de la Cruz | Tierra de Marcó ⁸¹⁹ | Tierra de los Humos |
| Sierras hermosas | Rio de Canamor (<i>sic</i>) | Rio Grande de Parama (<i>sic</i>), |
| Baya de los Trabaxos | Arrecife de Cobos ⁸²⁰ | <i>alias</i> rio de la Plata |
| Rio de Johan Serrano | B. de Bajos Anegados | Cabo Sancta Maria |

BRAZILIAN COAST :

| | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Rio de las Piedras | Rio de Sanct Christobal | Rio de Culpare |
| Rio de las Virtudes | Baxos de los Pargos | Rio de la India ⁸²³ |
| Rio de Sanct Alexo | <i>Rio de Sancta Barbara</i> | Bahia de la Cananea |
| Rio de Sanct Francisco | <i>Baxos de Abrejos</i> | <i>Rio Ubay</i> |
| Rio de Sanct Matheo ⁸²¹ | <i>Golpho de la Playa</i> | <i>Rio sin fondo</i> |
| Puerto Real | Rio de Sancta Ana | Puerto de la Barca |
| Rio de Sanct Hieronimo | Rio del Brasil | <i>Puerto de los Patos</i> |
| Rio de los Cosmos | Cabo de Sanct Pedro | Puerto de Sanct Sebastian |
| Rio de Sanct Augustin | Cabo Frio | Puerto de don Rodrigo de |
| Golpho de Todos Sanctos ⁸²² | Sierras de Santa Lucia | Acuña ⁸²⁴ |
| Rio de Sanct Jorge | Cabo de Buen Abrigo | <i>Puerto del Farallon</i> |
| <i>Rio de la Magdalena</i> | <i>Sierras de Sanct Sebastian</i> | Rio poblado |
| Rio de Sancta Elena | <i>Rio Joulan, also del Sombrero</i> | Rio çerrado |
| Rio de Sanct Gregorio | <i>Tierra de Jenero</i> | <i>Rio Tibiquari</i> |
| Rio de Sanct Johan | Golpho de los Reyes | <i>Rio Etiquari</i> |
| Rio Paramá, or Rio de Solis ⁸²⁵ | | Cabo blanco ⁸²⁶ |

⁸¹⁷ OVIEDO, lib. xxi., cap. i.-xi., Vol. II., p. 112-152. In the present instance we insert the entire nomenclature, so as to show the names which were still in use, officially, in 1536; but those in italics are the names which appear for the first time. OVIEDO cites many others, which we have omitted, as they seem to belong to other maps.

⁸¹⁸ The data for that portion of the coast were obtained chiefly from SANTA CRUZ: "Cuyos memoriales, como amigo, doméstica é amigablemente me comunicó" (*Op. cit.*, p. 114). Those names are therefore anterior to 1530, when SANTA CRUZ returned to Spain.

⁸¹⁹ "Março," or March, in RIBERO.

⁸²⁰ "De Lobos," or "of Seals," *ibidem*. CHAVES also indicates an "Isla de Cobos," subject to the same correction, as there is no such word as "Cobo" in Spanish or Portuguese.

⁸²¹ "Rio Sanct Francisco" was called in CHAVES' map,

"Rio Primero," while "Rio Sanct Matheo," took the name of "Rio Segundo." These two last names indicate therefore maps posterior to 1536.

⁸²² This is a small gulf "golphete," within the "Baya de Todos Sanctos."

⁸²³ Want of space compels us to omit all the islands mentioned on the north and south-east coast.

⁸²⁴ Rodrigo DE ACUÑA was one of the captains in the expedition of LOAISA, in 1525.

⁸²⁵ As there is already a "Rio Grande de Paramá *alias* rio de la Plata," we infer that CHAVES intended to draw a distinction between the immense estuary, which at present is called "Rio de la Plata," and the "Rio de Parana" above. If so, he must have believed that SOLIS actually discovered the great river which bears the latter name. Our impression is that SOLIS never got so high.

⁸²⁶ It is the "Cabo de Antonio" of RIBERO.

BRAZILIAN ELBOW :

| | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Rio de las Virtudes | Bahia de Arreçifes | <i>Punta de Allende</i> |
| Rio de las Piedras | Punta Primera | <i>Punta de Corrientes</i> |
| <i>Rio Epitiaca</i> | Golpho de Negros | <i>Rio de Naubor</i> |
| <i>Bahia de Sanct Rafael</i> | Promontorio del Palmar | Rio Segundo |
| <i>Bahia de Tortuga[s?]</i> | Punta de Humos or Fumos | <i>Rio de Johan de Lisbona</i> |
| Cabo del Corço | <i>Cabo del Hueste</i> | <i>Cabo de los Esclavos</i> |

NORTH COAST OF SOUTH AMERICA :

| | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| Rio de las Arboledas | Puerto-Muerto | <i>Punta de Zalmedina</i> |
| Costa de Laxas | Puerto-Flechado | <i>Punta de Caparoto</i> |
| <i>Punta de la Furna</i> | Cabo de Sanct Roman | Rio de Guerra |
| <i>Rio del Aldea</i> | <i>Tierra de Cinta</i> ⁸²⁷ | <i>Playa de los Rescates</i> |
| Rio Salado | <i>Cabo de la Aguja</i> | <i>Rio de la Cuenta</i> |
| <i>Monte-espesso</i> | <i>Rio de Seturma</i> | Punta de Caxines |
| Rio de Canoas | Ipira ⁸²⁸ | Rio de Belen |
| Rio de Huyapari | <i>Rio de Gochete</i> | <i>Rio Yebra</i> |
| <i>Punta de las Salinas</i> | Puerto de la Ramada | Rio de Lagartos ⁸³¹ |
| Cabo de Tres puntas | <i>Rio de la Ensenada</i> | <i>Rio de Françisca</i> |
| Tierra de Parianá | Tucaraca | <i>Golpho de Sanct Blas</i> |
| Golpho Triste | <i>Gayra</i> | Cabo de Mármol |
| Sancta Fé | <i>Nondira</i> | Cariay and Cerebaro |
| Chiribichi | <i>Dias paenesa</i> [?] | <i>Cabo del Camaron</i> |
| <i>Bengamar</i> | Punta Caribana ⁸²⁹ | Puerto de Carthago |
| Maracapana | Puerto Hermoso | <i>Rio de los Perdidos</i> |
| Rio de Oynari | Puerto de Zamba | Rio del Triunpho de la Cruz |
| <i>Bahia de Higuero</i> | <i>Boca de Codego</i> ⁸³⁰ | <i>Punta Diqueçeste</i> ⁸³² |

FROM THE GULF DE HIGUERAS TO PANUCO :

| | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|---|
| Cozumel ⁸²⁸ | Rio Guazacalco | Punta de Villa Rica |
| Punta de las Mugeris | Rio de Sanct Pablo | Rio de las Banderas |
| <i>Cabo Redondo</i> ⁸³⁴ | Rio de Grijalva | R. de St. Juan de Lua. |
| <i>Cabo de Terminos</i> | Rio de Dos Bocas | Cabo Roxo |
| <i>Bahia de la Pelea</i> | Rio de Palmas | Ancon de Torre Blanca |
| Bahia de Laçaro | Rio de Sanct Anton | Rio de Almeria |
| <i>Champoton</i> | Rio de Rambla | Ancon de Caxones |
| Puerto Deseado | Rio de Sanct Blas | <i>Rio de Taspa</i> |
| Puerto Seguro | Cabo Negro | <i>Tierra de los Pavos</i> ⁸³⁵ |

⁸²⁷ Called afterwards "Tierra de Concha."⁸²⁸ "Ipaïro," Weimar of 1527.⁸²⁹ OVIEDO says it is the origin of the name Caraib: "Una punta que llaman Caribana, de donde se deriva este nombre caribe," which is said to mean: brave or daring. *Op. cit.*, p. 133.⁸³⁰ Erroneously named elsewhere "Carex."⁸³¹ Also "Cocatriçes," and "Chagre."⁸³² "Despichel," in Turin map.⁸³³ First named "Santa Cruz," by GRIJALVA.⁸³⁴ Also called "Desconoiçido."⁸³⁵ "Pavos"—The County of Wild Turkeys.

GULF OF MEXICO :

| | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Rio de las Palmas | <i>Costa de Arboledas</i> | Matas del Salvador |
| Rio Hermoso | <i>Rio de la Magdalena</i> | Rio de Nieves |
| Rio de Sanct Benito | Rio Escondido | <i>Rio del Arenal</i> |
| Rio de Montañas | Rio del Oro | <i>Rio de la Playa</i> |
| Rio Solo | <i>Cabo Desierto</i> | <i>Punta del Cabo Baxo</i> |

FLORIDA AND THE N.-E. COAST :

| | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| Punta del Cañaveral | Cabo de Sanct Johan | <i>Rio de Castañar</i> |
| Cabo de la Cruz | Cabo de las Arenas | Rio de la Vuelta |
| <i>Cabo de Sancta Elena</i> | Rio de Buena Madre | <i>Rio Grande</i> |
| <i>Mar Baxa</i> ⁸³⁶ | Rio Seco | Cabo Breton |
| Cabo Grueso | Cabo and Arcipelago de | <i>Rio de muchas Islas</i> |
| Rio Seco | Sancta Maria | Cabo de Sancta Maria |
| Cabo Sanct Roman | Rio de Montañas | <i>Cabo de Sanct Pablo</i> |
| | Cabo de Março | Cabo Hermoso |

For the latter section, we beg leave to refer the reader to the excellent analysis given by Dr. Kohl.⁸³⁷ Withal, how can we conciliate that description with the statement of Oviedo,⁸³⁸ that the map of Chaves did not extend beyond 21° 15', and terminated at the Rio Sancto Spiritus?

It is well to notice that Oviedo, when about to give his geographical description of the New World, based upon the map of Chaves, states that with the advice of Ramusio, he borrowed his data regarding the Northern Regions, from the written and painted accounts of "Miçer Olao Gotho," that is, Olaus Magnus, Bishop of Upsala. "Ha querido que acá, en este Mundo Nuevo yo sepa y vea pintada y escripta la raçon de aquellas tierras septentrionales."⁸³⁹ He alludes also to a *Tractado Septentrional* printed at Venice with the authorisation of Paul III. This can only be the map printed in that city⁸⁴⁰ in 1539, but it contains nothing of the New World beyond the apex of "Gruntlandie." As to Magnus' *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*,⁸⁴¹ it was published five years after the death of Paul III., and, besides, it contains still less on the subject; the map even not extending westward beyond Iceland.

Another expression: "por testimonio de las letras del muy doto varon Miçer Olao Gotho," can be interpreted as referring to information

⁸³⁶ "Mar" here applies to a river.

⁸³⁷ KOHL, *Documentary History of Maine*, pp. 307-315.

⁸³⁸ OVIEDO, Vol. IV., p. 16, written in 1541.

⁸³⁹ OVIEDO, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 112.

⁸⁴⁰ *Tabula terrarum septentrionalium*, in OSCAR BRENNER, *Die ächte Karte des Olaus Magnus von Jahre*

1539, nach dem exemplar der Münchener Staatsbibliothek; Christiana, 1886, 8vo, and the edition given at Rome by Antonio LAFIERI in 1572.

⁸⁴¹ Romæ, 1555, folio, with a map of the Scandinavian regions different from the one published in 1539. We do not know whether it is also in the Italian edition of 1565.

derived from letters of the Bishop of Upsala, while the word "pintada" indicates a graphic description, which may be a map. This had to be recalled as regards Oviedo's statements concerning the north-east coast.

We must mention, in connection with Chaves' *Padron*, the globe which the Dominican friar, Diego Muñoz de Salamanca, sent to Oviedo. Its date was probably eight or nine years after the limit assigned to this Cartography; yet it finds a place here on account of the use which Oviedo intended to make of its data, as regarded the north Pacific, for completing the map of Chaves. The globe depicted the regions north of the Rio de Sancti Spiritus, which was the most north-western point on the Pacific side marked in cartographical documents at the time when Oviedo was writing Part III. of the *Historia General de las Indias*. His statement is not devoid of interest :

"Continuando por relacion è aviso de una poma en cuerpo espherica, que desde la villa de la Habana le envio un devoto é sçiente reverendo padre, llamado fray Diego Muñoz de Salamanca, de la Orden de los Predicadores : el qual llegado en la isla de Cuba se partió para España á dar notiçia à la Cessarea Magestad deste descubrimiento ; pero en aquella figura calló los nombres, é súpolos este auctor por otra figura en plano, que le envió el piloto Nicolas Zamorano, que lo anduvo è lo navegò è pintó hasta se poner en 37º grados desta parte de la equinoçial, siguiendo la costa la via del Norte."

"[I intended to] continue by means of the information contained in a spherical body, which was sent me from Havana by a learned and reverend father, called Diego Muñoz de Salamanca, of the Order of Preachers, who sailed from Cuba for Spain to inform the Emperor of that discovery.

But, on that globe, the numbers [of latitude] were wanting, and I supplied them by means of a plane chart, sent to me by the pilot Nicolas Zamorano, who navigated in those parts, and depicted them as far as 37º beyond the equator, in following the coast northward."⁸⁴²

Oviedo, however, adds that, on account of the discrepancy existing between the globe and Zamorano's chart, he refrained from continuing his geographical description,—a fact which is to be regretted. At all events, as he expressed the belief that the Pacific coast extended as far as Labrador, we infer that the Spanish cosmographers did not embrace the geographical heresy which had lately burst in Central Europe, and continued to consider the New World as absolutely distinct from Asia.

⁸⁴² OVIEDO, Vol. IV. p. 17.

Cartography.

SECTION THIRD.

ALLEGED MAPS OF THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.

1428.

No. 240. DOM PEDRO'S.

FRUCTUOSO, Cordeiro, Manoel de Faria, and a number of others,¹ firmly believed in the existence of the impossible map which is mentioned by Antonio Galvão as follows :

“No anno de 1428 diz q'foy o Infante dom Pedro a Inglaterra, França, Alemanha, a casa sancta, & a outras de aquella bãda, tornou por Italia, esteve em Roma, & Veneza, trouxe de lá hum Mapamundo q' tinha todo ambito da terra, & o estreito do Magalhães se chamaua, Cola do dragam, o cabo de Boa esperança, frunteira de Africa, & q' deste padram se ajudara ho Infante dom Anrique em seu descobrimento :—In the yeere 1428 it is written that Don Peter, the King of Portugals eldest sonne, was a great traveller. He went into England, France, Almaine, and from thence into the Holy Land, and to other places ; and came home by Italic, taking Rome and Venice in his way : from whence he brought a map of the world, which had all the parts of the world and earth described. The Streight of Magelan was called in it The Dragons taile: The Cape of Bona Sperança, The forefront of Afrike, (and so foorth of other places :) by which map Don Henry the Kings third sonne was much helped and furthered in his discoveries.”²

It is apparently identical with the following :

“On a affirmé que le détroit de Magellan avait été clairement indiqué dès le 15^{me} siècle, sur une des deux cartes apportées jadis en Portugal par Don Pedro d'Alfarrobeira, et que l'on conservait précieusement jadis dans le couvent d'Alcobaça.”³

¹ RIBEIRO DOS SANTOS, *Memoria sobre dois antigos Mappas Geograficos do Infante D. Pedro e do Cartorio de Alcobaça*, in *Memorias de Litteratura Portuguesa; publicadas pela Acad. R. das Sciencias de Lisboa* :

Lisboa, 1814, Vol. VIII., p. 281.

² GALVAM, *The Discoveries of the World*, Hakluyt Society edition, p. 66.

³ F. DENIS, *Portugal*, Paris, 1846, p. 205.

AFTER 1480.

No. 241. GRACIOZO BENINCASA.

"Portolano containing seven maps. Map V.:—Atlantic, showing the N.-W. coast of Africa and N.-E. coast of S. America. Probably the work of Gracioso Benincasa of Ancona. Vellum. Enriched with gold and colours. Sixteenth cent. Folio."⁴

Gracioso Benincasa is not known positively to have continued to make maps after 1480; as the latest dated one bears the inscription: "Gratiosus Benincasa Anconitanus composuit Ancone anno Domini 1480."⁵ It is true that maps and atlases ascribed to him are said to be of 1484, and "circa 1489,"⁶ but these should be investigated again. At all events, the present map, by depicting South America, can scarcely be of a date prior to 1500; and, as Gracioso Benincasa already signed maps and portolani in 1435,⁷ he would have been nearly ninety years old when this one was executed,—which is not probable.

1496.

No. 242. ANTONIO ORTIZ'.

The map of the Valencian Antonio Ortiz, cited by Cladera,⁸ is not likely to have contained transatlantic lands. The "Isla partida por un gran rio a la que llama Brasil," said to lie by 50°, can only have been the imaginary island of that name which figures on so many of the old portolani.

No. 243. THE VENTIMIGLIA MAP.

"Principio del XVI secolo o fine del XV.—Carta collo stemma Usodimare, di anonno, che si conserva a Ventimiglia. Ved. *Atti*, IV, carta CLXIX."⁹

No. 244. LOPEZ' (?).

"Principio del secolo XVI.—Carta delineata da un Lopez a Fez, già conservata in Genova, ma verso il 1868 venduta da un genovese al Museo Britannico."¹⁰

⁴ *Catalogue of Add. to the MSS. in the British Museum, 1876-1881*; p. 179, No. 31,316.

⁵ AMAT, *Elenco*, Vol. II., No. 67, and Append. p. 42.

⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 83, 84, 279.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 66.

⁸ CLADERA, *Investigaciones*, page xxii.; LELEWEL,

Géographie du Moyen Age, Vol. II., p. 108.

⁹ DESIMONI, *Giornale Ligustico*, 1875, p. 52.

¹⁰ DESIMONI, *ubi supra*. The words "a Fez," should be taken not for a name or place, but in the sense of "has made it," as in the case of the map of João FREIRE (*Jean and Sébastien Cabot*, page 221).

1504.

No. 245. MAGLIABECHIANA ATLAS.

The atlas of that library, said to be of the year 1504,¹¹ is neither anonymous nor relatively ancient. It was constructed in 1564, and is the work of Jaume Olives.

1506.

No. 246. DENYS' SAINT LAWRENCE.

"Embouchure du fleuve de St. Laurent sur vne Ecorce de Bois enuoiee de Canada.—Jehan Denys 1506 :—Mouth of the St. Lawrence river, on a piece of bark sent from Canada.—John Denys, 1506."

This map exists only in the form of a facsimile made at Paris for the Canadian archives in 1854, from a supposed original alleged to exist in the geographical collections of the War Department, and to be preserved "wrapped up in a piece of satin, and very carefully kept in a box." There is no such map, anywhere or in any shape, in the War Department at Paris, nor did any of the librarians or oldest employees ever hear of the map, satin, and box.

The facsimile copy of that alleged facsimile is a square map, 250 by 250 mm., bearing the above title in French, and indicating a survey of the tract of country on the south side of the St. Lawrence river and its surroundings, called Gaspesia, and drawn towards the beginning of the last century. As a work of Jehan Denys, it is absolutely apocryphal.

There has been, however, a Normand navigator of that name, who visited Canada¹² about 1506, and who is said by Charlevoix¹³ to have drawn a map of the St. Lawrence. He was from Honfleur, where existed in the sixteenth century several families called Denys;¹⁴ but the first mariner of that name mentioned in the archives dates only of 1597. Before 1540-1545, a Jehan Denys, however, must have explored the Canadian regions, as in an old manuscript book of sailing directions,¹⁵ written in the first half of the sixteenth century, there is a note from the owner, in a handwriting of the time, which is as follows :

¹¹ *Bullet. Soc. de Géographie*, Paris, 1847.

¹² RAMUSIO, *Raccolta*, 1565, Vol. III., ff. 417, 423; *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, pp. 242-251.

¹³ CHARLEVOIX, *Hist. de la Nouv.-France*, 1744, p. 4.

¹⁴ Charles et Paul BRÉARD, *Documents relatifs à la Marine Normande*; Rouen, 1889, 8vo, pp. 43-45.

¹⁵ Paris National Library; MSS. Français, 24,209; recto of the last leaf.

“Soit faict memoire de la mercque de mes basteaux et barques que je laisse en la terre neufue au havre de Jeh[an] denys dicte Rongnoust :—Let a note be made of the mark of my boats and barks which I leave in Newfoundland, in the haven of John Denys, called Rongnoust”

BEFORE 1506.

No. 247. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

In the *Epitome de la Biblioteca Oriental i Occidental* of Antonio de Leon, usually called Pinelo, there is the following item:

“Autores de navegacion i sus materias . D. Christoval Colon . Declaracion de la tabla navigatoria. Hallase este breve tratado impresso con su carta :—Authors on Navigation and things pertaining to the subject. Don Christopher Columbus. Explanation of the sailing chart. This short treatise is found printed together with his letter [or map].”¹⁶

This description, together with the remarks of Barcia¹⁷ and of Navarrete,¹⁸ led us and others to believe that Christopher Columbus had written a description of a map constructed by himself; which also implied the existence at a certain time of such a map. Our interpretation was still further strengthened by the bibliographical notice of a manuscript preserved in the King's Library at Madrid, which is repeatedly said to have contained that alleged treatise, and bearing the following explicit title:

“Declaratio chartæ nauigatoriæ Domini Almirantis:—Explanation of the sailing chart of His Lordship the Admiral.”

Having caused that manuscript to be copied entirely, we found that it bore the title which we have just given, and, besides, a technical heading which is as follows:

“Tiene vn tratado de la Carta de nauegar, hecho por el Doctor Grajales, en el Puerto de Sancta Maria, i el vso de dos Tablas, para saber el orto del Sol, i los ocasos desde el altura de . 38 . grados, hasta la de . 48 . por el mismo :—It contains a treatise concerning the sailing chart, made [or written] by Doctor Grajales, at Puerto de Sancta Maria, together with the use of two tables to ascertain the rising of the sun, and the setting thereof, from the altitude of 38 to 48 degrees.”

As to the contents of the manuscript, they consist of the account which Columbus wrote of his third voyage,¹⁹ and of the complete text

¹⁶ *Epitome de la Biblioteca Oriental i Occidental*; Madrid, 1629, 4to, page 145.

¹⁷ *Epitome de la Biblioteca Oriental y Occidental*; Madrid, 1737, folio, Vol. II., column 1084.

¹⁸ NAVARRETE, *Biblioteca Maritima Española*; Madrid, 1851, Vol. I., p. 376.

¹⁹ NAVARRETE, *Coleccion de los viajes*, Vol. I., pages 242-264.

of the twenty-two longitudinal explanations or legends pasted on the right and on the left of the famous engraved map of Sebastian Cabot, the only known copy of which is preserved in the Paris National Library.²⁰

It is evident that this manuscript does not refer either to a treatise or to a map of Columbus, and that the mistake arose from the words: "Domini Almirantis," which can only be an interpolation of the copyist. The *Carta de navegar* in question is simply that of Sebastian Cabot, and the *Tratado* nothing else than the set of legends written, as we now find, by Dr. Grajales (concerning whom we have been unable to discover anything else), and printed, perhaps in pamphlet form originally, to accompany the engraved map; just as Schöner's and Gemma Frisius' descriptions were composed to sell with their globes. This is so much the more plausible that the Cabotian planisphere was certainly published either in Antwerp, or in some other city of Central Europe, shortly after the year 1544; and that the legends are printed on separate sheets, simply pasted on the map.²¹

As regards cartographical productions of Christopher Columbus himself, it seems that in 1762, a certain party in Madrid offered for sale to the Academy of History, four maps drawn on paper, pasted on a board, and which were represented to be the authentic sailing charts of Columbus. "Although they were considered to be of little value, or of no use, *because they were ancient*:—Sin embargo de haber parecido que eran de poco ó ningun uso, *porque eran antiguas* [*sic*]," the Academy, on the 18th of June, 1762, commissioned one of its members to make arrangements for the purchase. But nothing came out of it, as there are no other traces of such maps in the archives or library of that enlightened institution.

BEFORE 1513.

No. 248. THE RIALTO MAPPAMUNDI.

It was destroyed with the Rialto in 1513; but we are unable to say from the notice of Sansovino whether it was a mappamundi dating from 1459 only, or one of a more recent period:

²⁰ *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, pp. 151-156.

²¹ The MS. also contains the mistake in legend 8th: "Este tierra fue descubierta por Joan Caboto Veneciano,

i Sebastiano Caboto su hijo. Año del nacimiento de nuestro Salvador Jesu Cristo. 1494. a veinte i quatro de Junio por la mañana."

“Vi furono anco rifatti i porti chi sotto il Doge Foscari, alle spese di Scipion Bono. Et l'anno 1459, sotto Pasqual Malipiero furono slargati col rimuouere i terauoli et vi fu rifatta, cosi scrive Pietro Delfino, la historia del Canale orfano (che era la battaglia, che si hebbe con Pipino, ma in qual parte di Rialto dipinta oon lo sò) et il Mappamondo. Vltimamente arso Rialto l'anno 1513.”²²

Our impression, however, is that the Rialto map was of the middle of the fifteenth century.

1513.

No. 249. THE ADMIRAL'S MAP.

“Nous voyons que la carte marine était appelée *Carte de l'Amiral*, ainsi elle fut primitivement dressée par Colomb ou par Cabral, mais jamais par Vespuce, car celui-ci n'a pas eu ce grade éminent. Il paraît hors de doute que la carte ainsi désignée a été dessinée soit par l'Amiral Colomb, soit par ses ordres soit d'après ses découvertes.”²³

Whether this remark applies to one or the other of the American maps of the Ptolemy²⁴ of 1513, it is certain that in either case the map is purely Portuguese, akin to Canerio's; and if the agency of a famous navigator can be detected in the making of it, the merit belongs to Americus Vespuccius alone;²⁵ at least for an important portion.

1514.

No. 250. “PADRON.”

It was a model map which King Ferdinand is said to have ordered from Solis and Juan Vespuccius in 1514.

“El Rei mando, ante todas cosas, Juan Diaz de Solis i Juan Vespucio se juntasen, i hiciesen un Padron general; que fuese mui certo, i verdadero: i que platicado primero con todos los Pilotos, estuviere fixado en la Casa de la Contratacion, adonde todos los Pilotos le pudiesen vér, i considerar, con orden, que nadie sacase Traslados de èl, sino Juan Vespucio:—The King ordered, first of all, Juan Diaz de Solis and Juan Vespuccius [Americus' nephew] to associate themselves for constructing a Model Map, which should be exact and reliable. To that effect they were first to confer with all the pilots, and to exhibit it in the Casa de Contratacion, so that all pilots could see and examine it; but ordered that no one should make extracts of the same, except Juan Vespuccius.”²⁶

²² SANSOVINO, *Venetia, Città nobilissima et singolare*; Venetia, A. Silicato, 1604, 4to, f^o. 252.

²³ SANTAREM, *Recherches sur Americ Vespuce et ses voyages*; Paris, 1842, 8vo, p. 165.

²⁴ *Supra*, Nos. 96 and 97.

²⁵ *Supra*, pp. 311-322, 335.

²⁶ HERRERA, *Decad. I.*, lib. x., cap. xi., p. 283, *sub anno, 1514*, in connection with the ordinances concerning the expedition of Pedarias D'AVILA in that year, according to HERRERA.

We apprehend that Herrera is mistaken as to the date, and confounds this *Padron General* with the *Padron Real* ordered in 1508; as we already find Juan Diaz de Solis and Juan Vespuccius complain in 1513, of infringements of their exclusive right to supply copies of the *Padron*.²⁷ The other mention of Herrera to the effect that Juan Vespuccius was authorised to take a copy of a map by Solis:²⁸ "Se le concede saque copia de la carta de Marear que hiço Solis," seems to refer to the above map.

1517.

No. 251. GREGORY REISCH.

Map in the edition of the *Margarita* published by Michael Furter at Basel in 1517.²⁹ It is said to be different from the map of 1515; but we doubt it; unless it be the Ptolemean mappamundi inserted in the edition of 1504.³⁰

1521.

No. 252. MADRID EXHIBITION.

"Diseño de las costas de Tierra firme descubiertas por Diego Velazquez y Francisco de Garay, y de la Florida, que descubrió Juan Ponce de Leon.—1521."³¹

It belongs to the Archives of the Indies (*Yndiferente gral.—Est^{te}. 145, Caj. 7, Leg. 8*) where it is simply labelled: "Golfo y Costa de la Nueva España." The map measures 630 by 410 mm. Beginning north at a point corresponding with Georgia, the coast follows southward around Florida and the borders of the Gulf of Mexico to the Panuco river. The northern extremity is a large lagoon: "Laguna dulce;" south of which there is a lake, from which it is separated by a range of mountains. Inland there are about one hundred indications of towns, villages, or settlements, all bearing Indian names. Twenty-one rivers, descending from the north, are represented as emptying into the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico. So far from being a map of the discoveries of Velasquez, Garay, or Ponce de Leon, and of the year 1521, it is more than twenty years later, and intended to describe the countries explored by Hernando de Soto and Luis de Moscoso, from May 30, 1539, until July 19, 1543.

²⁷ Muñoz MSS., Vol. XC., f^o 123, and, *supra*, pages 263-264.

²⁸ HERRERA, Index to the edition of 1726.

²⁹ Beckford Catalogue, Vol. III., No. 1256.

³⁰ *Supra*, No. 81, page 466.

³¹ *Lista de la Exposicion Americana*, B, No. 310.

We notice the following series of new and interesting names :

| | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| Alibano | Chaguet [Chaguete] | Guasco | Pacoa [Pacaha] |
| Animay [Aminoya] | Chalaque | Guecoya | Quigalta |
| Ays [Hays] | Chicaja | Lacone [Lacame] | Quipana |
| Aguacay | Cossa [Coça] | Maya [Mayé] | Quisquis |
| Capaha | Colima | Mondacan | Talissi |
| Cayas | Casqui | Neguateix | Tascaluça |
| Cehocatin [Xacuatín] | Guazulli | Nisone | Tula |
| | Ufianqui [Viranque] | Vaya del Espiritu Santo | |

Those names were first heard by Spanish ears during the expedition of De Soto, and made known by Luis Fernandez de Biedma,³² by the Elvas Nobleman,³³ and by Garcilaso de la Vega.³⁴ The inscription: "Desde quevira hasta aqui hay grandisimas manadas de vacas," originated with Moscoso,³⁵ when he came across immense herds of buffaloes; whilst the allusion to "Quevira," implies a date posterior to the return of Moscoso to Mexico, December 22, 1543, as it is only then that he could have been informed of the expeditions either of Marco de Nizza or of Vasquez de Coronado³⁶ to Quivira. The probability is that Moscoso met Vasquez in Mexico,³⁷ and learnt from him those details about buffaloes. As to the large lagoon on the north-east, it is most likely intended for the Ekanfanoka or Ouaquaphenogaw marsh, between Flint and Oakmulgee rivers in Georgia. The lake south of that lagoon may be the Okeechebe, north of the everglades in Florida.

Herrera mentions a map of that expedition given to him by one Antonio Boto,³⁸ which may have been a copy of the present.

³² *Relation de ce qui arriva pendant le voyage du capitaine Soto, par Luis Hernandez de Biedma*, in TERNAUX, *Recueil de pièces sur la Floride*, in *Voyages, Relations et Mémoires*, Paris, 1841, Vol. XIX., pages 69-101.

³³ *Histoire de la conquête de la Floride par les Espagnols; écrite en portugais par un gentilhomme d'Elvas. Par M. D. C.* (CITRY DE LA GUETTE) Paris, 1685, 12mo, p. 223.

³⁴ Garcilasso DE LA VEGA, *La Florida del Inca*; Madrid, 1723, folio, pp. 136-206.

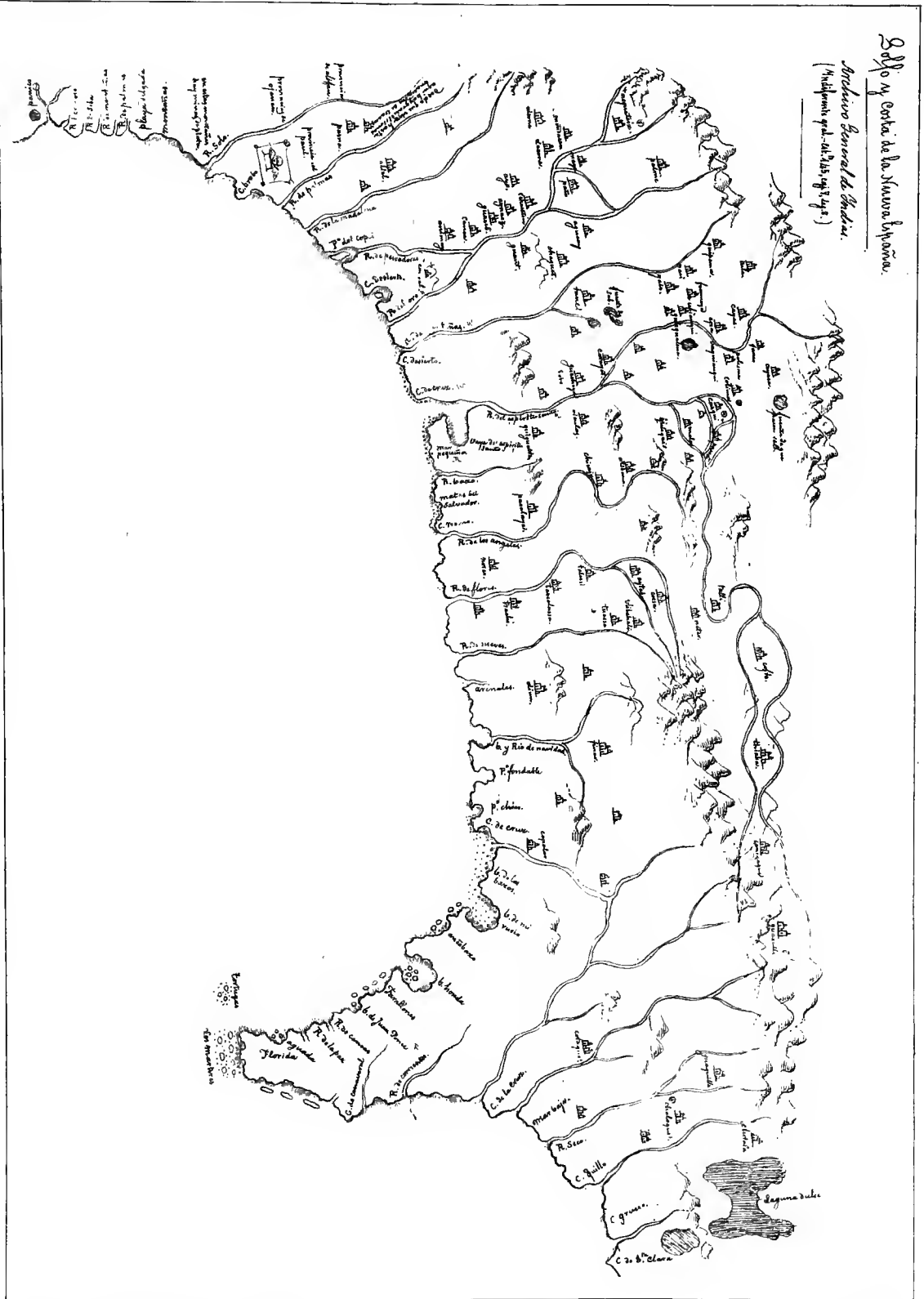
³⁵ *Ibidem*, page 215.

³⁶ Vasquez DE CORONADO already speaks at length of buffaloes in his letter to the Emperor, sent from Tiguez, October 20, 1541; TERNAUX'S *Voyages, Relations et Mémoires*, in *Relation du Voyage de Cibola*, p. 356;

but MOSCOSO could have no knowledge of that letter.

³⁷ We have been unable to ascertain when Vasquez DE CORONADO reached Mexico, but it must have been in the summer of 1543, as he prepared to set out homeward in April of that year. Account of Pedro DE CASTAÑEDA DE NAGERA, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

³⁸ "Antonio Boto dió al Autor las Pinturas de la Entrada de Soto en la Florida."—HERRERA, *Tabla General*, recto of sign. 8. We notice among the Muñoz Transcripts, Vol. LXXV., f^o 41, the following documents: "1539. [*sic*] Relacion del suceso de la jornada del capitán [Hernando de] Soto [to Florida] i de la calidad de la tierra por donde anduvo." "1539. Relacion del descubrimiento de las ciudades hecho por Fr. Marcos de Niza. Precede la Instruccion que le dio el visorrei de Nueva España."



Soto y Cortes de la Sierra de Guiana.

Antonio Gonzalez de Soto.
(Mediante el Sr. D. Juan de Soto.)

ORIGINAL MAP OF THE EXPLORATIONS OF SOTO AND MOSCOSO
(1539 — 1543)

BEFORE 1525.

No. 253. IN "CARTAS DE INDIAS."

It is the rough and poor map, 430 by 450 mm. reproduced in that work, under the following title: *Cartas de las Antillas, Seno Mejicano y Costas de Tierra Firme y de la America Setentrional*.

In reality, it is intended to depict only the regions surrounding the Gulf of Mexico; and if the Pacific coast is nameless, it is not because the cartographer knew nothing of Pizarro's explorations, but simply for the reason that there was no greater motive for entering into details about Peru than concerning the Bacallaos.

A great and very truthful Spanish savant, who is the highest authority in Spain at this day for such matters, considers the present map to have been constructed "even before the discovery of the Rio de S. Juan by Pascual de Andagoia in 1525."³⁹ In the first place, Andagoia discovered the Rio de S. Juan, not in 1525, but three years before, in 1522.⁴⁰ In the second place, the name "Apalache," inscribed on the map, is a proof that the latter was constructed at least twelve years after the date assigned to it by the aforesaid great and very truthful Spanish Academician.

Pamphilo de Narvaez is the first Spaniard who heard the name of "Apalache," and this during his second and last expedition; as in his first voyage to the Gulf of Mexico, he did not go further north than Cempoalla, near Vera Cruz.⁴¹ As to his second expedition, he landed in Florida April 11, 1528. Shortly after Easter-day, he was informed for the first time of the existence of "la provincia que dicen Apalache," which he reached June 25, and soon afterwards died.⁴² Finally, six years elapsed before anything was known of that disastrous expedition; the first news being brought by the few survivors, when these unfortunate adventurers were received by Melchior Diaz near Culiacan, in May 1536. But the geographical data gathered during that time, including the name of "Apalache," could not have been known in Europe until after August 15, 1537, which is the date of the landing of Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca at Lisbon.⁴³

³⁹ "En mi concepto hecha con anterioridad al descubrimiento del rio de S. Juan por Pascual de Andagoia (1525)."

⁴⁰ "En el año de 1522 . . . salí yo de Panama á visitar la tierra á la vuelta del este . . . llegó á una provincia que confina con el rio de S. Juan, que se dice los Petres, que agora se dice el rio de Santa Maria."—ANDAGOIA'S OWN account, NAVARRETE, Vol. III., pp. 420-423.

⁴¹ OVIEDO, *Historia General de las Indias*; Madrid edition of 1852, lib. xxxiii., cap. xii., Vol. III., p. 312.

⁴² *Ibidem*, lib. xxxv., caps. i., ii., v.

⁴³ CABEÇA DE VACA, *La relación y comentarios del governador Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca*, Lisbon, 1555, 4to, caps. ii., v., xxxiv.; RAMUSIO, Vol. III., f^{os}. 310, 311, 330.

There are other data which seem to bring the date of the making of the map several years more recently still. At the north, we notice a large lake or swamp, and beyond, by 46°—50°, according to its scale, a very extensive lake with six rivers flowing into it, in the middle of which a city is depicted, with the following names and legends: "Coniuas lacus, nuevo mesico, quere star a 54: grados." This representation shows that the notice is altogether hypothetical, or derived from hearsay. But, so far as documents go, we find no traces of notions concerning the countries in those latitudes, anterior to the expedition sent on the Pacific side by Nuño de Guzman, in 1532, and inland the one led by Vasquez de Coronado. Besides, the general appearance of the map, and the lake or wide morass on the north of Florida, which seems to be intended for the Okefonoke swamp, together with the said name of "Apalache, and perhaps those of "Rio de los Angeles" and "C. Romo," lead us to think that some of the data used in the present map were gathered during the famous expedition of Hernando de Soto, initiated May 12, 1539, but the results of which were known only in Spain in 1544.⁴⁴

1530.

No. 254. DIEGO HOMEM.

Under the year 1530, we read the following:

"The original, among Lord Lumley's (d. 1609) maps in the British Museum, is noteworthy from the west coast of the two Americas having no defined or supposable limit, the green colour of the Continent simply fading away. The eastern coast is of the Ribero type. The only names are "Temistitan" and *Mundus Novus*."⁴⁵

We know of no map of Diego Homem anterior to 1557.⁴⁶

1533.

No. 255. JOMARD'S FRENCH MAP.

"An early French map found by Jomard in the possession of a noble family in France. Kohl, who secured a copy of that map, ascribes to it the date of 1533, and a Ribero origin."⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Hernando DE SOTO went in search of the province of Apalache: "en busca de Apalache," August 11, 1540, and Johan DE AÑASCO reached, by sea, the port of Apalache, November 19, 1541. OVIEDO, *Historia General*, lib. xvii., cap. xxiv., Vol. I., p. 551-54.

⁴⁵ WINSOR, *The Kohl collection of early maps*, in his *Bibliographical Contributions*, 1886, p. 12, No. 45.

⁴⁶ *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 243. In the library of the Duke DE SALVIATI at Pisa, there is a large Portuguese map by one Lopo HOMEM, said to be anterior to 1543. *Atti dell' Acad. Pontif. dei nuovi Lincei*; Roma, 1884, p. 161. It contains, however, no American configurations.

⁴⁷ WINSOR, *The Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. II., p. 225.

Although the configuration of the east coast of the New World recalls the coast line of the Weimar maps, the present is not derived from any of the latter. Yucatan is connected with the continent, and the west coast is clearly delineated at about 110° W. longitude, and carried beyond 45° north latitude. We notice a river emptying into the Atlantic about our Hudson, and called "R. de la Tournée." The present is evidently a Dieppe map of the Desceliers type, and apparently of a later date than 1533. Perhaps it is only the "Henry II. map," so called.⁴⁸

No. 256. FRANCO-SPANISH MAP.

"Map in the British Museum,⁴⁹ which seems to have been made by a Frenchman from Spanish sources, judging from the mixture and corruption of languages used. In our manuscript there is a mention of "the disembarkation of the Governor," and this, together with the details of the harbours on the west coast of Florida, where Narvaez went, leads Kohl to suppose the map to have been drawn from that commander's reports."⁵⁰

This is simply the map described in our *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*,⁵¹ as the "Mappemonde Harleyenne," under the date of "circa 1542." It is unquestionably a Dieppe map, of the school of Pierre Desceliers, but not the work of that skilful geographer, as all his cartographical productions which have reached us, are duly signed by him and dated; whilst the present, although of an important character, is anonymous.

No. 257. THE PINELI CHART (?).

"Carte Nautiche nove del secolo XVI. con gran diligenza e splendidezza designate e dipinte; in-folio."⁵²

No. 258. BRITISH MUSEUM (?).

"A Portolano containing seven charts on a plane scale, each 1 ft. 5 in. by 1 ft. ½ in., executed on vellum, at the commencement, apparently, of the sixteenth century. The names are in the Venetian dialect. Map 7 represents the World. This one is of a later date than the other maps."⁵³

Perhaps it is only an atlas of Battista Agnese. Unfortunately, we have been unable to obtain more information. The fact that it is stated to be in the Venetian dialect must render that atlas interesting.

⁴⁸ *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, No. 23, p. 210-218.

⁴⁹ Add. MS. 5413.

⁵⁰ WINSOR, *The Narrative and Critical History of America*, p. 225.

⁵¹ No. 20, pp. 197-200.

⁵² Pinelo Catalogue, Vol. V., p. 102, No. 3906.

⁵³ British Museum, Old Royal Library, MS. 14 C. V. *Catalogue of the MS. maps*, Vol. I., p. 21.

No. 259. MAP OF "BARSIL."

It belongs to a portolano, not of the Marciana,⁵⁴ but of the Correr Museum at Venice,⁵⁵ and it is regarding its eighth map that Professor Matkovic said: "Enthält Nordostgestade Südamerika's mangelhaft und phantastisch dargestellt."

There is nothing "fantastic" about that map. On the contrary, it is a pretty accurate representation of the portion of Brazil which extends from the elbow to the Rio de la Plata, here called "Rio grande." We notice, in the vicinity of Cape Frio, a "Golfo de St. Augustin." A remarkable feature is the course of the Parana and Uruguay, which are made to issue from lakes and mountains. But, so far from being of the sixteenth century, it is of the year 1630.

⁵⁴ MATKOVIC, *Alte handschriftliche Schiffer-Karten in den Bibliotheken zu Venedig*; page 24.

⁵⁵ It is labelled: Portolani, No. 21 (Ex-1321), in the Correr Museum, in Venice.

[END OF PART THIRD.]

Part Fourth.

Chronology of Maritime Voyages.

PART FOURTH.

Chronology of Maritime Voyages Westward, Projected, Attempted, or Accomplished Between 1431 and 1504.

I.

THE reasons which prompted us to include in the preceding Cartography a number of maps constructed before the discovery of the New World, are the same which must be invoked for including in the present Chronology oceanic voyages anterior to the first transatlantic expedition of Christopher Columbus.

It cannot be denied that notwithstanding his extensive display of scriptural and scientific authorities, the great Genoese was also influenced by the attempts of the Portuguese; from which, in point of history, his theories and achievements cannot be separated; although they were not precisely of the same character. The bold sea-faring men of Portugal sought to reach insular regions supposed to be cast far away into the Ocean, whilst Columbus endeavoured to arrive at China and Japan. Still, those islands were so much believed to be on the route, that Toscanelli referred to them as landing places when Affonso V. should send an expedition in search of the east coast of Asia.¹ What is more, the map which Columbus took with him when he started from Spain on his first voyage, contained oceanic isles depicted by himself. Those were necessarily borrowed from charts then current: "donde segun parece tenia pintadas el Almirante ciertas islas por aquella mar."² All those notions therefore were not only co-eval, but also closely connected.

¹ "Notavi autem in carta diversa loca ad que pervenire potestis pro maiori noticia navigantium sive ventis vel casu aliquo alibi quam existimarent venirent." See, *supra*, p. 392 and 379, for a notice of the Antilia island,

which LAS CASAS says was depicted in the middle of the Atlantic on that map.

² Journal in NAVARRETE, *Coleccion de los viages y descubrimientos de los Españoles*; Vol. II., p. 13.

It is unquestionable that Roger Bacon, Pierre d'Ailly, Toscanelli, Münzmeister, and a host of thinkers, derived their ideas concerning the existence of transatlantic lands from the hypothesis of Aristotle, more or less directly; the mariners of the first half of the fifteenth century, however, were actuated by different inferences. They firmly believed that the islands which stud the western seas in all maps and globes of that period, so far from being imaginary, existed really, and could be reached. Hence repeated efforts on the part of adventurers, chiefly Lusitanian, or from the Azores, whose habits of thought precluded them from entertaining learned or theoretical opinions on the subject, and who were impelled only by practical ideas.

We possess abundant proofs that such was actually the case. Where did Prince Henry send Gonçalo Velho Cabral? In search of the islands marked on the map which Dom Pedro had brought from Italy in 1428. Where did Diogo de Teive direct his ship? To the south-west of Fayal to find the Antilia. What was the island which Affonso V. conceded to Fernam Tellez, and which João II. afterwards granted to Fernam d'Ulmo? The island of the Seven Cities. What isle did the captain in the employ of the Infant Henry pretend to have discovered? Again the Antilia. What was the object of the voyage of Thomas Lloyd? To find the island of Brasil. What captainship was given to João Vogado? That of the Ovo and Capraria islands, known then chiefly from being marked on charts: "As quaaes segumdo a carta de marear." Did not the Bristol people during seven years previous to 1498, equip every year, two, three, or four caravels to go in search of the islands of Brasil and of the Seven Cities?³ None of these fantastic isles are mentioned in the *Opvs majus*, or in the *Imago mundi*; but they figure in almost every mappamundi and atlas of the fifteenth century. Nay, do we not see Martin Alonso Pinzon claiming to have been shown in the Pope's library at Rome, in 1491, a map setting forth the transatlantic lands which, in company with Columbus, he was destined to discover a year afterwards!

Those crude and erroneous notions have, therefore, exercised over the minds of early navigators an influence which historians cannot overlook.

³ The belief in the existence of several of those islands, subsisted for several centuries among the mariners of the Portuguese islands, and perhaps subsists still. In 1604 the pilot Gaspar DE ACOSTA, following the indications of the Franciscan friar Lorenzo PINEDO, sailed from Palma in

search of the island of Sant Brandan. So recently as 1721, the captain-general Juan DE MUR Y AGUIRRE sent an expedition commanded by Gaspar DOMINGUEZ, which set sail from Santa Cruz de Teneriffe, in search of the same island. D'AVEZAC, *Isles de l'Afrique*, pp. 23, 28.

And, as they were positively borrowed from cartographical documents, we have felt bound to include these in a list purporting to embrace maps which may be said to have also generated the idea that there is land beyond the Atlantic. As a consequence, and in a higher degree still, efforts predicated upon that belief, which culminated in the memorable achievement of Columbus, had their place marked in a chronology of maritime voyages westward. They constitute our first section.

II.

The second section of the present Chronology will prove particularly useful in showing the number and importance of the expeditions which visited America shortly after its discovery. These were much more frequent than is generally believed. So early as 1494,⁴ Queen Isabella ordered that every month there should be a ship sailing from Spain to the New World, and one returning from the same. We have thus, for the ten years embraced in the next list, not less than two hundred and forty navigations to and fro. Yet, they were independent of the voyages of discovery authorised by special letters patent, and equipped at the expense of mariners who were prompted solely by the hope of promoting their own pecuniary interest. Nor should we omit to mention the clandestine expeditions, apparently very numerous, which sailed from Spanish, Portuguese, and French ports, the unlawful nature of which often required their commanders to steer towards parts unknown, or unfrequented by ships flying the royal standard.

For the decade which followed the discovery of America we have succeeded in finding authentic traces of about eighty transatlantic voyages. Unexpected and relatively considerable as that number will doubtless appear to the student of history, we do not think that it constitutes more than one-fourth of the expeditions which crossed the Western Ocean in that space of time. New investigations among the files of the archives of the Indies at Seville, and in the Muñoz transcripts, might bring to light documents concerning other maritime explorations of the same category. These additional notices would certainly prove of great interest, but they could not materially enhance the evidence which springs from our list. In fact, this

⁴ "Querriamos, si os parece, que cada mes viniese una carabella de allá y de acá fuese otra."—Letter of the Catholic Kings, August 16, 1494. in NAVARRETE, Vol. II., p. 155; and LAS CASAS, Vol. II., p. 92.

nomenclature will be found sufficient to demonstrate how great in those days was the activity of the Spanish shipping, even at a time when maritime adventure yielded little profit.⁵

So far as the present inquiry is concerned, we only proposed to show what were the elements calculated to disclose fresh geographical data in relation to the New World. It is unquestionable that when we see so many ships sailing in such close proximity to the mainland that (from the most western Lucayas) parts of its coast could be sighted in less than a day; that the common occurrences of maritime life, gales, head winds, and accidents of all sorts, must have frequently thrown vessels off their regular course; besides the natural curiosity and adventurous spirit of seafaring men, which incites them to probe unknown regions; that the new letters patent always forbade the grantees to explore countries discovered by others, whilst those who led unauthorised expeditions necessarily avoided points of the coast where there was a risk of being seized by officers of the Crown; all those circumstances, we think, must have resulted in ascertaining at an early period the existence of the continent of North America. Now, why the knowledge thus acquired proved of no avail at the time, or failed to be noticed in certain documents, is a question which finds a ready answer in the suspicious origin of the reports, and more particularly in the poorness of the regions visited, so far as gold, dye-wood, and Indians who could be easily kidnapped,⁶—then the sole object of the searchers,—were concerned.

⁵ Voyages to the New World became profitable and commenced to fulfil the expectations of the Castilian Crown, only after the discoveries and conquests of CORTÉS and PIZARRO; for gold was found in quantity nowhere else than in Mexico and Peru.

⁶ The Indians of North America were a much more

robust and warlike race than the inoffensive and feeble aborigines of the West Indies. If COLUMBUS in his first voyage had continued the exploration westwards and landed in Florida, it is a question whether the ancestors of the Seminoles would have allowed him to return home and bring news of the great discovery.

Chronology of Voyages.

SECTION FIRST.

BEFORE THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

No. I. GONÇALO VELHO CABRAL.¹

1431.

Prince Henry the navigator sends Gonçalo Velho Cabral in search of the islands marked on the map which Dom Pedro, the son of King João I. had brought from Italy in 1428.

Cf. Antonio CORDEYRO, *Historia Insulana*; Lisboa, 1717, fol., lib. iv., cap. i., p. 97. CANDIDO LUSITANO (José FREIRE), *Vida do Infante D. Henrique*; Lisboa, 1758, 4to, p. 319. Antonio GALVAM, *Tratado dos diversos e desuayrados caminhos*; Lisboa, 1563, 8vo, and 1730, fol., p. 22. *Christ. Colomb*, Vol. I., p. 313-314.

It may be that the above expedition is only the one which is mentioned on the original globe of Martin Behaim as follows:

“Nach Cristi unseris lieben Hern gepurt 1431 Jar, alfs Regiert in Portugal Infante don Petro wurden nach Notturft zugericht zway Schiff auf 2 Jar gespeisst von den Hochgebornen Infanten don Heinrichen . . . zu erfahren wass do wer hinder sanct Jacob Fynis Terre, weliche Schiff . . . segelten alweg nach den Untergang der Sonnen bey funfhundert teutsche Meilen zu letft wurden sy ains tags Ansichtig dise 10 Inseln . . . Also wurden sy geheissen Insulen dos Azores.”

“In the year of our beloved Lord Jesus Christ 1431, when the infant Dom Pedro was on the throne of Portugal, two vessels were equipped for two years by the order of His Highness the infant Dom Henry, to go in search of the countries which were west of St. James of Finisterre.

These vessels sailed continuously westward, about five hundred German leagues. Finally they discovered ten islands . . . which were called the Açores.”²

Behaim, however, is mistaken, as the Açores had been discovered at least four years when that expedition was ordered. Those islands were found in 1427 by Diego de Sevilla.³

¹ For the voyages of the VIVALDIS, see *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. I., pp. 320-327. It is intentionally that we omit the Scandinavian expeditions, as well as the alleged voyages of ZENIS, of Jean COUSIN, of João RAMALHO, of Joaõ Vaz CORTE-REAL, and the like.

² F. W. GHILLANY, *Der Erdglobus des Martin*

Behaim, Nürnberg, 1842, 4to, p. 13.

³ See the legend in the Catalan map of Gabriel DE VALLSECQUA; D'AVEZAC, *Notice des découvertes faites au Moyen Age*, p. 31, note 2. Nay, so far back as 1351, the archipelago of the Azores was already well depicted in the Medicean atlas of that date; *op. cit.*, p. 32.

1447.

No. II. ALLEGED DISCOVERY OF THE SEVEN CITIES.

In 1447, a Portuguese ship pretends to have been led by stress of weather to the Island of the Seven Cities; which may have been, in reality, one of the Azores. It is worthy of note that such a learned cosmographer as Pedro de Medina, so recently as the first half of the sixteenth century, should have still believed in the existence of the island of the Seven Cities, though thinking that it was no longer visible.⁴

Cf. G. HORN, *De Originibus Americanis*, Haga Comit.; 1652, 12mo, p. 7.

AFTER1452.

No. III. DIOGO DE TEIVE.

Diogo de Teive, a Portuguese nobleman, and the discoverer of the Island of Flores, sails after 1452, one hundred and fifty leagues southwest of Fayal, to find the Antilia island, said to have been sighted by a Lusitanian vessel. This information was conveyed to Columbus by Pedro de Velasco, Teive's own pilot, in the convent of La Rabida.

Cf. *Historie*, fo. 22. LAS CASAS, *Historia de las Indias*; lib. i., cap. xiii., Vol. I., p. 100. Ernesto do CANTO, *Arquivo dos Açores*; Vol. I., No. 3, p. 250. *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. I., p. 311.

1457.

No. IV. FERNAM, DUKE OF BEJA.

December 10, 1457, Dom Fernão receives from his uncle, Affonso V., letters patent granting him the islands which he hopes to discover in the Atlantic Ocean.

Cf. José DE TORRES, *Memoria a cerca da originalidade da Navegação do Oceano Atlantico*; in the *Revista dos Açores*, Ponta Delgada, 1851, Vol. I., p. 290. *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. I., p. 314, note 3.

AFTER1460.

No. V. ALLEGED DISCOVERY OF THE ANTILIA.

According to Christopher Columbus, a Portuguese vessel lands in the Antilia island in the time of Prince Henry the Navigator.

Cf. LAS CASAS, *Historia de las Indias*, lib. i., cap. xiii., Vol. I., p. 100.

1462.

No. VI. JOAÕ VOGADO.

Affonso V. grants to Joaõ Vogado, February 19, 1462, two oceanic islands which the latter claims to have discovered.

Cf. B. F. DE SENNA FREITAS, *Memoria historica, sobre o intendado descobrimento de uma supposta ilha a norte da Terceira*; Lisboa, 1845, 8vo, pp. 62-73, docs. B and C. *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. I., p. 315, notes 1 and 2.

⁴ MEDINA, *Grandeza de España*, Sevilla, 1549, fol., page 47.

No. VII. GONÇALO FERNANDEZ.

1462.

October 29, 1462, Dom Fernão receives the prospective ownership of an island which Gonçalo Fernandez, of Tavira, reports to have seen to the north-west of the Canaries.

Cf. DE SENNA FREITAS, op. cit., doc. G. Christophe Colomb, Vol. I. p. 315, note 3.

No. VIII. RUY GONZALVES DA CAMERA.

1473.

June 21, 1473, Ruy Gonçalves da Camera obtains from Affonso V. letters patent conveying to him the islands which he proposes to discover in the Ocean.

Cf. DE TORRES, ubi supra. Christophe Colomb, Vol. I., p. 315.

No. IX. FERNAM TELLEZ.

1475.

November 10, 1475, Fernão Tellez receives letters patent from Affonso V. for explorations westward as far as the Seven Cities.

Cf. DE SENNA FREITAS, ubi supra. Christophe Colomb, Vol. I., p. 316.

No. X. JOHN SZKOLNY.

1476.

John Scolno (a name which Lelewel translates by Szkolny, or of Kolno, a small village of Mazovia, on the Prussian frontier), a Polish pilot, said to have been sent in 1476 to the north-west, and to have reached Estotiland and Labrador, or the country which afterwards went by the latter name.

The authorities need to be examined, so as to ascertain whether they proceed from each other, or are derived from different sources. If we accept the statement of Hakluyt, Apianus already mentions Scolno. If so, it was before 1551, which is the date of the death of that German geographer; but we have failed to find the passage. He also quotes Gemma Frisius. In that case, we think that it was only a repetition of Apianus. The earliest which thus far has come to our knowledge, is Gomara, who, in 1553, stated that "Men of Norway have also been there ['Terra Laboratoris'] with the pilot John Scolno:—Tambien an ido alla hombres de Norvega con el piloto Joan Scolno."

The next author whom we could find is Cornelis Wytfliet, who, writing in 1597, makes the following statement:

1476.

"Secundum detectæ huius regionis decus tulit Johannes Scolvus Polonus, qui anno reparatæ Salutis M.CCCC.LXXVI. octoginta et sex annis à prima eius lustratione nauigans ultra Noruegiam, Groenlandiam, Frislandiamque, Boreale hoc fretum ingressus sub ipso Artico circulo, ad Laboratoris hanc terram Estotilandiamque dilatus est:—The Pole John Scolvus is the next who had the merit of discovering that region. In the year 1476, eighty-six years after the voyage [of the Zeni] he sailed as far as the Polar Circle, after having crossed Norway, Greenland, and Frisland, and reached that northern strait, Labrador and Estotiland."

Wytfliet did not copy Gomara, as he gives a date: "1476," and the nationality of the pilot: "Polonus," neither of which are mentioned by the Spanish chronicler. We now have the L'Ecuy globe, which inscribes between 70°—80° north latitude, and 320° longitude, the following legend: "Quii populi ad quos Johannes Scovvus danus pervenit. Ann. 1476:—These are the people reached by John Scovvus, a Dane." If the maker of that globe had borrowed his notions in respect to Scovvus (*sic pro* Scolvus, as spelt on his supposed prototype), he would have called him a Pole, "Polonus." How is it that on the L'Ecuy globe he is said to have been a Dane: "Danus"? Now, other writers state that Scolno was sent by Christian I., King of Denmark, and the qualification of Dane may come from that source. But George Horn is the first, to our knowledge, who makes the statement, in these words: "Joh. Scolnus Polonus auspiciis Christiani I. Regis Daniæ fretum Anian et Terra Laboratoris detexit A. 1476," and he wrote only in 1671, which is a date certainly seventy or eighty years later than the time when the L'Ecuy globe was constructed. We have, therefore, an account which was derived from three different sources, pointing to the fact that these existed before the second half of the sixteenth century. As to the voyage itself, it is not an impossibility, and we can easily realise that a Danish King should have sent a vessel in the track of the Scandinavian adventurers, whose voyages were yet too recent in 1476 to be forgotten.

Cf. LELEWEL, *Géogr. du Moyen Age*, III. and IV., p. 106, notes 50, 52. GOMARA, *Historia de las Indias*, p. 177 of Vedia's edition. WYTFLIET,⁵ *Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ Augmentum*; Lovanii, 1597, fol., p. 188; HORNIIUS, *Ulyssæa*, Lugd. Batav., 1671, p. 335. HUMBOLDT, *Examen Critique*, Vol. II., pp. 152-155, and *Grönland's Historiske Mindesmaerker*, Kiøbenhavn, 1845, Vol. III., pp. 628-630.⁶

⁵ It is by mistake that the French translators of WYTFLIET (Douay, 1604, p. 25), and Mr. MAJOR (*Select Letters of Columbus*, 1847, p. xxx.) ascribe the patronage of the undertaking to "Christian II." This King commenced reigning only in 1512, while CHRISTIAN I. was on the throne from 1448 until 1481.

⁶ That Danish work has been kindly examined at our request by Mr. BRUNN, the learned director of the Copenhagen Royal Library, who, having been besides requested to investigate the MS. accounts of the reign of

CHRISTIAN I., replied as follows: "Il nous sera permis de douter de cet événement, dont on ne trouvera un seul mot chez aucun de nos anciens historiens. Si un tel voyage a vraiment eu lieu sous le règne de Charles I^{er}, son but a été sans doute plutôt de retrouver le Groenland perdu que de faire des découvertes nouvelles. Ainsi en Danemark on ne sait absolument rien d'un voyage entrepris sous les auspices du roi Christian I^{er} par un Polonais appelé Jean Scolnus."

No. XI. ANTONIO LEME.

1476.

Antonio Leme, of Madeira, but of Dutch origin, sets sails westward, and on his return affirms having discovered three islands west of Terceira.

Cf. LAS CASAS, lib. i., cap. xiii., Vol. I., p. 98. *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. I., p. 309.

No. XII. ALVARO AND JOAÕ DA FONTE.

Two brothers, Azoreans, named Joaõ and Alvaro da Fonte, lose their entire fortune in searching westwards for unknown islands.

Cf. Gaspar FRUCTUOSO, *Historia genealogica de San Miguel*, in his *Saudades da Terra*, Ponta Delgada, 1876, 8vo, p. 73.

No. XIII. THOMAS LLYDE OR LLOYD.

1480.

July 15, 1480, Thomas Llyde or Lloyd, sails from the port of Bristol in command of vessels fitted out at the cost of John Jay, junior, in search of the imaginary island of Brazil.

"1480 die 15 jullij navis . . . et Johannis Jay junioris ponderis 80 doliorum inceperunt viagium apud portum Bristolliaë de Kyngrode usque ad insulam de Brasylle in occidentali parte Hiberniaë, sulcando maria per . . . et Thlyde est magister scientificus marinarium tocius Angliæ et nove venerunt Bristolliaë die luna 18 die Septembris, quod dicta[m] nav[em] velaverunt maria per circa 9 menses nec invenerunt insulam sed per tempesta [tes] maris reversi sunt usque portum . . . in Hibernia pro reposicione navis et marin[ar]iorum."⁷

"On the 15th of July, 1480, ships belonging to John Jay junior, of 80 tons burthen, sailed out of Bristol to navigate west of Ireland as far as the island of Brazil. On the 18th of September (1481?) news was received that Thomas Lloyd, the most expert seaman in England, who commanded the expedition, after a navigation of nearly nine months, being storm-beaten, had been compelled to enter a port in Ireland to allow his ships and men to rest without having discovered the said island."

Cf. Wm. BOTONER,⁸ alias DE WORCESTRE, *Itinerarium*, in NASMYTH, *Itineraria*, Cambridge, 1778, 8vo., p. 267. C. DESIMONI, *Intorno a Giovanni Caboto*, Genova, 1881, 8vo, p. 45. *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 44, note 3, and p. 371.

No. XIV. PROJECTED EXPEDITION BY A MADEIREAN.

1484.

In 1484, an inhabitant of Madeira petitions Joaõ II. to entrust him with a caravel for the purpose of taking possession of an island, which he claims to have seen west of the Azores.

Cf. Journal of COLUMBUS, in NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 5.

⁷ We take our text from the MS. in the College of Corpus Christi, Cambridge, No. 210, p. 195; kindly revised at our request from the original by the late Mr. S. S. LEWIS and by Mr. H. BRADSHAW.

⁸ William BOTONER was an antiquary, born in 1415, and who lived therefore at the time of the occurrence. John JAY was also an authentic individual, concerning whom NASMYTH, *op. cit.*, p. 267, gives personal details.

1484.

No. XV. FERNAM DOMINGUEZ DE ARCO.

June 10, 1484, Fernaõ Dominguez de Arco, of Madeira, is made Governor of the island which he hopes to discover in the Atlantic Ocean.

Cf. DE TORRES, *op. cit.*, p. 290. *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. I., p. 310, note 2.

BEFORE
1486.

No. XVI. PEDRO VASQUEZ DE LA FRONTERA.

Pedro Vasquez de la Frontera, asserts to Columbus and Pinzon that he accompanied an Infant of Portugal in a voyage of discovery westward, which was impeded by the Sargasso sea. This voyage must have been made between 1486 and 1490.

The above assertion, which rests solely upon the deposition of a witness in the interest of the Pinzons, is nevertheless admissible, as he was born in 1465; and Alonso Gallego, in his deposition, also refers to having heard Martin Alonso Pinzon remind Christopher Columbus of a statement made by the latter when they were together, "en casa de Pero de Vélez de la Frontera." That may be the origin of the legend about Columbus having learnt of the existence of transatlantic lands from an old pilot whom he had consulted.

Cf. Depositions of Alonso VELEZ DE ALLID⁹ and Alonso GALLEGO; MS. *Probanza* of November 1, 1532.

1486.

No. XVII. FERNAM D'ULMO.

March 3, 1486, Fernaõ d'Ulmo receives from João II. letters patent conceding the islands and continent which he proposes to discover westward.

Cf. *Historie*, cap. ix., f^o 22, under the name of FEMALDOLMOS. LAS CASAS, *Historia*, lib. i., cap. xiii., Vol. I., p. 101, where he is called Hernan DOLINOS. DE VARNHAGEN, *loc. cit.*, p. 116, docs. iv., v., and vi. *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. I., p. 312, note 2.

1491
TO
1498.

No. XVIII. BRISTOL EXPEDITIONS.

Those expeditions are mentioned by Ayala, the Spanish Minister.

"For the last seven years the Bristol people have equipped every year two, three, four caravels to go in search of the islands of Brazil and of the Seven Cities."

Cf. Dispatch of Pedro DE AYALA to FERDINAND and ISABELLA, dated London, July 25, 1498. *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, doc. xiii., p. 329.

⁹ In 1535, Velez DE ALLID was alcalde mayor of Palos.

No. XIX. VINCENTE DIAZ.

BEFORE
1492.

Vincente Diaz, of Tavira, at the cost of a wealthy Genoese merchant of Terceira, called Lucas de Cazana, makes three or four attempts to find lands beyond the Atlantic Ocean.

Cf. LAS CASAS, lib. i., cap. xiii., Vol. I., p. 101. HERRERA, Decad. I., p. 5.

No. XX. EXPEDITIONS OF THE KING OF PORTUGAL.

Juan Rodriguez de Mafra asserts that the King of Portugal (João II.?) sent one or two expeditions in search of western regions.

Cf. LAS CASAS, Vol. I., p. 101. DE VARNHAGEN, *La Verdadera Guanahani*, p. 109.

We have now reached the period of transatlantic voyages which are of special and greater interest to the historian of maritime discovery. These, of course, begin with Christopher Columbus; as the expeditions of the Northmen to the north-east coast of America, although, in our opinion, they are absolutely authentic, cannot be connected with the efforts and events which, so far as the real history of the New World is concerned, form a continuous chain, the first link of which was forged by the Latin races. In reality, there is no evidence that, south of the Baltic, mariners knew or attached any importance to the voyages of the Scandinavians, notwithstanding the fact that they were known at Rome, as is shown by the Papal bulls erecting bishoprics in Greenland and the adjacent regions. And as to Columbus, he may have heard of such expeditions when visiting Iceland; yet we make bold to say that, in his opinion, they related to countries very much different from the Asiatic kingdoms which he hoped to discover.

Chronology of Voyages.

SECTION SECOND.

FROM THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

1492—1504.

1492.

No. I. COLUMBUS' FIRST VOYAGE.

AUGUST 3, 1492—MARCH 15, 1493.

Columbus sights the first transatlantic land, Friday, October 12, 1492, at two a.m. On Sunday, October 28, he discovers the north coast of Cuba; and December 5, the north coast of Hispaniola. January 16, 1493, he sets sails homeward; reaches Santa Maria, in the Azores, February 18, and the mouths of the Tagus, March 4. He sails away from Portugal, March 13; and lands at Palos, March 15, at noon. The most western point reached is about 77° west longitude.¹

Cf. COLUMBUS' own Journal, abridged by LAS CASAS, in NAVARRETE, Vol. I., pp. 1-166. LAS CASAS, *Historia de las Indias*, Vol. I., pp. 261-469; *Historie*, ff. 39-84. COLUMBUS' Letter in Spanish, in Maisonneuve's facsimile; and in Latin, PLANCK's first edition (*Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*. No. 1); *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. I., pp. 405-454; Vol. II., p. 1-10.

The expedition was composed of three ships in all, viz.: the *Santa Maria*, or *Capitana* (flagship), the *Pinta*, and the *Niña*. We have been unable to ascertain the tonnage of those ships,² and only infer that they were relatively very small crafts, more or less leaky, owing to the bad work of the calkers, who ran away at Palos, when Columbus wanted to compel them to calk the ships over again.³ The masts were also worthless.⁴ Two of those vessels were chartered at the cost of the town of Palos, as a punishment for certain misdeeds.⁵

¹ *Supra*, page 99.

² The order addressed to the town of Palos (NAVARRETE, Vol. II., p. 12) as well as the other documents relating to the chartering of the ships, only mention "cabelas armadas," and even "fustas de armadas" (*op. cit.*, Vol. II., pp. 16, 18) without mentioning their

tonnage. The latter word which usually referred to oared galleys (JAL, *Glossaire nautique*, art. *Fusta*) indicates vessels of small size.

³ NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 137, in the Journal, Jan. 14.

⁴ *Ibidem*, January 23.

⁵ *Ibidem*, Vol. II., pp. 11-14; Vol. III., p. 480.

According to Peter Martyr,⁶ the little squadron which sailed from Palos, August 3, 1492, and returned to that port, March 15, 1493, after discovering the Bahama and West India islands, numbered two hundred and twenty men. Oviedo states⁷ that they were only one hundred and twenty. Las Casas limits the number still more, to ninety,⁸ including civilians, among whom he comprehends gentlemen of the Court of Ferdinand and Isabella, whose names have not reached us. Ninety is also the figure which is inscribed in the epitaph engraved on the tomb of Fernando Columbus in the cathedral of Seville, and, in our opinion, the exact one. If so, not more than forty seven of the companions of Columbus on that occasion returned to Spain.

No complete official list exists, and we have made the following nomenclature from the names which are mentioned in the log-book or journal of Columbus (*Derrotero*),¹⁰ in the records of the various rogatory commissions (*Probanzas*) executed by the Fiscal in Spain and in the West Indies in 1513, 1515 and 1535,¹¹ in the accounts of the first voyage written by Las Casas and Oviedo, and specially in the necronological roll of the 36,¹² 37,¹³ 38,¹⁴ 39,¹⁵ 40¹⁶ or 43¹⁷ men and officers who were left, January 2, 1493, in the fort constructed at La Navidad, and who were all killed a few months afterwards by the natives, whom they had shamefully treated. As far as we have been able to ascertain, the officers of the expedition were the following :

On board the *Santa Maria*, which was the only decked vessel :

Juan DE LA COSA, of Santoña, in Biscay, sailing master and owner.
Pero Alonso Niño, of Moguer, in Andalucia, pilot. Sancho RUIZ, pilot.

On board the *Pinta*, which was the best sailing craft of the three :

Martin Alonzo PINZON, of Palos, captain. Cristobal Garcia XALMIENTO, pilot.
Francisco Martinez PINZON, of Palos, pilot. Cristobal QUINTERO, owner of the ship.
Garcia HERNANDEZ, caterer.¹⁸

⁶ "Cum viris Hispanis circiter CCXX Colonus cœpit." ANGHIERA, Decad. I., lib. i., f^o 1, A.

⁷ OVIEDO, lib. i., cap. v., Vol. I., p. 22.

⁸ LAS CASAS, lib. i., cap. xxxiv., Vol. I., p. 260.

⁹ "Con tres galeras y 90 personas." *Excerpta Colombiana*, p. 24.

¹⁰ NAVARRETE, Vol. I., pp. 1-166.

¹¹ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., pp. 538-591; MSS. of the Archives of the Indies at Seville, and Muñoz collection of copies in Madrid.

¹² "xxxvi huomini;" *Historie*, cap. xxxiii., f^o 70, of the Venice edition of 1571.

¹³ "Treinta y siete personas;" Preamble, NAVARRETE, Vol. II., p. 18.

¹⁴ "Octo et triginta viros;" ANGHIERA, *Epist.* cxxxiii., p. 74; OVIEDO, Vol. I., p. 21.

¹⁵ "Dejo treinta y nueve hombres;" *Derrotero*, NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 121.

¹⁶ "Dejó alli cuarenta hombres;" BERNALDEZ, *Reyes Catolicos*, cap. cxviii., Vol. I., p. 367.

¹⁷ List in NAVARRETE, Vol. II., p. 18; to which should be added the names of Diego DE ARANA, GUTIERREZ, and ESCOVEDO.

¹⁸ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 540, note, p. 565.

1492.

On board the *Niña*, which was the smallest ship of the squadron :
 Vincente Yañez PINZON, of Palos, captain. Diego , mate.¹⁹

There were, besides, two other pilots and a mate, but we do not know to what vessels they belonged. Their names are :

Bartolomé ROLDAN, of Palos. Pedro DE LEDESMA. Juan Niño,²⁰ probably of Moguer.

The other officers were the following :

Rodrigo SANCHEZ, of Segovia, supervisor.²¹

Diego DE ARANA, of Cordova, chief of police ("alguazil mayor"), cousin of Beatrix Enriquez (the paramour of Christopher Columbus, and mother of Fernando), and of Pedro de Arana, one of the captains in the third expedition. He was made commander of the fort of La Navidad, where he was killed by the Indians²² in 1493.

Rodrigo ESCOVEDO or DESCOVEDO, of Segovia, clerk of the expedition, apparently nephew of the monk Juan Perez. Killed also at La Navidad.²³

Pedro GUTIERREZ, head-waiter; belonged formerly to the household of King Ferdinand.

He became a lieutenant of Diego de Arana, and was killed with him at La Navidad.²⁴

. . . . CASTILLO, of Seville, a goldsmith, whose services were engaged evidently to value the precious metals which Columbus anticipated to find. Killed at La Navidad.

Luis DE TORRES, of Murcia, a converted Jew, whom Columbus took with him as an interpreter to act when in the presence of the Great Khan, as he spoke Hebrew, Chaldean, and some Arabic.²⁵

As to the crew, it was quite mixed. There is an ordinance of April 30, 1492, suspending all criminal actions brought against any individual who was willing to accompany Columbus.²⁶ Besides, we have the latter's own testimony that his wish to return to Spain as quickly as he could, was prompted by the desire to part with such bad company: "asi que por salir de tan mala compañía."²⁷

The only names of sailors, passengers and menials, which have positively come down to us are the following :

Cristobal DEL ALAMO, of the Earldom of Niebla, in Andalucia, sailor. Killed at La Navidad.

Garcia ALONSO, of Palos, sailor.²⁸

Francisco DE ARANDA, of Aranda in Aragon, sailor. Killed at La Navidad.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, Vol. I., p. 49.

²⁰ According to the depositions of Francisco DE MORALES, omitted by NAVARRETE, but which is in the *Probanza* of June 16, 1512.

²¹ NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 12, Vol. III., p. 494.

²² NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 112; LAS CASAS, Vol. II., page 221.

²³ NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 121; LAS CASAS, Vol. I., p. 414. For the authority concerning all the following

names mentioned with the statement: "Killed at Navidad," see, NAVARRETE, *Lista de las personas que Colon dejó en la Isla Española*, doc. xiii., in Vol. II., p. 18-20, of the *Coleccion de viages*.

²⁴ NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 112; Vol. II., p. 613.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, Vol. I., page 47.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, Vol. II., page 15, doc. ix.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, Vol. I., page 128.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, Vol. III., pages 580, 589.

1492.

- Gabriel BARAONA, of Belmonte,²⁹ sailor. Killed at La Navidad.
- Juan DEL BARCO, of the Barco de Avila, in Castile, sailor. Killed at La Navidad.
- Domingo DE BERMEJO, of Guipuscoa [?], sailor. Killed at La Navidad.
- Juan Rodriguez BERMEJO, of Molinos, near Seville, sailor on the *Pinta*. He is believed by several historians to be the first man who spied land, October 11, 1492. Disgusted with not having been rewarded according to his deserts, he abjured the Catholic religion and became a Mahomedan.³⁰ This Rodriguez cannot be confounded with the sailor to whom Columbus ascribes the merit, as he calls him Rodrigo de Triana,³¹ of Lepe.
- Diego BERMUDEZ, of Palos.³²
- Juan CALVO, of Moguer, sailor, who returned with Columbus in the second voyage.³³
- Diego DE CAPILLA, of Almaden, sailor. Killed at La Navidad.
- Pedro DE CORBACHO, of Caceres, in Estramadura, sailor. Killed at La Navidad.
- Juan DE CUEVA, of Castuera, in the province of Badajoz, sailor. Killed at La Navidad.
- Diego DELGADO, sailor.³⁴
- Francisco FERNANDEZ, of Segovia, sailor. Killed at La Navidad.
- Gonzalo FERNANDEZ, of Segovia, sailor. Killed at La Navidad.
- Rui FERNANDEZ, of Huelva, who stated that he accompanied Columbus, without specifying whether it was in the first voyage. But as the answer was given in the course of an interrogatory relating chiefly to the first expedition, we may infer that the latter is the one which he had in view.³⁵
- Pedro DE FORONDA, of Alava (?), sailor. Killed at La Navidad.
- Gonzalo FRANCO, ship-boy. Killed at La Navidad.³⁶
- Diego GARCIA, of Xeres, sailor. Killed at La Navidad.
- Francisco DE GODOY, of Seville. Killed at La Navidad.
- Jorge GONZALES, of Trigueros, in Andalucia. Killed at La Navidad.
- Francisco DE HENAO, of Avila, in Castile. Killed at La Navidad.
- Guillermo IRES. Perhaps we should read William HARRIS, of Galway, in Ireland. Killed at La Navidad.
- Jacome . . . (?), murdered by his companions Pedro Gutierrez and Escobedo at La Navidad.³⁷
- Antonio DE JAEN, of Jaen, in Andalucia. Killed at La Navidad.
- Rodrigo DE JEREZ, of Ayamonte, in Andalucia.³⁸
- Francisco JIMENEZ, of Seville. Killed at La Navidad.
- Martin DE LOGRASAN, apparently a Castilian, of the vicinity of Guadalupe. Killed at La Navidad.
- Diego DE MAMBLES, of Mamblas, in Castile (?). Killed at La Navidad.
- Hernan Perez MATHEOS, of Lepe, in Andalucia.
- Sebastian DE MAYORGA, of Mayorga, in the province of Badajoz. Killed at La Navidad.
- Alonso Velez DE MENDOZA, of Seville, namesake of a noted commander. Killed at La Navidad.
- Diego DE MENDOZA, of Guadalajara, in Castile. Killed at La Navidad.
- Juan DE MENDOZA. Killed at La Navidad.

²⁹ We do not know whether he was from the province of Santander or of that of Cordova.

³⁰ OVIEDO, Vol. I., p. 24; and GOMARA, *Historia de las Indias*, pp. 116-168.

³¹ NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 19; Vol. III., p. 571.

³² *Ibidem*, Vol. III., p. 579.

³³ *Ibidem*, Vol. II., p. 147; Vol. III., p. 576.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, Vol. III., p. 588.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, Vol. III., p. 581.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, Vol. III., pp. 494, 522.

³⁷ LAS CASAS, Vol. II., p. 13.

³⁸ NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 47.

1492. Diego DE MONTALBAN, of Jaen, in Andalucia. Killed at La Navidad.
- Juan MORCILLO, of Villanueva de la Serena, province of Badajoz. Killed at La Navidad.
- Alvar Perez OSORIO, of Cartrojeriz, in the province of Burgos. Killed at La Navidad.
- Juan PATIÑO, of Villanueva de la Serena. Killed at La Navidad.
- Hernando DE PORCUNA, of Cordova. Killed at La Navidad.
- Juan QUINTERO, of Argenta (?).³⁹
- Gomez RASCON, sailor on the *Pinta*, who, with Cristobal Quintero, did all he could to thwart the expedition.
- DE RIBERA, carpenter.
- Pedro DE SALCEDO, servant of Columbus. As a reward, he obtained, August 3, 1499, the monopoly for the sale of hams in Hispaniola.⁴⁰
- Tristan DE SAN JORGE. Killed at La Navidad.
- Gonzalo Fernandez DE SEGOVIA, of Leon. Killed at La Navidad.
- Pedro DE TALAVERA, of Toledo (?). Killed at La Navidad.
- Tallarte DE LAJES, an Englishman, but whose names have been evidently distorted. Killed at La Navidad.
- Bernardino DE TAPIA, of Ledesma, in Castile, a bachelor or graduate. Killed at La Navidad.
- Diego DE TORDOYA, of Cabeza la Vaca, in the province of Badajoz. Killed at La Navidad.
- Rodrigo DE TRIANA, of Lepe, sailor on the *Pinta*; said by Columbus himself to be the first Spaniard who saw the New World: "Esta tierra vido primero un marinero que se decia Rodrigo de Triana."⁴¹
- Juan DE URNIGA, of Urniza, in Navarre (?). Killed at La Navidad.
- Manuel VALDOVINOS, of Lepe, in Andalucia.⁴² Born in 1459.
- Francisco Garcia VALLEJO, of Moguer, sailor on the *Pinta*.⁴³ Born in 1448.
- Francisco DE VERGARA, of Seville. Killed at La Navidad.
- Pedro DE VILLA, of Puerto de Santa Maria, in Andalucia. He is the sailor who, in the terrible night of February 14, 1493, was designed by lot to accomplish a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Loretto.⁴⁴
- Juan DE VILLAR, of Tarragona. Killed at La Navidad.

The above lists only include seventy-seven names (with that of Columbus) out of ninety. There are therefore thirteen still missing. A number of these may perhaps be gathered from other documents, but they do not present as much certainty. For instance, Pero Ortiz testified to the truth of certain allegations regarding the first voyage of Columbus, in these words:

"Lo oyo á Bartolomé Colon e a Alonso Gutierrez Querido e a Juan Ortiz, los cuales fueron en la armada:—He heard it said by Bartholomew Columbus, Alonso Gutierrez Querido and Juan Ortiz, who belonged to the [first] expedition."

³⁹ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 568. One Juan QUINTERO gave his testimony on behalf of Diego COLUMBUS in 1512 or 1515, but he was of Palos, and furnished only hearsay evidence; *Ibidem*, Vol. III., p. 580.

⁴⁰ OVIEDO, Vol. I., p. 24; NAVARRETE, Vol. II.,

p. 240; Vol. III., p. 582.

⁴¹ NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 19.

⁴² *Ibidem*, Vol. III., 612.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, Vol. III., pp. 564, 570, 577, 612.

⁴⁴ NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 150.

If so, we would have here three more names. Unfortunately, we know positively that Bartholomew went with his brother only in the second voyage. This discrepancy, together with the hearsay character of the deposition, which, besides, refers to a circumstance dating so far back as forty-two years previous, and is certainly biased in favour of the Pinzons, compels the critic to mention those names with a mental reservation.

1492.

The wording of the cedula of September 23, 1519,⁴⁵ granting a coat of arms to the descendants of the Pinzons and others "who went on a voyage of discovery with Columbus," seems to indicate that there should be included in the list, Andres Gonzales Pinzon, Diego de Lepe, and Miguel Alonso; but the end of the sentence, "and since in certain other discoveries," gives it a general aspect, and may include, as well as refer to the voyages accompanied by Diego de Lepe in 1499—1500, and by the other two, with one of the Pinzons, at a later period.

Six more names can be derived from the Rogatory Commission of December 22, 1535; but here, again, a doubt creeps into the mind of the critic who cares less for a long list than for an exact nomenclature. This commission was executed at the request of Juan Martin Pinzon, in reality against the heirs of Christopher Columbus, and to vindicate an assumed claim. The witnesses produced on that occasion all speak, of course, from hearsay, and, like those examined on behalf of the Pinzons in 1512 and 1515, with great disregard of truth. The best that can be said, so far as the present investigation is concerned, consists in assuming that if those witnesses were capable of putting on the lips of alleged spectators false statements, it would prove much more difficult on their part to invent such spectators, more especially in the country where these alleged companions are said to have lived, though it be forty-two years previously. The new names from that source would be the following:

Juan ORTIZ; on the testimony of his cousin Pero Ortiz.

Gutierre PEREZ; on the positive testimony of Gonzalo Martin, who went with him on the second voyage of Columbus.

Alonso Gutierrez QUERIDO; according to the before-mentioned testimony of Pero Ortiz.

Juan DE SEVILLA; on the testimony (by implication) of Cristobal Cerezo, the witness who asserted erroneously that Bartholomew Columbus accompanied his brother Christopher in the first voyage, and not less erroneously that the simple sailor Diego Bermudez, who went with the great Genoese in 1492, was the discoverer of the Bermudas, although the captain, Juan Bermudez, is the one who actually accomplished the discovery.

Juan Perez VIZCAINO, of Palos, calker; also on the testimony of the said Cerezo.

⁴⁵ NAVARRETE, doc. xliv., Vol. III., p. 145. Several are further described *infra*, in the *Biographical Notes*.

1493.

No. II. TRUANT PORTUGUESE EXPEDITION.

A Portuguese vessel sails from Madeira, apparently on the tracks of Christopher Columbus, who had just returned :

“De la Isla de la Madera era partida una carabela à descubrir islas ó tierra á otras partes que non han ido los Portugueses fasta aqui.”

Cf. Carta mensagera de los Reyes, Sept. 5, 1493; NAVARRETE, Vol. II., doc. lxxi., p. 109.

No. III. OFFICIAL PORTUGUESE EXPEDITION.

Upon hearing of the departure of the aforesaid carabela from Madeira, King Joaõ II., sent at once three vessels, apparently to overtake her, but, in the opinion of Ferdinand and Isabella, to make discoveries in the regions recently discovered by Columbus.

“Estos mensageros del Rey de Portugal nos dicen que aquel que fue en la carabela lo hizo sin mandamiento del Rey de Portugal, é que el Rey habia enviado en pos de él otras tres carabelas para lo tomar, y podria ser que esto se ficiese con otros respetos, ó que los mismos que fueron en las carabelas, una y otras, querrán descubrir algo en lo que pertenece á Nos.”

The reader will notice that the Catholic Kings speak of this expedition as having been already despatched when they wrote the above : “habia enviado,” and that its purpose was to overtake the truant Portuguese ship : “para la tomar.” These three caravels should be considered therefore as different from the squadron, composed of the same number of ships, which Joaõ II. caused to be equipped shortly after Easter following :

“Onde depois de Pascoa teve sobre o caso outros conselhos, em que foy detriminado que armasse contra aquellas partes, como logo armou, e grossamente: e da Armada fez Capitam Moor Dom Francisco d’Almeida, que seendo ja prestes”⁴⁶

This we take to be the expedition concerning which the Duke de Medina Sidonia wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella, who thanked him, May 2, 1493, for having kept them informed : “del armada que el Rey de Portugal ha fecho para enviar á la parte del mar Oceáno a lo que agora descubrió por nuestro mandado el Almirante D. Christobal Colon.”⁴⁷ The object of this expedition was, openly, to ascertain whether the discovery accomplished by Columbus was not an infringement on the rights of the

⁴⁶ Ruy DE PINA, *Chronica dél rei Dom João II*, in the *Collecção de livros ineditos de Historia Portugueza*; Lisboa, 1792, fol., Vol. II., cap. lxvi., p. 178; BARROS, *Decada primeira da Asia*, Lisboa, 1752, fol., Vol. I.,

lib. iii., cap. xi., f^o 57, verso, who, like RESENDE and VASCONCELLOS, afterwards, do nothing but to plagiarise DE PINA, in all which they relate about COLUMBUS.

⁴⁷ NAVARRETE, Vol. II., pp. 22, 72, 76.

Crown of Portugal. That is, the rights conceded to the Portuguese kings by the papal bulls of Eugene IV. (1438?), Nicolas V. (Jan. 8, 1454), Calixtus III. (March 15, 1456), Pius II. (1459?), and Sixtus IV. (Jan. 21, 1481).⁴⁸ But we do not make a separate item of this expedition, for the simple reason that, according to Ruy de Pina, who speaks as an eye-witness, João II. "desistio do enviar da dicta armada." Its influence, nevertheless, was great, as it led to the famous Treaty of Tordesillas.

1493.

Cf. NAVARRETE, doc. lxxi., Vol. II., p. 109.

No. IV. VOYAGE SUGGESTED BY MAXIMILIAN.

Maximilian, King of the Romans, advises João II. to send westward several ships to Cathay, apparently before having heard of Columbus' departure in 1492, and of his return in March, 1493; and Jerome Münzmeister suggests that Martin Behaim should accompany the expedition.

Cf. Carta do Dr. Jeronymo Monetario [MÜNZMEISTER, of Nuremberg] *ao Rey dō Joham segundo*, dated July 14, 1493. See, *supra*, p. 393.

No. V. COLUMBUS' SECOND VOYAGE.

SEPTEMBER 25, 1493—JUNE 11, 1496.

Sails from Cadiz, September 25, 1493; sights the first land ("De-seada I."), Sunday, November 3; lands on that day at the Dominica, at Guadeloupe on the 4th, and at Porto Rico on the 16th. Sets sail from Isabella, April 24, 1494; discovers Jamaica, May 13; returns to Isabella, September 29 following, and to Spain, March 10, 1496, landing at Cadiz, June 11 following.⁴⁹

Cf. Account of Dr. CHANCA, in NAVARRETE, Vol. I., pp. 198-224, and of Michaele DE CUNEO (MS. in the library of the Bologna University, discovered by Mr. Olindo GUERRINI). Nicolo SCYLLACIO, *De Insulis*. Letters of Simone DEL VERDE. *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. II., pp. 52-78.

No. VI. MARTYR, OF ARZENDJAN.

1494.

This Armenian Bishop started from Guetaria, in Biscay, April 14, 1494, to "sail over the universal sea," that is, the Atlantic Ocean. He wrote a sort of account of his passage, but it is so vague that we have

⁴⁸ Of all those bulls, the great *Bullarium* of 1743, contains only the one of CALIXTUS III. (Vol. III., Part III., p. 70.) We have not been able to find the text of the others.

⁴⁹ We regret that the lack of space prevents us from inserting the list of the companions of COLUMBUS in this as well as in the third and fourth expeditions, which have reached us.

1494.

been unable to ascertain where he actually went. As the voyage was prompted by the marvellous accounts which had been brought from the regions recently discovered by Christopher Columbus, we infer that his object was to visit the New World.

Cf. SAINT MARTIN, *Relation d'un voyage fait en Europe et dans l'océan atlantique Traduit de l'Arménien . . .* Paris, 1827, 8vo; and our *Christoph Columbus in Orient*, in the *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, of Dr. HARTWIG, of Halle; 1888, heft 3.

No. VII. BARTHOLOMEW COLUMBUS.

Three ships, which sailed from Cadiz after April 30, 1494, and reached Isabella, June 24 following. December 3, 1494, several of those ships went back to Spain.

Cf. NAVARRETE, Vol. II., p. 159; Vol. III., p. 501. *Coleccion de documentos para la Historia de España*, Vol. XVI., p. 567. *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. II., p. 60.

According to Oviedo, ⁵⁰ Bartholomew Columbus reached Isabella, August 5; Las Casas says that it was April 14, 1494;⁵¹ but he mistakes the date of Bartholomew's appointment with that of his landing in Hispaniola.⁵²

No. VIII. TORRES' FIRST VOYAGE.

AFTER AUGUST, 1494—APRIL, 1495.

Alonso de Torres leads four ships to Hispaniola, apparently in the autumn of 1494, and returns to Spain in the beginning of April, 1495, with five hundred Indians to be sold as slaves. This we believe to be the squadron which was being equipped ⁵³ October 8, 1494.

Cf. NAVARRETE, Vol. II., pp. 155, 172. BERNALDEZ, *Reyes Catolicos*, Vol. II., p. 172. For a description of the voyage homeward, see the MS. relation of Michael DE CUNEO, *supra*, p. 105.

1495.

No. IX. SOSA'S VOYAGE.

Four ships commanded by Jorge de Sosa. The masters were: Juan de Sasueta,⁵⁴ Juan de Salazar, Francisco Ojuelos, and Gomez Hernandez [de la Puebla?]. The pilots were Pero Alonso Niño, Juan de Umbria, Pedro Sanchez de la Puebla, and Domenico Martin.

Cf. Muñoz MSS., Vol. LXXV., f^o 186 v^o.

⁵⁰ OVIEDO, *Historia General de las Indias*, lib. ii., cap. xiii., Vol. I., p. 52.

⁵¹ LAS CASAS, Vol. II., p. 118.

⁵² *Historie*, cap. lx., f^o 121, recto.

⁵³ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 497.

⁵⁴ Juan DE SANSUETA, of San Sebastian (?).

Navarrete says⁵⁵ that this expedition was equipped by virtue of a contract entered into with Bishop Fonseca, in 1496, for the object of carrying a colony to Hispaniola, and sailed from San Lucar, February 3 of the latter year, but suffered damage in coming out of Cadiz. Perhaps the present is only the expedition which set sail under the command of Alvarez and Palomares in 1496, which see, *infra*, No. XV.

1495.

No. X. LICENSED EXPEDITIONS.

Expeditions equipped by Sevillan mariners⁵⁶ in accordance with the ordinances of April 7 and 10, 1495; which contained such important prescriptions and restraints:

“Que otras iran a descubrir si se les face parte de lo que descubrieren. Lo que se debia observar en quanto a los que deseaban ir a descubrir nuevas tierras demas de las islas y Tierra firme Que qualesquier personas Nuestros subditos e naturales que quisieren, puedan ir de aqui adelante, en quanto Nuestra merced e voluntad fuere, a descubrir islas y tierra firme”

Peter Martyr, June 11, 1495, writes to Cardinal Bernardino de Carvajal: “Diversi navium ductores ad diversa alterius hemisphæri littora missi sunt. Quæ reportabunt, per me si vixero intelliges:—Several captains have been sent to different parts of the other hemisphere, and when they return he will inform him of the news brought by them.” This ordinance was repealed June 2, 1497.

Cf. Doc. inédit. de Indias. Vol. XXX., pp. 317, 320. ANGHIERA, *Epist. clx.*, p. 90. HUMBOLDT, *Examen Critique*, Vol. I., p. 356. *Supra*, pp. 124-131.

No. XI. VICENTE YAÑEZ PINZON.

He contracted with the Crown, in December, 1495, for leading a maritime expedition, composed of two caravels, one called the *Vicente Yañez*, the other *La Fraila*. The contract says concerning the destination: “Ir y servir dó sus Altezas le mandaren.” As Vicente Yañez was a very active and enterprising mariner, and we do not see him engaged in any other maritime expedition between 1493 and 1499, the probability is that the present undertaking was carried into effect; and most likely in the New World. But we have failed to find any documentary proof.

Cf. NAVARRETE, doc. i., Vol. III., p. 75.

⁵⁵ NAVARRETE, *Viajes apócrifos*, in *Colección de Documentos inéditos de España*, Vol. XV., p. 20, note. ⁵⁶ LAS CASAS, *Historia General de las Indias*, Vol. II., pp. 111-112.

1495.

No. XII. AGUADO'S EXPEDITION.

AUGUST 5, 1495—1496.

Diego Carillo was to replace Columbus in case of death, and to have the command of this expedition, composed of four ships, which left Seville, August 5, 1495, under the command of Juan Aguado, having for masters: Juan Lusero, of Moguer; Bartolomé Colin, Bartolomé de Leca, and Fernando Peres, of Palos. It reached Isabella in October. The pilots were: Juan de Moguer, Ruy Perez, Francisco del Castillo, and Bartolomé Roldan. Fernando Columbus was also on board. These four ships were among the twelve which Juanoto Berardi contracted, April 9, 1495, to equip for an expedition to the West Indies. Las Casas is inclined to believe that they were lost in a hurricane in the port of Isabella; but they returned to Spain, apparently at the close of 1496.

Cf. MUÑOZ MSS., Vol. LXXV., fo. 189 vo. *Doc. inedit. de Indias*, Vol. XXX., p. 310. OVIEDO, Vol. I., p. 53. LAS CASAS, Vol. 2, pp. 110, 114, 125, 150. NAVARRETE, Vol. II., pp. 160, 169, 178.

1496.

No. XIII. EXPEDITION EQUIPPED BY VESPUCCIUS.

April 9, 1495, Juanoto Berardi, the Florentine merchant established at Seville, contracted to equip twelve ships for an expedition "a las Indias." Four of these sailed under the command of Aguado, August 5, 1495. Four others set sail in January, 1496, and constitute the present expedition; but, in coming out of San Lucar, they were assailed by a violent storm, and driven ashore. We do not know whether the little squadron rallied, and continued the voyage.

If we mention that expedition, it is chiefly on account of the connection of Americus Vespuccius with its equipment. Berardi having died in December, 1495, Vespuccius administered the estate, at least in so far as giving a receipt, January 9, 1496, for certain expenses incurred by the Crown for that voyage. The contract called for four more ships. Whether they were actually furnished by the receiver of the Berardi firm, and formed part of the squadron which sailed under the command of Per-alonso Niño, June 15 following, we are unable to say. This, however, we need to know, because it is the principal point of the charge brought against Vespuccius concerning the authenticity of his first transatlantic voyage, alleged to have been initiated in 1497. The argument presented is the simple hypothesis that the ships equipped for the third

expedition of Columbus, which sailed in 1498, were furnished by the representatives of Juanoto Berardi as a consequence or continuation of the contract of 1495. And, as Vespuccius is seen acting in January, 1496, on behalf of that firm, or its liquidators, it is inferred (although *non sequitur*) that he remained at Seville from 1496 to 1498. All we can say on that point, is that there is no evidence whatever proving the existence of the Berardi house after January 9, 1496, or the presence of Vespuccius in Spain after the latter date. Nay, it is almost certain that the firm did not survive the death of Juanoto Berardi, but immediately went into liquidation through want of means.

Cf. NAVARRETE, Vol. II., pp. 159, 177, 178; Vol. III., p. 317. HUMBOLDT, *Examen Critique*, Vol. IV., pp. 192-215, 267, 284-316; Vol. V., 180, 201-213. D'AVEZAC, *Les Quatre Voyages de Vespuce*, pp. 18-23. *Documentos escogidos del archivo de la Casa de Alba*; published by the Duchess of BERWICK and ALBA, Madrid, 1891, pp. 201-203; and *supra*, pp. 354-356.

NO. XIV. NIÑO'S FIRST EXPEDITION.

JUNE 15—OCTOBER 29, 1496.

It consisted of two caravels and a ship, under the command of the great pilot Peralonso Niño.

It is the expedition which Columbus found in the port of Cadiz, laden with provisions for the West Indies, June 11, 1496, and which sailed four days later: "partieronse quatro dias despues quel Almirante à Cadiz habia llegado." The ships returned: "á 29 de Octubre de aquel año de 1496," loaded with Indian slaves. Muñoz says that the little fleet sailed "el 17 de Junio." Here, again, there may be confusion with the following voyage.

Cf. LAS CASAS, lib. i., cap. cxi., Vol. II., pp. 127 and 180. MUÑOZ, *Historia*, lib. vi., p. 252. D'AVEZAC, *Les Quatre Voyages de Vespuce*, p. 22, note.

NO. XV. VOYAGE OF ALVARES AND PALOMARES.

The squadron was composed of three ships, viz.: *La Santa Maria de Guia*, master, Garcia Alvarez; *El Lazaro*, master, Juan de Tanguis (*sic*); and *La Catalina*,⁵⁷ belonging to Fernandez de Alcobá, but commanded by Francisco de Palomares.

⁵⁷ The *Catalina* is called besides "nao Bretona." We do not know whether that expression, which we have seen several times in Spanish documents, means a Brittany vessel, or a peculiar kind of craft. JAL says: "*A la bretona*—à la manière des Bretons. L'amiral Fern. Navarrete, cité par le Dict. marit. esp. (1831), prétend que tout objet placé le long du bord est mis à la Bretonne.

Ainsi, un canon amarré le long du bord est, selon les Espagnols, *Abretonado*" (*Glossaire nautique*, p. 340.). On the other hand, we know of instances where ship-owners who wished to send ships to the New World, have been compelled to go to Brittany to engage pilots expressly for the voyage. There are other instances of such "Brittany ships" being mentioned.

1496.

According to Navarrete, these vessels were equipped by virtue of a contract of March 16, 1496. Instead of "Juan de Tanguis," we should read "Juan de Afangui, vecino de Bermeo." Pedro Alonso Niño, who had just returned from his own first expedition (*supra*, No. XIV.) was the pilot of *La Guía*; but Navarrete says that they sailed from Cadiz, June 16, 1496,⁵⁸ which does not agree with Muñoz's date. The other pilots were Juan de Umbria and Pero Sanchez de la Puebla.

Cf. Muñoz MSS., Vol. LXXV., fo. 187 vo. NAVARRETE, *Viages apocrifos*, p. 20.

1497.

No. XVI. SPANISH CLANDESTINE VOYAGE.

Bartolomé Colin and Alonso Medel elope from Cadiz with two vessels which had been entrusted to them. When they returned, Columb asked of the government to seize the two ships, June 22, 1497.

Cf. NAVARRETE, Vol. III., doc. xxv., p. 507, and *supra*, p. 130.

No. XVII. CABOT'S FIRST VOYAGE.

John Cabot, by virtue of letters patent granted to him and his sons by Henry VII., March 5, 1496, sails from Bristol, in the beginning of May, 1497, with a small vessel, manned by eighteen men (Pasqualigo, Soncino), accompanied by three or four small crafts, privately equipped by Bristol men (Cottonian MS., and Fabian). Lands on the coast of Labrador (*supra*, p. 9), and not at Cape Breton island, as stated in the map of 1544; and returns to Bristol at the end of July, 1497.

Cf. *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, Chapters vi.-vii., and *supra*, pp. 1-38 and map.

No. XVIII. VESPUCCIUS' FIRST VOYAGE (?).

MAY 10, 1497—OCTOBER 15, 1499.

Sailed from Cadiz, under the Spanish flag, May 1st (Antwerp edition), 10th (Valori), or 20th (Hylacomylus and Las Casas). Reached the mainland of the New World after a passage of twenty-seven days (Hylacomylus), or thirty-seven (Valori-Bandini, Canovai). Returned to Cadiz, October 15th, 1499 (Hylacomylus), or October 15th, 1498 (Valori, Canovai), bringing over two hundred Indian slaves, who were sold on landing.

Cf. Accounts in the *Lettera and Cosmographiae Introductio*, described in the *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, Nos. 44-46, 87, and *supra*, pp. 353-360.

⁵⁸ NAVARRETE adds that the year following, NIÑO "re- pitió el viage de piloto de otra carebela," which implies of course an expedition in 1497, but concerning which we have no other information.

No. XIX. SECOND VOYAGE OF JOHN CABOT.

1498.

John Cabot, by virtue of letters patent granted to him, "his deputie or deputies,"⁵⁹ by Henry VII., February 3, 1498, sails from an English port (Bristol?), after April 1st following, with five ships. He apparently ranged the north-east coast from Newfoundland to Florida.

Cf. supra, pp. 39-50. *Jean et Sebastien Cabot*, Chapter x.

No. XX. ENGLISH EXPEDITION.

The English documents contain the following entry: "March 22, 1498. To Lanslot Thirkill, of London, upon a prest for his ship going towards the new Ilande £20." It was a loan made by Henry VII. Did that ship belong to a separate expedition, or only formed part of the squadron of five vessels commanded by John Cabot for his second voyage? The former supposition would imply that Henry VII. encouraged a rival enterprise, just at the time when he was granting letters patent to the same effect to the Venetian navigator. Withal, it must be said that Cabot was not granted any exclusive privilege, as was Columbus.

Lanslot Thirkill returned from that voyage, as we see him in London in 1501.⁶⁰ If he was with John Cabot in 1498, it is curious that the chroniclers of the time should convey no information whatever concerning the results of the latter expedition.

Cf. Excerpta Historica, by N. H. NICOLAS, p. 116.

No. XXI. COLUMBUS' THIRD VOYAGE.

1498
TO
1500.

MAY 30, 1498—NOVEMBER 20-25, 1500.

Columbus sails from Sanlucar, May 30, 1498 with six (Oviedo and Las Casas) or eight (Anghiera) ships, and about two hundred men, exclusive of sailors. July 31, at noon, he sights Trinidad; and Sunday, August 5, 1498, some of his men land on the continent for the first time (at Pato Bay?) Perhaps Columbus also then and there set his foot on the Tierra firma (Testimonies of Cordoba, Pacheco, Quintero, and Perez). August 31, 1498, he arrives at Santo Domingo, whence he sends five ships back to Spain, but where he remains until the beginning of

⁵⁹ And not, as in 1496, "pro Johanne Cabot et filiis suis,—Lewes, Sebestyan and Sancto."

⁶⁰ Cornelio DESIMONI, *Intorno a Giovanni Caboto*, Genova, 1881, 8vo, p. 61.

1498
TO
1500.

October, 1500, when Bobadilla sends him to Spain in irons, reaching Cadiz between November 20 and 25 following.

Cf. LAS CASAS, lib. i., cap. cxxxii.; Vol. II., pp. 226, 229, 257, 241, 243, 245, 254, 265, 434. *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. II., pp. 79-101, 111-115.

No. XXII. CORONEL'S EXPEDITION.

JANUARY 23, 1498—FEBRUARY 6, 1500.

Two ships, viz.: *Santa Cruz*, master, Juan Bermudez; and *La Niña*, or *Santa Clara*, master, Pedro Frances. The pilots were Francisco Niño, and Juan de Umbria; all were under the command of Pedro Fernandez Coronel. The expedition sailed out January 23, 1498, and did not return to San Lucar, until February 6, 1500.

Cf. Muñoz MSS., Vol. LXXV., f^o. 191. *Historie*, lib. lxiii., f^o. 151, which fixes the date of sailing from Spain "nel mese di Febraio." LAS CASAS, Vol. II., p. 199. NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 510, note.

No. XXIII. JOAÕ FERNANDEZ.

1499.

King Manoel of Portugal grants to Joaõ Fernandez, of Terceira, October 28, 1499, letters patent, "to go for the service of God and of His Majesty to search for and discover certain islands."

Cf. Letters patent in *Les Corte-Real*, p. 44.

No. XXIV. HOJEDA'S FIRST VOYAGE.

1499
TO
1500.

SUMMER OF 1499—APRIL, 1500.

Alonso de Hojeda accompanied Columbus in the second expedition, but the present is his first independent voyage. He sailed from some Spanish port, San Lucar or Cadiz, early in the summer of 1499, and returned in the first fortnight of April, 1500. We derive this date from the deposition of Nicolas Perez, who says that Hojeda arrived in Spain a few days after Guerra and Niño:

"Se volvieron á Castilla: é dende á pocos dias la flota en que iba este testigo, asimismo fué á Castilla, é allí se hallaron la gente de la una flota é de la otra, é platicaron las cosas de sus viages:—They [*i. e.* Guerra and Niño] returned to Castile; and within a few days the fleet in which was deponent [*viz.*: Hojeda's squadron] also returned to Castile, and there the crews of both fleets met, and related to each other the events of their voyages."

Now, Guerra and Niño returned to Spain sixty-one days after February 6th, or, on the 6th of April, as 1500 was leap year.

The companions of Hojeda on that occasion, whose names we have been able to ascertain, were Juan de la Cosa, Americus Vespuccius, Bartolomé Roldan, Diego Martins, Juan Velazquez, Nicolas Perez, Diego Fernandez Colmenero, Anton Garcia (?), and Andres de Morales. The expedition numbered four ships (*Historie*). After stopping at one of the Canaries, they sailed westward, reached the mainland in Paria, and thence continued to follow the coast, accomplishing discoveries,⁶¹ as far as the province of Coquibacoa and the Cape de la Vela, from which they went to Hispaniola (Morales), landing at Yaquimo, September 5, 1499. They are believed to have remained on the south coast of that island until they sailed homeward, apparently at the close of February, 1500. But we find ourselves unable to reconcile the latter facts with the deposition of Cristobal Garcia, which is as follows :

1499
TO
1500.

“Dice que al tiempo que Hojeda e La Cosa vinieron á descubrir de tierra firme, estaba en Santo Domingo, é allí vinieron los sobredichos en un barquete, que habian perdido los navios, é con obra de quince o veinte hombres, que los otros se les habian muerto ó quedado.”

“He says that at the time when Hojeda and La Cosa went to discover the continent, he was at Santo Domingo, and there came the aforesaid [Hojeda and La Cosa] in a boat ; that they had lost the ships, with fifteen or twenty men, and that the others were dead or had been abandoned.”⁶²

The present is the voyage which many believe to be identical with the second expedition of Americus Vespuccius.

Cf. Extracts of the correspondence between ROLDAN and COLUMBUS, in LAS CASAS, Vol. II., pp. 393-94. *Historie*, cap. lxxxiv., fº 185. D'AVEZAC, *Les Voyages d'Améric Vespuce*, pp. 77-80; and *supra*, pp. 328-329.

No. XXV. VESPUCCIUS' SECOND VOYAGE.

MAY 16, 1499—SEPTEMBER 8, 1500.

Sailed from Cadiz with three ships, under the Spanish flag, one day in May (Hylacomylus), or the 16th (Valori-Bandini), or the 18th (Canovai), 1499. Reached land after nineteen days (Hylacomylus), or forty-four (Valori-Bandini), or twenty-three (Canovai), apparently on the north-eastern coast of Brazil; and seems to have followed the coast westward as far as the Cape de la Vela. Returned to Cadiz, September 8 (Hylacomylus, Valori-Bandini), or June 8 (Canovai), 1500. This is the voyage said to be only Hojeda's first expedition (*supra*, No. XXIV.).

Cf. Lettera, and Cosmographiæ introductio. Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima, p. 60.

⁶¹ So early as July 20, 1500, Alonso Velez DE MENDOZA was forbidden to visit the countries which had

been discovered by Alonso DE HOJEDA.

⁶² NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 544.

1499
TO
1500.

NO. XXVI. GUERRA AND NIÑO.

SUMMER OF 1499—APRIL (?), 1500.

Cristobal Guerra, of Seville, with Peralonso Niño as pilot and partner,⁶³ sailed from the bar of Saltes (Palos) early in the summer of 1499. They had only one small craft of 50 tons (60 of to-day), manned by thirty-three men. Among them were Diego Martin Cadero, a Flemish called Juan Martin, Bartolomé Perez, Juan de Noya, and Juan de Quicedo. As to the date when they set out, we have only the vague declaration of Nicolas Perez that it was shortly after the departure of Hojeda; consequently, early in the summer of 1499. Las Casas fixes May 20; but, in our opinion, this date is simply derived from his alleged identification of Vespuccius' second voyage with Hojeda's first independent expedition. As to Herrera's date, it is, as usual, taken from Las Casas.

The little we know concerning that voyage,⁶⁴ whether we read it in the *Paesi*, in Las Casas, or in Herrera, is exclusively taken from Book VIII. of Decade I. of Peter Martyr. The depositions collected in the Rogatory Commissions of 1512 and 1515 do not add materially to his account. We gather from the latter that Guerra and Niño remained all the time on the north coast of South America, between Chuspa, Paria, and Curiana, and that their expedition lasted about eight months.

As to the date of their return, the Ferrara MS. and the *Libretto* give only the day of the month when they set sail for home: "Alli 13 partirono para vegnir en Espana."⁶⁵ In the first Decade, Peter Martyr is more explicit: "Octavo idus februarii." But when did they reach Spain? That chronicler says: "Discedentes igitur, unum et sexaginta dies in itinere:—They consumed three scores [and one] days in theyr journey." As they started homeward February 6th, and remained at sea sixty-one days, the date of their arrival is April 6, 1500. At all events, we know positively that Guerra and Niño were at Bayona, in Galicia, during the first fortnight of May, as, on the 20th of that month, Ferdinand and

⁶³ Not only ANGHIERA and the *Paesi* say that the caravel was equipped at the sole expense of NIÑO ("Alonso Negro"), but they do not even mention the name of GUERRA.

⁶⁴ The only information on that point from an eye-witness is to be derived from the testimony of Nicolas PEREZ, who declared that GUERRA and NIÑO arrived in Spain "a poco dias" before HOJEDA (in NAVARRETE,

Vol. III., p. 541). Unfortunately we do not know the exact date of the latter's return.

⁶⁵ In February the ides commenced on the 13th. This leads us to infer that there was an omission in the text from which TRIVIGIANO made his translation, or that he omitted unintentionally the day of the ides. But if February 13th is the exact date, then GUERRA and NIÑO arrived at Bayona April 20th.

Isabella ordered the corregidor of Bayona to seize the property of Guerra, and bring suit against him. Herrera, however, states that those two navigators actually landed at Bayona on the 6th of February: "llegaron à Galicia à seis dias de Febrero, del año 1500." Here, again, he has borrowed his date from Las Casas, although erroneously. The bishop of Chiapas only says that they sailed homeward on that day, and reached Galicia two months afterwards:

1499
to
1500.

"A cabo de dos meses que partieron de Curianá que fué á 6 de Febrero de 1501 (*sic pro* 1500), llegaron á Galicia:—Two months after they had sailed from Curiana, which was February 6, 1501 [*i. e.* 1500], they reached Galicia."

This was the most prosperous voyage which had yet been undertaken, and their bringing to Spain 150 marks in weight of pearls,⁶⁶ exercised a great influence over all subsequent expeditions to the Cumana coast.

Cf. Ferrara MS., p. 116. *Paesi.* caps. cviii.-cx. ANGHIERA, Decad. I., lib. viii. LAS CASAS, Vol. II., pp. 393, 435-440. HERRERA, Decad. I., p. 106. NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 17, note, and p. 541.

No. XXVII. VICENTE YAÑEZ PINZON.

NOVEMBER 18, 1499—SEPTEMBER 30, 1500.

Sails from the Rio de Saltes, November 18 (Ferrara MS.), or "circiter calendas decembris:—about December 1st" (Anghiera), or in December (Las Casas), with four small ships. Reaches the coast of Brazil, and doubles northward the Cape Santa Maria de la Consolacion (St. Augustine?), January 20 (Ferrara MS.), or 26 (Anghiera), 1500. Pinzon then enters twenty leagues into the Amazona, where he has a fight with the natives; loses on the coast two of his vessels; lands at Hispaniola June 23, whence he sails for Spain, arriving at Palos, September 30 following (Ferrara MS.). His known companions were: Juan de Umbria, pilot, Anton Hernandez Colmenero,⁶⁷ Juan Quintero, Juan de Jerez, Garcia Hernandez,⁶⁸ Pedro Ramirez, Manuel de Valdovinos, Diego Penton, Juan Calvo.

Cf. Book VII. of the Antipods, in the Ferrara MS. ANGHIERA, Decad. I., lib. ix. fº 20. OVIEDO, lib. xxiv., cap. ii., Vol. II., p. 213, reports PINZON'S own statement; and *supra*, p. 336.

⁶⁶ "Three score and . xvi. poundes weight (after . viii. vnces to the pounde) of perles, which they bought for exchange of owre thynges, amounting to the value of

fyue shyllinges," says Richard EDEN.

⁶⁷ The nephew of Vicente Yañez PINZON?

⁶⁸ HERNANDEZ was physician and clerk.

1499
TO
1500.

NO. XXVIII. DE LEPE'S FIRST VOYAGE.

DECEMBER, 1499—BEFORE NOVEMBER, 1500.

Sailed from Palos with two ships nearly at the same time as Pinzon and Velez de Mendoza, early in December, 1499, and reached one of the Brazilian headlands in the vicinity of Cape St. Augustine, which he rounded southward, following the coast to the Bay or River of St. Julian. He then retraced his steps, rounded the Brazilian cape towards the north, and coasted westward as far as Paria, where he met the expedition of Pinzon, and from whence he sailed home, being back at Palos before November 9, 1500.

Among his companions were: the Genoese Bartolomé Garcia; Alonso Rodriguez de la Cava; the pilot, Juan Rodriguez, of Palos; a Portuguese, called Juan Gonzalès, and who must have been then only a cabin boy, being born in 1483; Garcia de la Monja, another cabin boy, also born in 1483; Hernando Esteban, of Palos, born in 1465; Pedro Medel, of Palos, born in 1480; Andres Garcia Valdin, master; Luis del Valle; Bartolomé Garcia, a Genoese, servant of Diego de Lepe; Bartolomé Roldan (?); and Cristobal Garcia, who testified being in Santo Domingo when Alonso de Hojeda and Juan de la Cosa landed from a small barque. This deposition shows that Lepe was at Hispaniola before March, 1500.

Cf. LAS CASAS, Vol. II., p. 453. NAVARRETE, Vol. III., pp. 544, 548, 554. *Supra*, pp. 336-338.

NO. XXIX. VELEZ DE MENDOZA'S FIRST VOYAGE.

DECEMBER, 1499—JULY, 1500.

The expedition was composed of two caravels, commanded by Alonso Velez de Mendoza,⁶⁹ with Juan Rodriguez Serrano as pilot. Anton Garcia and Luis Guerra⁷⁰ were on board. It sailed at the same time as the vessels of Vicente Yañez Pinzon and of Diego de Lepe, but it is said⁷¹ to have gone further north than these; which implies a doubling of Cape St. Augustine northwardly. Mr. d'Avezac was of the opinion, unsupported by proofs, that this was Lepe's voyage, with one of the ships belonging to the squadron of Velez de Mendoza.

Cf. NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 594, and his *Opusculos*, Vol. I., pp. 65-68. D'AVEZAC, *Les quatre voyages de Vespuce*, p. 105. *Supra*, p. 339.

⁶⁹ Among the companions of COLUMBUS in his first voyage, but who were killed at La Navidad, there was one called Alonso VELEZ DE MENDOZA, of Seville.

⁷⁰ Luis was the brother of Cristobal GUERRA, and only

a merchant. He died at sea, during the latter's second voyage, in 1501.

⁷¹ Deposition of Anton GARCIA in the original MS. *Probanza*, but omitted by NAVARRETE.

No. XXX. CLANDESTINE VOYAGE OF RIVAROL.

1500:

Their Majesties order to levy on the property of Francisco Rivarol⁷² and Juan Sanchez de Mercaderia, February 4, 1500, 200,000 maravedis, to charter three ships to overtake two caravels with which they had sailed from Sanlucar, on an expedition without a licence.

Cf. NAVARRETE, Vol. III., doc. xlii., p. 513.

No. XXXI. EXPEDITION IN SEARCH OF THE ABOVE.

We suppose that the ship and the two caravels equipped to overtake Rivarol were actually sent; but we have no further information on the subject.

No. XXXII. GASPAS CORTE-REAL'S FIRST VOYAGE.

We possess no details whatever, but the voyage is proved to have been attempted and to have been unsuccessful, by an allusion in the letters patent of May 12, 1500.

Cf. Supra, pp. 61-62. Les Corte-Real, pp. 46, 196-99.

No. XXXIII. GASPAS CORTE-REAL'S SECOND VOYAGE.

Acting upon letters patent granted by Manoel, King of Portugal, May 12, 1500, Gaspar Corte-Real sets sail from Lisbon (De Goes) or from Terceira (Galvam), with one ship (De Goes) or two (Galvam) at the beginning of the summer of 1500, and explores the east coast of Newfoundland; returning to Portugal, it is not known when.

Cf. Supra, pp. 61-62, and map. Les Corte-Real, chapter iii., pp. 47-48. Jean et Sébastien Cabot, pp. 257-259 (striking out lines 7, 8, and 9, of p. 258).

No. XXXIV. JUAN DORVELOS (?).

May 6, 1500, Ferdinand and Isabella inform Juan Dornelos or Dorvelos,⁷³ that the Rev. Juan del Puerto has communicated to them his

⁷² In Queen ISABELLA'S letter of July 3, 1503 (*Coleccion de doc. p. la historia de España, Vol. XIII., p. 496.*) mention is made of a Francisco RIBEROL, in connection with LA COSA'S intended voyage to Uraba. He seems to be identical with the Genoese banker, Francisco DE RIVEROL who lent money to COLUMBUS for his fourth expedition (VARGAS PONCE MSS., Vol. LIV., p. 1423), as well as with Francisco DE RIBAROL, to whom the Admiral entrusted a copy of his Book of Privileges in

1502, and from whom he bought a draft in 1504.

⁷³ CORDEYRO, *Historia Insulana*, p. 259, speaks of a "Joaõ Doruellas, capitão mór de Praya," who is not the present person. BARROS, *Decad. I., lib. i., cap. xi., fº 20*, mentions a navigator named Alvaro DORNELAS. We mention this simply as an indication that the name is probably Portuguese or Azorean, and may imply a project of voyage of discovery in Newfoundland, or in Labrador.

1500. (Dorvelos') intention to make discoveries in the seas belonging to the Crown of Spain: "Ir a descubrir con ciertos navios por nuestras mares," and invite him to come to Seville to confer. We do not know whether anything came out of the project.

Cf. NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 77, doc. iii.

No. XXXV. JUAN ANTONIO (COLUMBUS?).

April 12, 1500, Bishop Fonseca contracted with one Juan Antonio, supposed to be a relative of Christopher Columbus, and named like him (?), to equip two ships for the West Indies, and carry there fifty persons, including several friars.

Cf. NAVARRETE, Vol. II., p. 243, note. *Christophe Colomb*, II., 392.

No. XXXVI. VELEZ MENDOZA'S SECOND VOYAGE.

The Commander Alonso Velez de Mendoza, of Moguer, obtained, July 20, 1500, letters patent authorising an expedition of four ships: "para descubrir islas y tierra firme," excepting the regions discovered by Columbus, Niño, Guerra, and Hojeda. It must have been carried out in the autumn of 1500, as we see him at Seville, February 15, 1501.

One of the four vessels was called the *Sant Cristobal*, belonging to Pedro Ramirez, and commanded by Cristobal Rodriguez Tiscareño. An apothecary called Micer (Mr.) Antonio, his son-in-law Alvar Ramirez (brother of Pedro), Pedro Sanchez de Ala (a servant), Alonso de Cordoba, and Miguel de Baza, all of Seville, were also connected with this second expedition of Velez de Mendoza. We possess no further information concerning that voyage.

Cf. Muñoz MSS., Vol. LXXV., f^o 195. NAVARRETE, Vol. III., doc. cxxxv., p. 247. *Supra*, p. 340.

No. XXXVII. SEVILLE EXPEDITION.

Expedition of three ships which were being equipped at Seville, in July, 1500, to sail in September. "Qui m'armano tre navili perchè nuovamente vadia a discoprire, e credo che istaranno presti a mezzo settembre," writes Americus Vespuccius, July 18, 1500. This expedition cannot be that of Velez de Mendoza (*supra*, page 340), as his letters patent for that expedition were granted only July 20; and still less that of Diego de Lepe, the authorisation for the latter being dated November 15.

Cf. BANDINI, *Vita e lettere di Amerigo Vespucci*, p. 84.

No. XXXVIII. HOJEDA'S SECOND VOYAGE.

1500.

It was undertaken by virtue of a contract entered into between Bishop Fonseca, in the name of Ferdinand and Isabella, and Alonso de Hojeda, July 28, 1500. All we know concerning this expedition is that it yielded but little profit, and was accomplished before June 1, 1501, as at the latter date Hojeda was in Granada.

Cf. Approbation of the contract of July 28, 1500, in doc. x. of NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 85; and *supra*, pp. 329-332.

No. XXXIX. PEDRO ALVAREZ CABRAL.

1500-1.

MARCH 9, 1500—JULY, 1501.

Sailed from Lisbon direct for Calicut, March 9, 1500, with thirteen ships. Discovered, by mere accident,⁷⁴ April 22 following, the coast of Brazil, somewhere in the vicinity of the present Porto Seguro, where he remained until May 2, 1500, when he pursued his voyage to Calicut, after sending back to Portugal Gaspar de Lemos, to bring news of the discovery of the land which he named "Terra de Santa Cruz." He returned to Lisbon at the end of July, 1501.

Cf. *Nota d'una lettera di Portoghallo de' xx di maggio anno 1503 della ritornata delle nave di Chalicut de l'anno passato*; MS. of the Riccardiana, in Florence, No. 1910. *Navigation del Capitano Pedro Alvarez*, in RAMUSIO, Vol. I., f^o 132-9; and *supra*, pp. 302-303, 340-345.

No. XL. SECOND VOYAGE OF GUERRA.

SPRING OF 1500—SUMMER OF 1501.

In a letter addressed by Cristobal Guerra to Alvaro de Portugal, President of the Royal Council, September 28, 1503, he says that in a second voyage made for the Crown, he led a vessel 50 tons burthen:

"V. S. se puede informar del Tesorero Alonso de Morales que en el primer viaje que fué á descubrir [with Niño in 1499] llevé una carabella de cincuenta toneladas, y en el segundo, que fué por SS.AA. llevé uno carabela de cincuenta toneladas que era la carabela de Grageda."

August 2, 1501, mention is made of the same treasurer, Alonso de Morales, in connection with a voyage of Guerra, which is doubtless the

⁷⁴ There is not the slightest foundation for the report, so extensively circulated in the two hemispheres, that documents lately discovered in the Torre do Tombo prove that the discovery of Brazil was planned by Vasco DA GAMA, or some one else, and the result of positive

instructions given to CABRAL before he left Lisbon. We have found no traces anywhere of such instructions or intentions. The statement was prompted by that narrow minded patriotism which is a curse and the bane of historical studies.

1500-1. present. It must have been accomplished, consequently, between the spring of 1500 and summer of 1501, and seems to be the expedition described by Las Casas. If so, it was composed of two ships, one of which being equipped at the cost of Luis Guerra (Cristobal's brother), who was on board and died at sea.⁷⁵ They sailed from Sanlucar for Paria, whence they went to the Margarita islands and Cumana coast. The expedition brought to Spain much gold with a quantity of pearls, and created great scandal on account of the numerous Indians of both sexes whom Cristobal Guerra had abducted and sold as slaves in Seville, Cadiz, &c.⁷⁶

Cf. LAS CASAS, Vol. II., pp. 443-447. NAVARRETE, Vol. II., p. 295; Vol. III., p. 101.

1500-2.

NO. XLI. BASTIDAS' FIRST VOYAGE.

OCTOBER, 1500—SEPTEMBER, 1502.

Rodrigo de Bastidas,⁷⁷ at the age of twenty-seven, and who until then had been a notary in Triana, the main suburb of Seville, equipped, by virtue of letters patent of June 5, 1500, two ships (Bernaldez), engaged the services of Juan de la Cosa, and with him sailed westward to discover "islas e tierra-firme à las partes de las Indias, o á otra cualquier parte, con tal que no sea de las islas é tierra-firme que fasta aqui son descubiertas por Cristobal Colon e por Cristobal Guerra." As he returned to Cadiz in September, 1502, after an absence of twenty-three months,⁷⁸ he sailed in October, 1500. His landfall on the continent was at some point on the Cumana coast, probably by 56°—57° longitude. Thence he coasted westward as far as the Gulf of Darien, if not to Nombre de Dios,⁷⁹ discovering from the Cape de la Vela to the Uraba or Santa Maria regions; and, if we carry him beyond, the entire east coast of the isthmus of Panama.

⁷⁵ LAS CASAS, *loc. cit.*, p. 443; but NAVARRETE, *Bibliot. Maritima*, Vol. II., p. 212, represents Luis GUERRA as still living and fighting the Indians with Juan DE LA COSA in 1504-1506, mistaking Luis GUERRA for Luis GARCIA.

⁷⁶ "Truxo e vendio muchos de yndios y yndias en las cibdades de Sevilla, e Cadix, e Xerez e Cordoba." (*Doc. ineditos de Indias*, Vol. XXXI., p. 105, document dated December 2, 1501.)

⁷⁷ There have been three Rodrigo DE BASTIDAS, viz.: the present; his son, the archbishop; and his nephew, who was killed in 1525. OVIEDO, Vol. II., pp. 342, 348.

⁷⁸ OVIEDO says that a part of the expense was borne by one Juan DE LEDESMA.

⁷⁹ That extended terminus rests upon the declaration of HOJEDA (NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 545) and the

accounts of OVIEDO and LAS CASAS, all three containing important errors, whilst the two latter are, besides, written doubtfully. Yet BASTIDAS himself in general terms (*Ibid.*, p. 546) answered affirmatively the question of the Fiscal, which, however, refers only to Darien. On the other hand, BASTIDAS' own pilot, Juan RODRIGUEZ (*loc. cit.*) limits the discovery: "desde la parte del sur de Urabá hasta el Darien" (*Ibid.*); and in the inquiry held at the request of BASTIDAS at Santo Domingo, June 22, 1521, to ascertain the services which he had rendered as a discoverer (*Doc. ineditos de Indias*, Vol. II., pp. 366-467), mention is made only of "la Tierra firme e Islas é el Darien, que agora se dice Castilla del Oro," omitting altogether Panama, although the latter was then a most prosperous colony. See the Rogatory Commission before the Fiscal.

Among his companions were the two pilots, Andres de Morales and 1500-2.
 Juan Rodriguez (de Mafra?), and one Juan Buenaventura.

Cf. Muñoz MSS., Vol. LXXV., f° 47 and 195. NAVARRETE, Vol. II., p. 244. BERNALDEZ, *Reyes Catolicos*, cap. cxvii., Vol. II., p. 253. LA CASAS, Vol. III., pp. 11 and 32. OVIEDO, *Historia General*, Vol. I., p. 76; Vol. II., p. 335.

No. XLII. VOYAGE TO THE CUMANA COAST (?).

1501.

Alberto Cantino in a despatch addressed to the Duke of Ferrara, October 27, 1501, reports the arrival at Cadiz, on the 5th of that month, of a Spanish ship, sent to the Antillies some time ago, which brought a cargo composed of sixty slaves, 300 *cantara* (450 lbs.) of *braxilio*, the same amount in *verzino*,⁸⁰ and fifty marks in weight of pearls.

It cannot be Guerra's second voyage, as we see him, or his men, in Spain, August 2, 1501.

Cf. CANTINO'S Dispatch, and *supra*, p. 328, note 10.

No. XLIII. GASPAR CORTE-REAL'S THIRD VOYAGE.

With three ships equipped at his cost and that of his brother Miguel, Gaspar Corte-Real sets sail from Lisbon, May 15, 1501. Two of the vessels returned to Portugal, October 9 and 11 following, respectively. As to the third, which was under the command of Gaspar, it never came back. The probability is that the regions explored on that occasion were the north-east coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Cf. *Les Corte-Real*, pp. 49-60. *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, pp. 259-266; and *supra*, pp. 63-74, and map.

No. XLIV. SECOND (?) VOYAGE OF V. YAÑEZ PINZON.

Letters patent issued September 5, 1501, authorise Vincente Yañez Pinzon to lead an expedition to colonise a portion of the country which he had discovered the year before, viz.: from the Amazona to Cape St. Augustine. Preparations were made to that effect, but we do not know whether the expedition ever sailed out of Spain. Judging from the order of October 15, 1501, his nephews, Arias Perez and Diego Hernandez, were in partnership with Vincente Yañez for that voyage.

Cf. NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 39, and doc. xvi., p. 102. *Supra*, pp. 345-346.

⁸⁰ The reader will notice that *braxilio* and *verzino* are represented here as if constituting two different kinds of dye-wood. Usually those terms are used, in Italian documents, as synonymous.

1501.

No. XLV. LUIS DE ARRIAGA.

It was a colonising expedition sent to Hispaniola in September, 1501, under the leadership of Luis de Arriaga, of Seville, who had previously accompanied Columbus in his second voyage.

Cf. Documentos ineditos de Indias, Vol. XXX., p. 526.

1500-1.

No. XLVI. PORTUGUESE EXPEDITION TO BRAZIL.

In the letter addressed by Cantino to the Duke of Ferrara, October 17, 1501, mention is made of "five sailors, who had deserted the vessels of the King, and fled to a place called Santa Croce." This seems to imply a landing on the Brazilian coast after Gaspar de Lemos had left Porto Seguro to return to Portugal, or one effected by Cabral after he had sailed out of that port to continue his route to Calicut, or another expedition sent by João II. to Brazil when informed by Lemos of Cabral's unexpected and promising discovery of the latter country. The first two suppositions are not very probable, as Lemos was despatched at once to Portugal, whilst Cabral straightway sailed from Porto Seguro to the Cape of Good Hope (*supra*, page 341). It is true that Vaz de Caminha's letter mentions two criminals who were left in Brazil, and two cabin boys who deserted Cabral's vessels at Porto Seguro; but the identity of those deserters has not been sufficiently proved to allow the critic to omit mentioning this supposed expedition, however hypothetical it may be.

Cf. Supra, pp. 346-347.

No. XLVII. PORTUGUESE VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY.

It was an expedition sent by the King of Portugal, apparently upon hearing, by Gaspar de Lemos, of the discovery of Brazil accomplished by Cabral. It was met at Capo Verde, on the coast of Africa, by Cabral himself, whose pilot mentions the meeting of the two squadrons as follows:

"Et venissemo alla prima terra giunta col Capo Verde detta Beseneghe, doue trouammo tre nauili, Che'l nostro Re di Portogallo mandaua a discoprire la terra nuoua, che noi haueuamo trouata quando andauamo a Calicut:—We landed at the first place near Cape Verde, which is called Beseneghe, and where we met three vessels which the King of Portugal had sent to discover [explore] the new land which we had found when on our way to Calicut."

We think that the present is Vespuccius' third voyage; but it may also be another expedition, for we lack two important factors to ascertain

when Vespuccius and Cabral could meet, viz.: how long it required for the former to sail over from Lisbon to Beseneghe; and what is the time which the latter took to reach Beseneghe from the Cape of Good Hope. All we know is that Cabral was at this cape: "il di di pasqua fiorita," which, in 1501, occurred April 11, and that is hardly sufficient. 1500-1.

On the other hand, the wording of the sentence permits also the interpretation that the Portuguese ships met by Cabral at Beseneghe were returning⁸¹ from the newly-discovered regions, instead of being on their way thither. The reference to Cabral's discovery of Brazil is an indication to that effect, as Lemos brought the news to Portugal in June or July, 1500. If so, it must have required nearly a year before Joaõ II. availed himself of the discovery. Nor should we forget that the letter of Cantino, of October 17, 1501,⁸² points towards an expedition to Brazil between the arrival of Lemos and the third expedition of Vespuccius.

Cf. Navigation del Capitano Alvarez, in RAMUSIO, Vol. I., p^o 127, and supra, p. 351.

No. XLVIII. ANGLO-PORTUGUESE EXPEDITION. 1501.

March 19, 1501, Henry VII. grants letters patent to Richard Warde, Thomas Ashehurst, and John Thomas, of Bristol, in partnership with Joaõ and Francisco Fernandez, and Joaõ Gonzales, all three Azorean gentlemen, "to explore all Islands, Countries, Regions, and Provinces whatever, in the Eastern, Western, Southern, and Northern Seas, heretofore unknown to Christians."

Cf. BIDDLE, A Memoir of Sebastian Cabot, pp. 222, 312-320; and supra, pp. 46-47.

No. XLIX. VESPUCCIUS' THIRD VOYAGE. 1501-2.

MAY, 1501—SEPTEMBER, 1502.⁸³

Vespuccius sailed from Lisbon,⁸⁴ May 10 (Valori),⁸⁵ or 14, 1501; anchored off the coast of Brazil, August 7; explored the coast south of his landfall until after February 15, 1502; discovered the Bay of All Saints; and returned to Lisbon, September 7, following.

Cf. the Latin version (the Italian text being lost) of that voyage, printed separately (Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima, Nos. 22-31), and another account in the Lettera, and Cosmographiae Introductio. Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima, p. 61; and supra, pp. 351-352.

⁸¹ *Supra*, p. 351, note 68.

⁸² *Supra*, p. 346, and the next preceding item.

⁸³ The Portuguese expedition of Joaõ DE NOVA, *alias* GALLEGO (March 5, 1501—September 11, 1502) sailed direct towards the Cape of Good Hopè, without touching

any point of the Brazilian coast.

⁸⁴ If it was this expedition which CABRAL met at Beseneghe, which is very probable, it was composed of three ships. RAMUSIO, Vol. I., p^o 127.

⁸⁵ Separate account in Latin.

1501-2.

No. L. NUÑO MANOEL.

MAY, 1501—SEPTEMBER, 1502.

Voyage to the Rio de la Plata, alleged to have been accomplished under the Portuguese flag by Nuño Manoel, between May, 1501, and September, 1502, and presumed by Adolpho de Varnhagen to be identical with the third expedition of Vespuccius. Manoel's voyage certainly took place, but all that can be said about the date is that it was before 1521.

Cf. DE VARNHAGEN, *Primeiras negociações diplomaticas*; and *supra*, pp. 349-350.

No. LI. JUAN DE ESCALANTE.

Juan de Escalante, of Palos, contracts with the Spanish Crown, October 5, 1501, for a voyage of discovery with three ships: "para yr a descubrir por el mar Oceano." A curious clause is that whereby he shall give the government a share of the "mostruos o serpenties e otros qualesquier animales e pescados e aves:—of the monsters, or snakes, and other animals, fishes, and birds."

Cf. *Coleccion de documentos ineditos de Indias*, Vol. XXXI., p. 90. HERRERA, *Decad. I.*, lib. iv., cap. xii., p. 119, erroneously *sub anno* 1501.

No. LII. SUPPOSED LANDING IN BRAZIL.

The present was an expedition to Calicut, mentioned in "Chopia d'una letera venuta di Lisbona della tornata delle 4 charavelle di Chalicut cholle spezierie," written by Piero Rondinelli, from Seville, October 3, 1502. The fact that there was on board "verzino asai," authorises the supposition that the expedition effected a landing in Brazil on its way home. If Portuguese ships on their way to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, first touched the Brazilian coast (as we will soon quote several instances), they may have also visited that region when bound homeward.

Cf. MS. Riccardiano 1910, in the handwriting of Pietro VOGLIANTI, cited by Mr. UZIELLI, *Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli e la circumnavigazione dell Africa*, which is a "Per Nozze" recent publication.

1502.

No. LIII. HOJEDA'S THIRD VOYAGE.

JANUARY—SEPTEMBER, 1502.

According to letters patent of June 8, 1501, Alonso de Hojeda was authorised to equip ten vessels for the purpose of visiting again the

countries which he had already discovered, avoiding, however, from the vicinity of "Los Frailes" to the "Farallon," and the Curiana region, but with power to discover any island or continent in the ocean: "descubrir cualesquier islas é tierra firme en el mar Oceano." July 5, 1501, he formed a partnership to that effect with Juan de Vergara and Garcia del Campos, or de Ocampo, for two years. Four vessels only were equipped, viz.: *La Santa Maria de la Antigua*, *La Santa Maria de la Grenada*, *La Magdalena*, and *La Santa Ana*. 1502.

The ships were under the civil command of:

| | |
|------------------|----------------------|
| Pedro DE HOJEDA, | Hernando DE GUEVARA, |
| Juan DE VERGARA, | Garcia DE OCAMPO. |

The pilots and mates who actually commanded were:

| | | |
|----------------------|--------------|------------------|
| Bartolomé HERNANDEZ, | Juan LOPEZ, | Francisco GOMEZ, |
| Diego MARTIN, | Anton VIDAL. | |

We now find a number of officers, such as supervisors ("veedors"), and notaries ("escribanos"):

| | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| Alonso DE ARCE, | Garcia Fernandez DE OCO, | Miguel DE CORDOBA, |
| Diego DE CONCA, | Juan DE GUEVARA, | Miguel GRIEGO, |
| Diego DE ENTRAMAS-AGUAS, | Juan LUIS, | Pedro SARDO, |
| | — RIOS. | |

As to the other names which have reached us, they refer to three jewellers, or smelters, for the precious metals they expected to find, sailors, carpenters, coopers, smiths, and an apothecary, as follows:

| | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| Alonso CARRETERO, | Fernando DE VIRUES, | Miguel DE TORO, |
| Bartolomé DE SEGURA, | Francisco GUTIERREZ, | Pedro PARDO, |
| Diego JIMENEZ, | Gutierre DE LIEBANA, | Pero SANCHEZ, |
| Diego DE MONTESDOCA, | Juan SANCHEZ, | Rodrigo VIZCAINO, |
| Diego DE MUNGUIA, | Martin DE VERGARA, | — GORVALAN. |

The expedition sailed from Cadiz in January, 1502; first went to the port of Santiago in the Cape Verde island, where Hojeda attacked and robbed four Portuguese ships: "sin haber causa ni razon alguna." Thence it repaired to Paria, which was left March 2, and whence the vessels sailed for the Margarita islands, visited the Port de la Codera, the Curiana region (which Hojeda named Valfermoso), Puerto Flechada, the island of Giants, Coquibacoa, the province of Citarma, where they remained three months, and the Cape de la Vela (?). A rebellion resulted in Hojeda being put in irons, and deprived of his command. In September following they went to Santo Domingo, where a number of lawsuits were initiated and tried.

1502.

Only a few documents concerning that voyage have been published; but Navarrete has given a very interesting abstract of the most important, which is the evidence furnished by the testimonies taken at the trials.

Cf. NAVARRETE, Vol. II., doc. xix., p. 420; Vol. III., pp. 28-39, 592, and docs. x.-xii., xvii., xviii.-xx.

NO. LIV. OVANDO'S VOYAGE.

Nicolas de Ovando, commander of Lares, sailed February 13, 1502, in command of an expedition for "las islas e Tierra firme del Mar Oceano, a las partes de las Indias que Nos mandamos descubrir." It consisted of thirty ships, viz.: five vessels of 90-150 tons burthen, twenty-four caravels of 30-90, and one barque of 25, carrying 2,500 men. Las Casas says thirty-two ships. One, *La Rabida*, was lost at sea with 120 passengers. The captain-general was Antonio de Torres. Las Casas accompanied the expedition with twelve Franciscan monks, and a prelate named Alonso de Espinal. They landed at Santo Domingo, April 15, 1502. It was not a voyage of discovery, but we presume that one or several ships of that numerous fleet may have been engaged in exploring, in accordance with the words "que nos mandamos descubrir."

Cf. Coleccion de doc. inedit. de Indias, Vol. XXXI., p. 31, *sequitur*. LAS CASAS, Vol. III., pp. 17-19. Unpublished part of MUÑOZ' *History*, quoted by Washington IRVING, *Columbus*, Vol. II., p. 330.

NO. LV. MIGUEL CORTE REAL.

Miguel Corte Real, by virtue of letters patent of January 15, 1502, sails from Lisbon, May 10, 1502, with two (De Goes) or three (Galvam) vessels, to discover "terra firme e ilhas," and in search of his brother Gaspar; neither of whom ever returned.

Cf. Supra, pp. 75-76, and *Les Corte-Real*, pp. 162-169, but corrected by means of new documents in *Gaspar Corte-Real, la date exacte de sa dernière expédition au Nouveau Monde*; pp. 13-16.

NO. LVI. DIEGO DE LEPE'S SECOND VOYAGE.

November 15, 1500, Bishop Fonseca was authorised to grant Diego de Lepe leave to go with three ships "to the countries which he had already visited." Lepe remained an entire year without availing himself of the permission, and in the autumn of 1501, petitioned to be allowed to increase the number of ships, which was refused to him November 27 following; but on the 30th of that month, the term within which he

was to equip the expedition being about to expire was extended until December 28, 1501. Lepe did not sail even then, as January 17, 1502, he was allowed to add to his little fleet a small craft of about 30 tons, "so that he might more easily approach and discover lands." The expedition, most probably, did not sail until the spring of 1502. The terms: "a la parte donde la otra vez fué," imply that on this occasion, Diego de Lepe went to the Brazilian coast. 1502.

Cf. NAVARRETE, Vol. III., doc. vi., p. 81. *Coleccion de documentos ineditos de Indias*, Vol. XXXI., pp. 100, 102, 119.

No. LVII. JUAN BERMUDEZ.

Their Catholic Majesties send Captain Juan Bermudez to the West Indies, in the year 1502, with five ships.

This captain may be the Juan Bermudez, commander of *La Garça*, who is said by Oviedo⁸⁶ to have discovered the Bermudas, which, he adds, were first called *La Garça*, from the name of that vessel. Herrera⁸⁷ simply repeats the statement. If so, the discovery may have been accomplished in one of the voyages which Bermudez made for the Spanish government, and certainly before 1522, 1526, or 1527, which are the dates given by historians⁸⁸ for the discovery of the Bermudas, as in the map which accompanies the second issue of the first edition of Peter Martyr, published in 1512 or 1513,⁸⁹ we already see the island depicted, and named "La bermuda." One Cristobal Cerezo⁹⁰ testified, in 1535, that the discoverer of that island was Diego Bermudez of Palos, a companion of Columbus in his first expedition.⁹¹

Cf. Muñoz MSS., Vol. LXXV., f^o. 197 vo.

No. LVIII. VELEZ DE MENDOZA'S THIRD VOYAGE.

February 15, 1502, Alonso Velez de Mendoza was authorised to take over to Hispaniola a colony of fifty married couples. Herrera says⁹² that they were to sail with Ovando's fleet (*supra*, No. LIV.), implying that this expedition of Velez de Mendoza may not have been a separate one. We notice, however, that, according to the letters patent given to

⁸⁶ OVIEDO, Vol. I. p. 38.

⁸⁷ HERRERA, Decad. III., p. 31, *sub anno* 1527; but that date seems to be given only in reference to an attempt made by the Portuguese Hernando COMELLO to colonise the island.

⁸⁸ KOHL, *Discovery of Maine*, p. 405.

⁸⁹ *Supra*, No. 94, p. 477.

⁹⁰ *Probanza* of December 22, 1535.

⁹¹ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 579.

⁹² HERRERA, Decad. I., lib. iv., cap. 12, p. 119.

1502. him, a voyage of discovery was contemplated besides, as he is granted permission to visit other regions: "que puedan yr a otras islas," and there is even a clause concerning the islands and continents which he may then discover: "que si descubrieren islas y Tierra firme . . ."

Cf. Letters patent, *Doc. ineditos de Indias*, Vol. XXXI., p. 121. But see *infra*, No. LXIII. In the same collection, Vol. XVI., p. 574, there is a notice of a claim of Alonso VELEZ DE MENDOZA for "quinientos mil rs. que gasto en dos veces en armar ciertos navios," to which, however, the editor assigns the date 1505-1506.

1502-3.

No. LIX. ARRIAGA'S COLONISING EXPEDITION.

Luis de Arriaga, a gentleman of Seville, who had been with Columbus in one of his voyages, obtains, December 9, 1501, letters patent for the settling of four villages in Hispaniola with two hundred Spanish married couples, "not one being Jewish or Moorish," but sailed with only forty. The terms on which the contract was modified, December 20, 1503, lead us to infer that the voyage was accomplished in 1502—1503.

Cf. *Doc. ineditos de Indias*, Vol. XXXI., p. 111. LAS CASAS, lib. ii., cap. vi., Vol. III., pp. 36-38.

No. LX. ANGLO-AZOREAN EXPEDITION.

Henry VII., December 9, 1502, grants letters patent to Thomas Ashehurst, João Gonzales, Francisco Fernandez, and Hugh Elliott, for a voyage of discovery to parts not heretofore found by English subjects: "in ea parte a Nobis habentibus, reperta, inventa, investigata et recuperata non fuerunt." We infer from the fact that the King, September 30, 1503, gave £20 as a reward "to the merchants of Bristoll that have bene in the Newfounde Launde," and from the voyage made westward by Nicholas Thorne with "a merchant of Bristowe named Hugh Elliott," who is one of the grantees, that the expedition was carried out.

Cf. RYMER, *Fœdera*, Vol. V., Part IV., p. 186. HAKLUYT, *Principall Navigations*, Vol. I., p. 219, and *supra*, p. 46.

1502-4.

No. LXI. COLUMBUS' FOURTH AND LAST VOYAGE.

MAY, 1502—NOVEMBER 7, 1504.

Wednesday, May 11, 1502, Columbus sails from Cadiz, with four small crafts, from 50 to 70 tons burthen, viz.: the flag ship, commanded by Diego Tristan; the *Santiago de Palos*, by Francisco de Porras; the *Viscaina*, by a Genoese called Bartolomé Fieschi, with Pedro de Ledesma

as pilot (?); and the *Gallego*, under the command of Pedro de Torreros. The second in general command was Bartholomew Columbus. Columbus says he had with him "ciento y cincuenta personas." The rolls mention only 140 persons, eight of whom were Genoese, two Flemish, and one was from Milan. Fernando Columbus accompanied his father, but was entitled to pay from the Crown.⁹³

He sighted the first land (island of "Martinino," which is either Santa Lucia or Martinique), June 15; the south-west coast of Cuba, July 24, from which he sailed in search of new lands, south-west, on the 27th; and cast anchor at Punta de Caxinas on the continent, July 31. Then (unfortunately for him, as by sailing westward he would have discovered Yucatan and Mexico,) he sailed eastward, doubled Cape Gracias a Dios September 12, and continued his coasting course as far as Puerto del Retrete, on the Isthmus of Panama, November 26, which place was his terminus; having thus discovered (?) the Honduras, and Veragua regions. After various adventures in the West Indies, Columbus returned to Spain, sailing from Hispaniola, September 12, 1504, and landed at Sanlucar on November 7 following.

Cf. NAVARRETE, Vol. I., pp. 277-296, and 297-312. ANGHIERA, Decad. III., cap. iv. LAS CASAS, lib. ii., cap. xx., Vol. III., p. 108 *sequitur*. *Christophe Colomb*, Vol. II., pp. 124-134.

No. LXII. FRENCH VOYAGES TO THE WEST INDIES.

In the judicial account rendered to the Admiralty Court sitting at Rouen, June 19, 1505, by Captain de Gonneville and his two lieutenants, Andrieu de la Mare and Anthoyne Thury, when they returned from Brazil and the East Indies, we read the following sentence:

"Or passez le Tropique Capricorne, hauteur prise, trouuoient estre plus eloignez de l'Affrique que du pays des Indes occidentalles où d'empuis aucunes années en çà les Dieppois et les Malouinois et autres Normands et Bretons vont quérir du bois à teindre en rouge, cotons, guenons et perroquets et autres denrées."

That is, for a number of years before 1505,⁹⁴ the Normands and Bretons regularly visited the West Indies, from which they brought to France dyewood, cotton, monkeys, and parrots. But they did not limit their voyages to that region, as is shown by the legends inscribed on

⁹³ "A Hernando Colon por cedula real de 25 Enero 1506, se le dieron 31750 maravedis por el sueldo que hubo de haver del viaje que fué à las Indias con su padre el

Almirante."—Muñoz MSS., Vol. LXXV (?), f^o. 226.

⁹⁴ GONNEVILLE'S information was necessarily obtained before he sailed from France in June, 1503.

1502-4. the north-east coast of the American continent in the old maps: "C. do bretãos, Tierra de los bretones, Terra que foy descubierta por bertones."

Cf. D'AVEZAC, *Campagne du navire "l'Espoir,"* p. 104. RAMUSIO, Vol. III., f^o 432, F. GUMILLA, *El Orenoco ilustrado* (French translation, Paris, 1758, Vol. II., p. 211). *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 271-272; and *supra*, p. 128.

1503.

No. LXIII. VELEZ MENDOZA'S FOURTH VOYAGE.

Although we have instances of voyages undertaken a year or more after the issue of the letters patent, it is difficult to state whether the present is a new expedition, or only the one of 1502 (*supra*, No. LVIII.):

"En virtud de licencia de SS. AA. llevó Al^o. Velez de Mendoza, vezino de Sevilla, en un navio que de ai partio en Marzo 1503 veinte i nueve casados con sus mugeres, hijos i criados, i varios solderos, que por todos son 142 personas. Llevolas el navio de Al^o. Nuñez a la Española."

Cf. Muñoz MSS., Vol. LXXV., f^o 220.

No. LXIV. PORTUGUESE CLANDESTINE EXPEDITION.

July 13, 1503, Their Catholic Majesties receive news that four Portuguese ships had landed in the country discovered by Rodrigo de Bastidas, and brought, from there to Lisbon, Indian slaves and dyewood. It is to investigate the matter that Juan de la Cosa was sent to Portugal, where the King had him arrested. We are fain to believe that it was the first expedition of the kind which the Portuguese had sent westward.

Cf. NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 161, and *Biblioteca Maritima*, Vol. II., p. 211. *Libros de cuentas de la Casa de Contratacion*,—1503-1515, legajo 1, in the Archives of the Indies, at Seville.

No. XLV. VOYAGE FOR THE QUEEN.

July 5, 1503, Queen Isabella orders the officials of the Casa de Contratacion to equip, at her own private cost, two ships to be sent to Hispaniola: "Vosotros poned luego diligencia en armar dos navios á mi costa que vayan al dicho viaje."

Cf. *Carta de la Reina Catolica Doña Isabel á los Oficiales de la Contratacion de Sevilla*, July 5, 1503. *Simancas Leg. de la Camara*, July 5, 1503. *Coleccion de doc. inéditos de España*, Vol. XIII., p. 496.

No. XLVI. GUERRA'S THIRD VOYAGE.

July 12, 1503, Cristobal Guerra contracts with the Crown to go to the Coast of Pearls, and to undertake maritime discoveries, with seven

1503.

ships, equipped at his own cost. From Uraba, he was to send two caravels to discover new regions: "ymbiaran las dos carabellas a discover adelante." Although Guerra was still at Seville,⁹⁵ September 28, 1503, and we see him again in that city February 23, 1504, our impression is that the voyage was actually carried out, and as a winter campaign, since he contemplated the difficulties arising from the winter season: "el peligro de la mar en ir sobre invierno."⁹⁶ Then we know that Velez de Mendoza's first expedition was accomplished under similar circumstances. Moreover, he is seen,⁹⁷ February 23, 1504, to enter a claim for dyewood and other articles which he had brought from the Indies. The latter can scarcely refer to the second expedition, as Doc. xiv. of Navarrete⁹⁸ indicates a settlement of that voyage so far back as August 2, 1501.

Cf. Coleccion de documentos ineditos de Indias, Vol. XXXI., p. 187.

No. LXVII. JUAN DE LA COSA.

September 7, 1503, Juan de la Cosa, declining to accompany Cristobal Guerra, is authorised to go with three caravels or more, equipped at his own cost, to Uraba and the Country of Pearls. It was also a voyage of discovery, as when the government projected the expedition, a short time before July preceding, it contemplated to attempt discoveries beyond Uraba. This voyage, concerning which we possess no other information, must be different from the one of 1504, as the latter was undertaken by virtue of new and different letters patent.

Cf. NAVARRETE, Vol. III., doc. xxi., p. 109. Doc. inedit. p. la Historia de España, Vol. XIII., p. 496.

No. LXVIII. SECOND VOYAGE OF BERMUDEZ.

We possess about this voyage only the following meagre indication:

"En Nov. 1503 fueron 2 navios, maestros Bermudez⁹⁹ i Nortes con varias mercaderias por cuenta de S. A. a la Esp^{la}."

Perhaps this expedition is identical with the one which was equipped by order of the Queen, dated July 5, 1503. (*supra*, No. LXV.)

Cf. Muñoz Transcripts, Vol. LXXV., f^o 221, recto.

⁹⁵ NAVARRETE, Vol. II., doc. cxlix., p. 292.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 295.

⁹⁷ *Documentos ineditos de Indias, Vol. XXXI., p. 238.*

⁹⁸ NAVARRETE, Vol. III., p. 101.

⁹⁹ Juan BERMUDEZ, of Palos, apparently the discoverer of the Bermuda islands. *Supra*, No. LVII.

1503.

No. LXIX. FERNAM DE NORONHA.

January 16, 1504, King Manoel grants to Fernam de Noronha the island of St. John, which he has lately discovered. As this island is the identical one afterwards named "Fernando de Noronha," and which lies a few degrees south of the equator, near the Brazilian coast, there has, necessarily, been another transatlantic expedition under the Portuguese flag in 1503, in course of which that island was discovered.

Cf. D'AVEZAC, *Campagne du navire "l'Espoir,"* p. 83, note 2. VARNHAGEN, *Amerigo Vespucci,* 1865, p. 114, note 4.

No. LXX. PORTUGUESE RESCUING EXPEDITION.

King Manoel sends two vessels to Newfoundland to rescue Gaspar and Miguel Corte-Real, but they return without having found any traces of those bold but unfortunate Portuguese navigators.

"No seguinte de M.D.III. mandou duas naos armadas a sua custa, mas nem de hum nem do outro se pode nunca saber onde nem como se perderan pelo que se pos aquella prouincia da terra verde onde se cré que estes dous irmãos perderão, a terre dos corte Reaes."

Cf. Damiaõ DE GOES, *op. cit.*, f^o. 65; and *supra*, p. 76.

No. LXXI. ENGLISH EXPEDITION TO NEWFOUNDLAND (?).

In the eighteenth year of the reign of Henry VII., "three men taken in the new-found islands" were exhibited at the English Court. November 17, 1503, that King gave £1 "to one that brought hawkes from the Newfounded Island."¹⁰⁰ We are unable to say whether these circumstances refer to the Anglo-Azorean expedition of 1502-1503 (*supra*, No. LX.), or to an alleged voyage of Sebastian Cabot.

Cf. FABIAN, *apud* STOW, *Chronicle*, edition of 1580, p. 875. *Jeau et Sébastien Cabot*, chapter xi., pp. 106-108, 269-270.

No. LXXII. COELHO'S VOYAGE.

Gonçalo Coelho, with six ships, sails from Lisbon, June 10, 1503, for Brazil; loses four of his vessels, apparently on the coast of the mainland, "por ainda terein pouca noticia da terra," where he landed, and returns to Lisbon, it is not known when, with a cargo of dyewood. This is the expedition which several historians suppose to be identical with the fourth voyage of Vespuccius.

Cf. HUMBOLDT, *Examen Critique*, Vol. V., pp. 120-126, 142, and *supra*, p. 348.

¹⁰⁰ *Excerpta historica*, pp. 126, 129, 130.

No. LXXIII. VESPUCCIUS' FOURTH VOYAGE.

1503-4.

MAY, 1503—JUNE, 1504.

Vespuccius sailed under the Portuguese flag, but neither as commander-in-chief nor as captain of the vessel on which he was,¹⁰¹ from Lisbon, May 10, 1503. Was wrecked on a Brazilian island, August 10; managed to continue his route south-westerly, 300 leagues, when he landed at the Bay of All Saints, which had been discovered in his preceding voyage. He sailed again in a southern direction, 260 leagues, reached a port by 18° south latitude, where he remained nearly five months, and from which he finally sailed homeward, arriving at the mouth of the Tagus after a voyage of 77 days, on the 28th (Hylacomylus) or 18th (Valori) June, 1504.

Cf. Lettera and Cosmographiae Introductio, verso of fo. iij. Bibliot. Americ. Vetustissima, pp. 61-62.

No. LXXIV. ALBUQUERQUE'S.

APRIL, 1503—SEPTEMBER, 1504.

Affonso de Albuquerque sails from Lisbon, April 6, 1503, with four ships to Cochin, for the purpose of building a fort there; but, like Cabral, having altered his course, landed in Brazil: "Trouamo tanto auanti per mezo la terra Della vera croce, ouer del Bresil coli nominata, altre volte di scoperta per Amerigo Vespucci," south of 8° south latitude, apparently in May following, and remained sometime in that country; returning to Portugal on the 16th of September, 1504.

Cf. Giovanni DA EMPOLI,¹⁰² Viaggio fatto nell' India, in RAMUSIO, Vol. I., fo. 145, verso.

No. LXXV. FRENCH VOYAGES TO BRAZIL.

1503-5.

JUNE, 1503—MAY, 1505.

Binot Paulmier de Gonneville sails from Honfleur for the East Indies, June 24, 1503, with a ship called *L'Espoir*, 120 tons burthen, having on board two Portuguese engaged in Lisbon for the voyage, and named Bastiam Moura and Diogo Cohinto. On the 6th of January, 1504, when homeward bound, they landed in a "grande terre," situate south of the Tropic of Capricorn, which is generally believed to be Brazil, and where

¹⁰¹ He speaks in contemptuous terms of the commander-in-chief: "Navi dominus" and "Capitan maggior." He also mentions the captain of the ship on board of

which he was: "navium prefectus."

¹⁰² Giovanni DA EMPOLI, was the agent of the Florentine firm of the MARCHIONIS.

1503-5. they remained until July 3, 1504. Another account makes Gonville sail direct, in August, 1503, from Cape de Verde to Brazil, and double Cape St. Augustine: "en courant d'aoust, d'empuis après le Bresil couru . . . et furent forcés de doubler le chapo d'Augoustin;"¹⁰³ but he did not effect a landing until afterwards.

In connection with the above, mention must be made of a statement written in 1584, but which was not derived from the same, viz.:

"Na era de 1504 vieraõ os franceses ao Brasil a primeira vez ao porto da Baya e entraraõ no rio do Paraguaçu . . . :—The French came to Brazil in 1504, the first time to the port of Bahia, entered the Paraguaçu river . . . returned to France, and again came back with three ships."¹⁰⁴

This quotation is only intended to show French voyages to Brazil in 1504, followed by others, from which may have been derived Portuguese maps afterwards consulted by the Dieppe cartographers.

Cf. D'AVEZAC, *Compagne du navire "l'Espoir" de Honfleur, 1503-1505*, Paris, 1869, 8vo.; and his *Les voyages de Améric Vespuce*, pp. 119-121.

1504.

No. LXXVI. ENGLISH EXPEDITION TO NEWFOUNDLAND.

April 8, 1504, King Henry VII. gives £2 "to a preste that goeth to the new Ilande."

Cf. *Excerpta historica*, p. 131, and *supra*, p. 47.

No. LXXVII. FOURTH VOYAGE OF HOJEDA.

On September 30, 1504, Alonso de Hojeda, in partnership with one Pedro de la Cueva, receives letters patent for a voyage to Caquivacoa (*sic*), and thence to "descobrir por el mar Océano otras tierras é islas." All we know concerning this expedition is that owing to the opposition of his creditors, Hojeda had not set sail on the 5th of October, 1504, when the Crown ordered the Casa de Contratacion to pay his debts, which, however, had been incurred when he equipped the preceding expedition.

Cf. *Coleccion de doc. ineditos de Indias*, Vol. XXXI., p. 258. NAVARRETE, Vol. III., doc. xxii., p. 111.

No. LXXVIII. CRISTOBAL GARCIA.

Expedition of four ships, which Juan de la Cosa found in 1504 in the port of Cartagena, under the command of Cristobal Garcia and his

¹⁰³ D'AVEZAC, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹⁰⁴ *Revista trimensal*, Vol. VI., 1844, p. 404.

uncle Luis Garcia.¹⁰⁵ Luis returned about that time to Spain, carrying with him the slaves and dyewood gathered by La Cosa on the mainland. The other three ships were afterwards wrecked near the Gulf of Uraba. Another captain of this expedition was named Monroy, of Triana. 1504.

Cf. OVIEDO, *Historia General*, lib. xxvii., cap. i., Vol. II., p. 414.

No. LXXIX. LA COSA'S OWN SECOND EXPEDITION.

February 14, 1504, Juan de la Cosa receives letters patent for a voyage to the Gulf of Uraba: "E otras yslas del mar oceano que fasta agora son descubiertas e se descubrieren de aqui adelante," with two, three, or more vessels, at his own cost. He sailed with four ships, in 1504, went to Darien, explored thence to Cartagena, and probably beyond. La Cosa returned to Spain in 1506, having realised two millions and a half of maravedis, one-fifth of which he paid into the treasury.¹⁰⁶

Among his companions were Martin de Los Reyes, who had just returned from the fourth expedition of Columbus, Andres de Morales, and his partner Juan de Ledesma, of Seville, who had already furnished part of the funds for equipping the Bastidas-La Cosa expedition of 1500-1502.

Cf. Muñoz MSS., Vol. LXXV., f^o 217, verso. *Documentos ineditos de Indias*, Vol. XXXI., p. 220. OVIEDO, lib. xxvii., cap. i., Vol. II., p. 413 *sequitur*, according to what Juan de Ledesma related to him. Letter of Hieronymo VANIELLO, in HUMBOLDT, *op. cit.*, Vol. V., p. 157.

No. LXXX. QUINTERO AND OTHERS.

We find, in Herrera, *sub anno* 1504, the following information:

"Hernando Cortes llegó à Sevilla, al tiempo que pasaban cinco Navios à la Española, i entre ellos el de Alonso Quintero, adonde se embarcò:—Fernando Cortes arrived at Seville at the time when five ships were sailing for Hispaniola, one of which was that of Alonso Quintero, on board of which he took passage."

Cf. HERRERA, Decad. I., lib. vi., cap. xiii., p. 165.

No. LXXXI. UNKNOWN NAVIGATORS.

Vespuccius, after leaving Portugal, came to Spain, and was summoned to the Court¹⁰⁷ in February, 1505. According to Herrera, before that

¹⁰⁵ The name Cristobal *Guerra*, instead of Garcia, written once by OVIEDO, is an oversight, as the Luis Guerra therein mentioned was his brother, and not his nephew, and had been dead four years when the present voyage was undertaken (LAS CASAS, Vol. II., p. 443). See *supra*, p. 684, note 75.

¹⁰⁶ NAVARRETE, *Biblioteca maritima*, Vol. II., p. 212,

apparently on the authority of a document in the first bundle of the *Libros de cuentas y razon pertenecientes à la Tesoreria de la Casa de Contratacion*, 1503-1515, where, however, the entry: "491,708 mrs. que vinieron a su alteza del quinto del provecho del oro e aljafar," is not dated, but placed just above the entry of 1507.

¹⁰⁷ Letter of COLUMBUS, in NAVARRETE, Vol. I., p. 351.

1564. date many navigators had sailed northward, ranging the coasts of the Baccalaos and Labrador. The statement is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| <p>“Muchos navegaron hácia el norte costean- do los Bacalaos y tierra del Labrador, como mostrava aquella parte poca riqueza, no huvo memoria dellos, ni aun de otros quel fueron por la parte de Paria.”</p> | <p>“Many have sailed towards the North, on the coasts of the Baccalaos and Labrador; but as in those regions there was no appear- ance of riches, there is no more account of them than of others who went to Paria.”</p> |
|---|---|

If Herrera had in view only the expeditions of Cabot and of the Corte-Reals, he would not have used the word “muchos.” Besides, the navigators he refers to are said to have left no traces, whilst in the days of Herrera, and long before him, the Spanish and Italian authors knew almost as much as we do concerning the expeditions of Cabot and Corte-Real. We quote that Spanish historian, however, only as confirming a similar statement from Francisco Lopez de Gomara.

Cf. HERRERA, Decad. I., lib. vi., cap. xvi., p. 169; and *supra*, pp. 120-122.

[END OF PART FOURTH.]

Part Fifth.

Biographical Notes.

Pilots and Cartographers.

1492—1550.

PART FIFTH.

Biographical Notes concerning Portuguese and Spanish Pilot-Majors, Pilots, and Cartographers of the first half of the Sixteenth Century.

ABREO or **ABREU** (Pedro).—Portuguese. Was sent about 1510 by Alfonso de Albuquerque in search of the Moluccas.¹ Entered the service of Spain, Nov. 12, 1519:

“Molina del Rey: 13 Nov., 1519, haya de Salario por Piloto, 25000 . . . 1525, se va a la expedicion de Speceria.”² Companion, therefore, of Magellan³ and of Garcia de Loaisa.

¹Faria y Sousa, *Asia portuguesa*, I., 203. ²Muñoz MSS., LXXV., f^o. 213; LXXVI., f^o. 142. ³Seb. Alvarez, in Navarrete, IV., 155.

ACOSTA (Martin de).—Portuguese. Pilot of the *San Lazaro*, which discovered Lower California, Wednesday, Dec. 24, 1533. The expedition was ordered by Cortés, commanded by Hernando de Grijalva, and composed of three vessels: the *Capitana*, or flag ship, the *Concepcion*, and the *S. Lazaro*, all of which sailed from Santiago in the Pacific.

Doc. ined. de Indias, XIV., 128, 303. Herrera, Decad. V., 158, 159. *Lista de la Exposicion Americana*, B. 296.

ACUÑA (Rodr.).—Portuguese. Companion of Garcia de Loaisa in his expedition to the Strait of Magellan, and describer of the same.

Navarrete, V., 234-238, 238-239, 240-241.

AGUIAR (Pero Alfonso).—Portuguese in the employ of Castile. Considered by the Spaniards as one of the two most learned members of the Badajoz conference in 1524. As regards that

all-important junta, it is interesting to read the estimate which Francisco de Mello formed of its members. Writing to the King of Portugal, April 8, 1524, the zealous envoy says:

“Ayer nos vimos con los Castellanos, i oimos sus cortesias i parte de sus mentiras y astucias. En los poderes venian nombrados Simon de Alcaçoba por Cosmografo, i Est. Gomez Piloto, ausentes. Mas por Gomez venia nombrado con expreso poder Mestre Thomas Duran, presente; i significavan querer poner en lugar de Alcaçoba a Mestre Antonio Alcaraz . . . Quanto a los que han venido de Castilla el Licenciado Cunha parece buen fidalgo i no obstinado ni cauteloso segun parecen los otros juristas. Sobre los Astrologos, Alcaraz fue estudiante en mi tiempo en Paris de ningun credito en ciencia alguna; i menos en Cosmografia. A Duran conoce bien V. A. i sabe lo que vale. Al Celeya con aquella rusticidad suya no lo oi una palabra, dicen que bajo aquel descuido i taciturnidad hay mucha ciencia. Pero los Pilotos, sino es Ribero, son mui desautorizados . . . El Emperador al parecer desconfiado ha embiado otro Astrologo llamado el Bach. Simon Taragona. Que los Castellanos tienen a D^o Lopez de Sequeira, i Per Alfonso de Aguiar mas instruidos que ellos.”—Muñoz Manuscripts, LXXXVII., f^o. 57, 58.

AGUSTIN (Pedro).—Pilot for the Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 545.

ALAMINOS (Anton or Antonio de), senior.—Of Huelva or Palos. Accompanied Columbus in his fourth voyage as ship-boy (1502-1504).¹ Was the chief pilot of Juan Ponce de Leon² (March 3, 1513), of Francisco Hernandez de Cordova

(1517),³ of Grijalva (1518),⁴ and of Cortés (1519).⁵ Discovered Yucatan, the Bahama Channel, and the Gulf Stream. Commanded the ship which Cortés sent to Spain from San Juan de Ulloa, July 26, 1519, and brought his first account in person to Charles V.

¹ Las Casas, IV., 349; but he does not figure in the rolls of Navarrete, I., 289. Herrera, Decad. II., 47. Bernal Dias, i., v., vii., liii. ² Bernal Dias, *ubi supra*. ³ Herrera, Decad. II., 47, 58, 119. ⁴ Las Casas, IV., 421. Oviedo, I., 508. ⁵ Anghiera, *Enchiridion*, 69. Bernal Dias, xxviii., clxii. *Documentos ineditos de Indias*, XI., 151. *Supra*, 189-197.

ALAMINOS (Anton de), junior.—Of Palos. Pilot of Cortés.

“E pasaron ciertos pilotos que se decian Anton de Alaminos é un su hijo que tambien tenia el mismo nombre que su padre, eran naturales de Palos.”¹

¹ Bernal Dias, ccv., 305.

ALBO, or ALVO (Francisco).—Of Axio, but residing at Rodas.

“Nombrado por 1ª vez en 1516, cobrando el 1º tercio de salario de 25000, salario de piloto de S.A. en Abril.”¹

Accompanied Magellan as second mate of the *Trinidad*, but returned as pilot of the *Victoria*, and received from Charles V. a gratification of 50,000. We still possess the journal, or rather log-book, which he wrote of that memorable expedition.² He is the one whom Herrera calls Francisco Calvo.³

¹ Muñoz MSS., LXXVI., fº 28. ² Navarrete, IV., 12, 30, 209-248, 290. Herrera, Decad. III., 132.

ALCAZABA DE SOTO MAVOR (Simon).—Portuguese. Cosmographer who came to Spain in 1522, and was made a member of the Badajoz junta, but, perhaps, rejected on account of his Portuguese origin. He was murdered by his own crew¹ in the port of Los Leones, in the course of an exploration of the Strait of Magellan² (Sept. 20, 1534—Sept. 11, 1536³).

¹ Oviedo, II., 155, 162. ² *Documentos ineditos de Indias*, X., 125. ³ Navarrete, *Biblioteca Maritima*, II., 711. Herrera, III., 132, IV., 31, 109, V., 95. Juan de Mori, *Relacion del desgraciado viaje que Simon de Alcazaba hizo al reconocimiento del estrecho de Magellanes*, MS. quoted by Navarrete, *op. cit.*, II., 273.

ALCARAZ (Antonio de).—Portuguese. One of the cosmographers at the Badajoz junta in 1524.

Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 49. Herrera, Decad. III., 184.

ALFARO.—Pilot of a ship commanded by Francisco Santos, loaded with silver, which came from New Spain, and entered the port of Seville, December 24, 1548. This was considered an important event, for various reasons.

Oviedo, *Hist. General*, lib. xxxiii., cap. lvi., III., 556.

ALONSO (Sebastian).—Pilot for the Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 547.

ANDERO (Francisco).—Pilot for the Indies before 1525.

Op. cit.

ALVAREZ (Juan).—Of Huelva. Pilot of Cortés in 1519, and of Francisco Hernandez de Cordova in the expedition which sailed from Jaruco, in Cuba, for Yucatan, February 18, 1517. He had only one arm.

Bernal Dias, i., 3; xxx., 93; ccv., 305.

ALVARES (Rodrigo).—Pilot of Sebastian Cabot in the La Plata expedition of 1526. A cluster of islets in that region was then named after him.

Santa Cruz, *Islario*, MS., fº 119, verso.

ALVARO.—Of Palos. A seafaring man and soldier of Cortés. Had thirty sons in three years from Indian women. Killed in Honduras by the natives.

Bernal Dias, ccv., 305.

ANRIQUEZ, or OURIVES (Juan).—Pilot in command of a ship which, with two others, one commanded by Juan de Solis, the other by a brother of the latter (Francisco de Soto), were being equipped at Lepe, August 30, 1512, to sail in March. According to the despatch of Juan Mendez de Vasconcelos, both Anriquez and Solis were disposed to betray the Spanish government, one for 200 cruzados, the other for from 1200 to 1500 reis per annum. That expedition was the one intended, November 14, 1514, to “ir à descubrir por las espaldas de Castilla de oro.”

Navarrete, III., 128, 129.

ANRIQUEZ, or OURIVES, junior.—He accompanied his father, whose nautical science was not superior to his own: “Seu filho, que diz que sabe tanto com’ ele.”

Navarrete, III., 128.

ARANA (Juan de).—Pilot of the expedition to Florida, which was sent to evangelise the Indians, in 1549.

Herrera, Decad. VIII., 112.

ARCA (Rodrigo de).—Pilot of Diego Garcia, in the expedition to the Rio de la Plata, in 1526.

Herrera, Decad. III., 278.

ARCHULETA (Juan Lopez de).—Son-in-law of Diego de Porras. Pilot for the Indies before 1525. Visited the coasts of the continent for more than twenty years. Became supervisor of the island of Cubagua. Gave his testimony at Madrid, August 31, 1535.

Probanzas of 1531, MS. *Doc. ineditos de Indias*, XLII., 545.

AREIZAGA (Juan de).—Companion of Garcia de Loaisa, and describer of the first part of his expedition to the Strait of Magellan, August 2, 1525—June 1, 1526.

Navarrete, V., doc. ix., 223-225.

BAENA (Alonso de).—One of the pilots of the ship which, sailing from Santo Domingo for Spain, in 1538, remained on the voyage five months and a half.

Oviedo, IV., 536. See *infra*, BERMUDEZ.

BAENA (Domingo de).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Doc. inedit. de Indias, XLII., 547.

BALTASAR.—A Genoese, of Porto Maurizio.

"Genoveses, maestre de la nao *Santiago*, vecino de puerto Morisques, que es en la ribera de Genova. Piloto de la *Vitoria*, de 6 de Agosto, 1520 hasta 3 de Abril 1521, quando murio."

Muñoz Transcripts, LXXVI., 122. Medina, *Doc. para la Historia de Chile*, I., 189.

BARBERO (Juan).—Spanish pilot, who absconded after having received from Alonso Alvarez, the agent of the King of Portugal, 20 ducats, on account of his engagement in the service of that king to accomplish discoveries on the north coast of South America, in 1510.

Herrera, Decad. I., 197.

BARBOSA (Duarte).—Portuguese. "Sobrinho de Diego Barbosa, criado del obispo de Siguenza." Pilot of Magellan in 1519. He is the author of a portolano of the Indian Ocean, written in

1516, and translated into Spanish, in 1524, by Diego Ribero.¹ He commanded the *Trinidad*.

Sebast. Alvarez, in Navarrete, IV., 155. See also Lord Stanley of Alderley, *First Voyage round the World*, p. xlv. For a long time we possessed of that work only the abridgment into Italian published by Ramusio, I. 288. The full original Portuguese text was inserted in 1813 in the *Collecção de Noticias* of the Lisbon Academy, II., No. vii. It is the work ascribed to Magellan, from an erroneous statement in the title of the Spanish translation found in Spain a few years ago.

BARRERA (Alonso de la).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Doc. inedit. de Indias, XLII., 546.

BASTILLE LE BRETON (Guillaume).—Captain and pilot in the first expedition of Jacques Cartier. Born at St. Malo, January 8, 1508; died before 1540.

F. Joüon des Longrais, *Jacques Cartier*, p. 128.

BAUTISTA.—Genoese pilot, who accompanied Amrique de Menezes in 1542.

Noticias para a Historia geografia das Nações ultramarinas, Lisboa, 1812-1841; IV., No. 2.

BAUTISTA JANUENSIS.—Genoese cartographer who, in July, 1513, made a map of the Mediterranean sea, which is preserved in the Wolfenbüttel Ducal Library.

BAUTISTA (Juan).—Genoese pilot, settled in Triana, who was on board the vessel of Pedro de Cifuentes. Explored the Gulf of Mexico in 1528. This may be the Joan Battista Ginoves, who figures among the conquerors of Yucatan, and died before 1554, leaving two sons settled in that country.

Navarrete, *Bibliot. maritima*, II., 158. *Documentos ineditos de Indias*, X., 58, XIV., 204.

BAUTISTA (Juan).—Genoese, of Sestri, who was mate of the *Trinidad*, and became her pilot upon the death of Joaõ Carvalho, in the expedition of Magellan,¹ and who may be the "piloto Genoes" who wrote an account of the expedition.²

¹ Navarrete, IV., 12; Letter of Antonio de Brito, *op. cit.*, p. 311. ² *Viagem que fez Fern. de magalhães o anno de 1519*; MS. Paris National Library, Portuguese, No. 40, and Library of San Francisco in Lisbon. Cf. *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia patria*, XV., 5-74.

We have placed these four Bautistas under the same head, being unable to ascertain whether the name belongs to several individuals or to one only.

BEJA (Luis Alonso de).—Portuguese pilot who intended to sail with Magellan in 1519.

Sebast. Alvarez, in Navarrete, IV., 155.

BERMEJO or VERMEJO (Rodrigo).—Of Seville. "Piloto con 30,000. Logrono, 15 de Agosto, 1521."¹ March 15, 1525, his services were secured as pilot-major of the expedition of Garcia de Loaisa, in the place of Lope Sanchez and Juan Vespuccius, both of whom declined.² He died in 1526.³

¹ Muñoz MSS.; Oviedo, II., 59. ² Herrera, Decad. III., 184, 215, 265. ³ Navarrete, V., 4, 44, 369.

BERMUDEZ (Juan).—Spanish pilot and commander of a ship, which sailed from Santo Domingo for Spain, in 1538, and remained at sea until 1539, that is, five months and a half, undergoing great sufferings. This Bermudez is doubtless different from the one who commanded the five caravels of the expedition of 1502 (*supra*, p. 691).

Oviedo, IV., 535; Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 210.

BOTELHO PEREIRA (Diego).—Portuguese cartographer, who made a map of the World, which he presented to João II., and therefore before 1534.

Supra, No. 210, p. 596.

BUENO (Alonso).—Pilot for the West Indies, before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 547.

BUGUÉ (Jean).—Pilot from Brittany, who went to Brazil in 1526, and was captured by Christobal Jaques. He is mentioned with other French mariners in curious affidavits relating to Loaisa's voyage, and sworn to at Pernambuco, November 2, 1528.

"Tres naos, el galeon de Mosliense y Lomaria de la dicha villa, é otro navio de Normandia del rio de la Sena en un abra en la tierra del Brasil."¹

François Guardé and François Breton are the names of the other mariners, who were Bretons, apparently from St. Pol de Léon.

¹ Adolfo de Varnhagen, *As primeiras negociações de Brasil*, p. 154.

Navarrete, *Coleccion de los viages y descubrimientos*, V., doc. xv., 321-323.

BUITRON (Diego Rodriguez).—Pilot for the West Indies, before 1525.

Doc. ineditos de Indias, XLII., 545.

CABALLERO (Pedro or Juan).—Pilot and mate in the fleet of Pamphilo de Narvaez, and "almirante" of Cortés, in 1520.

Bernal Dias, cxxiv., 515; cxxxi., 579.

CABEÇAS or DE GRADO (Joaquin).—"Hidalgo asturiano e buen piloto," who saved from shipwreck a ship belonging to Fernandez de Oviedo, who was on board, in 1530, on the coast of Nicaragua.

Oviedo, *Historia General de las Indias*, IV., 464.

CABEÇAS (Johan).—"Por otro nombre llamado Johan de Grado, asturiano." He is the good-hearted pilot who buried the astrologer Codro, in 1529. He also accompanied Geronimo de Valençuela to Panama and Nicaragua. Perhaps this Johan Cabeças is identical with the above Joaquin Cabeças, also *alias* De Grado, and likewise an Asturian.

Oviedo, I., 420; IV., 9, 119, 232.

CABOT (Sebastian).—Apparently the second son of Giovanni Cabotto (a Genoese by birth, but a naturalized Venetian citizen). Born at Venice, before March, 1474.

1496. March 5. He is made a party to letters patent granted by Henry VII. to his father and brothers.

1512, May. Makes a map of Gascony for Henry VIII.

1512. Goes to Spain with Lord Willoughby.

1512, Sept. 13. Is sent for by King Ferdinand.

1512, Oct. 2. Appointed sea-captain, at a salary of 50,000 mrs.

1512, Oct. (?) Returns to England to settle his affairs, and to bring his wife, Catalina Medrano, over to Spain.

1514, March 6 and 26, April 7, and May 11.

Receives emoluments from the Spanish king.

1515, June 13. Receives from the same king a gratuity of 10,000 mrs., viz.:

"Mosen Martin Cabrero mi camarero yo vos mando que de qualesquier mrs. de vuestra cargo deys e pagueys a Sebastian Caboto nuestro capitan de armada de las cosas de la yndias diez mill mrs. de que yo le hago merced para ayuda a su costa. . . Fecha en Burgos a treze dias de junyo de quinientos e quinze años. Yo el Rey."¹

- 1515, August 30. Appointed pilot (with eight others, Solis being pilot-major).
- 1515, Nov. 18. He is consulted as to the rights of the Crown of Castile to the Moluccas.²
- 1516, May 7. William Mychell, a London chaplain, makes a legacy in favour of "Elizabeth filie Sebastiani Caboto filiole mee."³
- 1518, Feb. 5. Appointed pilot-major,⁴ viz.:
"Que Seb. Caboto sea Piloto mayor en lugar de Juan Dias de Solis con 50000. de salario.—Valladolid, 5 feb. 1518."
- 1519, May 6. Collects 25,000 mrs., the same being one-third of his annual salary.
- 1521, March. The twelve great Livery Companies of London make representations to the King, and to Wolsey, against Sebastian Cabot being entrusted with a transatlantic expedition, on the plea that he had never been to the New World, or discovered anything, and was not a man to be trusted.⁵
- 1522, September. Sends an agent to propose his services to the Republic of Venice, whilst yet in the pay of the Spanish government.
- 1523, Spring. Receives a letter from Hieronymo Marin de Busignolo, the said agent, informing him of the progress of negotiations, and July 23, the Venetian ambassador in Spain announces the imminent departure of Sebastian Cabot for Venice.
- 1524, Nov. 26. Charles V. compels him to pay over to Maria Cerezo, the widow of Americus Vespuccius, the five years' arrears of the pension of 10,000 mrs. which he was bound to take out of his salary, as pilot-major and successor of her husband to that office.
- 1524, February. John Goderyk receives £43 for having brought him over to England, at the request of Sir Thomas Lovell (we do not know when).⁶
- 1524, April 15. Signs the opinion asked of certain cosmographers by Charles V. as to his rights to the Moluccas.
- 1525, March 4. Appointed captain-general of the fleet equipped to discover "las islas de Tarsis e Ofir e el Catayo oriental."
- 1525, October 25. Assigns over to his wife the life pension of 25,000 mrs., granted him by Charles V.
- 1526, April 5. Sets sail for South America.
- 1530, August. Returns to Spain from the Rio de la Plata, where he remained four years. Is immediately arrested by order of the Crown.
- 1531, May 11. Receives on account of his salary as pilot-major, 7,500 mrs.⁷
- 1531, May 16. Is allowed to absent himself from the jail upon giving security.
- 1532, February 1. Sentenced to an exile of two years in Morocco.
- 1532, March 15. He is sick and in prison, apparently in Spain.⁸
1533. Makes a sailing chart for the Council of the Indies.⁹
- 1533, June. Loses his daughter. His wife and himself fall sick, apparently at Seville.¹⁰
- 1533, June 24. Writes to the Secretary of State, Juan de Samana, a letter about sailing directions and the variations of the needle."¹¹
1533. Lawsuit brought against him by Catalina Vazquez, the mother of Martin Mendez, his lieutenant at La Plata.
- 1534, March 13. The Queen-Regent of Spain orders an investigation as to his mode of examining and granting licenses to pilots.¹²
- 1534, December 11. Addresses to the Casa de Contratacion a memoir concerning the necessity of subjecting pilots for the Indies to an examination.
- 1535 (?). Is seen (?) on the coast of Astatlan (Nueva Galicia ?) in command of a fleet.
- 1535, December 31. Appears as a witness before the Fiscal in the great suit brought by Luis Columbus, when he declares to be "de mas de 50 años," which would make him a mere boy when his father undertook his famous expedition of 1497.¹³
1544. Date of the large map of the World ascribed to him. Must have been made at Seville, the legends being furnished by Dr. Grajales, of the Puerto de Santa Maria; but

- it was engraved, apparently, in Antwerp, although there are no traces of a privilege in the Books of "Octroy" of that city.
- 1545, November 28. Is appointed one of a commission to examine and report on the *Arte de Navegar* of Pedro de Medina.
1547. Gives his power of attorney to Diego Gutierrez, senior, to act, in his absence, as Pilot-Major.
- 1547, October 9. One Peckham receives £100 for having brought Sebastian Cabot from Spain over to England.
- 1548, January 6. Receives a pension from Edward VI. of 250 marks (£166 13s. 4d.)¹⁴
- 1549, November 25. Still in England. Charles V. claims him from the English government, as "he is the servant of the Emperour, and hath a pencion of hym."
- 1550, April 21. Refuses to return to Spain.
1550. Receives a new gratuity from the English King.
1550. The patent of 1496 is renewed in his favour (?).
- 1551, August. Renews his intrigues to sell himself to the Republic of Venice.
- 1553, May 9. Draws up instructions for the voyage of Willoughby and Chancellor.
- 1553, September 9. Charles V. asks Queen Mary to allow to Cabot to return to Spain.
- 1554, November 15. Writes from London to Charles V., giving him information as to a projected expedition of the French against Peru.¹⁵
- 1555, February 26. Made Governor of the Company of Merchant Adventurers.
- 1556, April 27. Bids farewell at Gravesend to Stephen Burrow, whose expedition was equipped under his direction.
- 1557, May 25. Resigns the pension he had from the King of England.
- 1557, May 29. Part of the pension is restored to him, and William Worthington is appointed his adjunct.
- All traces of Sebastian Cabot disappear after the latter date. There is not a particle of evidence or probability in favour of the pretensions of his namesakes, whether in Massachusetts or in Languedoc, who claim to descend from him, or to belong to his family.
- ¹ MS. Simancas, *Libro de la Camera*, 1513-16, f^o 63.
² Navarrete, *Opusculos*, I., 66. ³ *Supra*, p. 594, note.
⁴ Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 213; LXXVI., 28. ⁵ Wm. Herbert, *The History of the twelve great Livery Companies of London*; London, 1837, 8vo, I., 410. *Supra*, p. 47, and *infra*, Appendix A. ⁶ Navarrete, III., doc. xiv., 308. ⁷, ⁸ *Doc. inedit. de Indias*, XXXII., 451, 455, 459, 479. ⁹, ¹⁰, ¹¹ *Carta à Juan de Samano*, in *Relaciones geograficas de Indias*, Madrid, 1885, 8vo, II., xii. ¹² *Doc. inedit. de Indias*, XXXII., 480-481. ¹³ *Probanzas del Alm. D. Luis Colon*; leg. 2, doc. 7. MS. of the Archives of the Indies. ¹⁴ Hakluyt, III., 10. ¹⁵ *Doc. inedit. de España*, III. (1843), 512.
- The authorities and texts for the thirty-seven other statements are to be found in our *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*.
- CABRERA (Diego Martin).—Pilot of Columbus in his fourth voyage, 1502-1504.¹ Does not figure, however, as such in the official roll. We only find one Diego Martin, sailor.²
- ¹ Oviedo, I., 78; II., 135. ² Navarrete, I., 289-293.
- CALLE (Francisco de la).—Pilot for the Indies before 1525.
- Documentos ineditos de Indias*, XLII., 544.
- CALVO (Anton).—Pilot of the ship of which Pero Fernandez Exuero, of Palos, was master, and which was wrecked between Darien and Hispaniola in 1514. "Buen hombre y experto en la navegacion."
- Oviedo, *Historia General*. IV., 471.
- CAMACHO (Diego).—Of Triana. Pilot of Hernandez de Cordova in the first expedition to Yucatan (1517), and of Cortés.
- Bernal Dias, i., 3; ccv., 305.
- CAMARGO (Alonso de).—Pilot who led three ships sent by Gutierrez de Vargas, Bishop of Palencia, to explore the Strait of Magellan, and which sailed from Seville in August, 1539. The method for ascertaining the longitude at sea, newly invented by Alonso de Santa Cruz, was to be tested in course of that expedition.
- Navarrete, *Opusculos*, II., 69, note, on the authority of Herrera.

CAMARGO (Francisco).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 545.

CAMINO (Pero Alonso).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 545.

CANSINO (Francisco).—Pilot in 1534, when he gave his testimony concerning Peru and Pizarro.

Herrera, *Decad.* VI., 57.

CARABACA (Diego Sanchez).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 545.

CARVALLO (Juan Lopez de).—A Portuguese pilot, but settled in Seville long before 1519.¹ "Juan Lopez de Caravallo, admittido en 26 febr. 1519."² He was, however, already employed by the Spanish Crown, June 30, 1517.³ Magellan selected him as pilot for the *Concepcion*.⁴ He is the "Jean Carvajo" of Pigafetta, and the "Joaõ Carvalho" of Barros, who died at Tidore, February 14, 1522.⁵

¹ Sebastián Alvarez, in Navarrete, IV., 155. ² Muñoz MSS., LXXVI., 91. ³ *Documentos ineditos de Indias*, XXXVI., 455. ⁴ Navarrete, IV., 17, 26, 67; Herrera, *Decad.* II., 103; III., 14. ⁵ Barros, *Decad.* III., lib. 5, cap. 10.

CARDENAS (Juan de).—Pilot and captain. April 15, 1520, he was appointed inspector of ships at a salary of 12,000 mrs., and August 27 following, received the appointment of pilot.

"1520, 15 de abril. Visitador de la naos, con 12,000. 1520, 27 de Agosto. Piloto e Capitan, con 30,000."

Muñoz MSS., LXXVI., 140.

CARDENAS.—Of Triana. Pilot of Cortés. Fell ill of sadness because he did not receive his share of the first gold obtained by Cortés, and died in Mexico.

Bernal Dias, clxvi., ccv.

CARREÑO.—"Hombre de bien e de credito." Pilot in charge of a ship with a valuable cargo of sugar and hides, which he saved from being entirely lost at sea, when on his way to Spain from Santo Domingo, in a terrible storm, by invoking, with tears in his eyes, the Virgin

Mary, whilst the Devil responded from the clouds, October 3, 1533: "Who cares for her? Qué la quereys? Qué la quereys?"

Oviedo, *Historia General*, IV., 479.

CARVALHO (João).—See CARAVALLO.

CARO (Juan).—"Andaluz carmonés de la orden de Santo Domingo; in Theologia magister." Devoted himself to the study of the art of navigation, and while living in the east, at Cochín, wrote, December 19, 1525, and December 29, 1526, to his brother-in-law, Dr. Porrás, in Seville, for the purpose of being employed by Charles V. to teach navigation and accomplish discoveries.

Navarrete, *Coleccion de viajes*, IV., 372, and his *Biblioteca maritima*, II., 199.

CARTIER (Jacques).—"Lieutenant general du Roy, capitaine et pilote dudict Syre en son entreprise de la descouverte des terres de Canada." Born at St. Malo in 1491; died, apparently at the same place, September 1, 1557. He spoke Portuguese.

Régistres de l'Etat-civil de Saint Malo; archives, série GG., November 13, 1540, *apud* De Longrais, *ubi supra*, and our *Notes sur la Nouvelle France*, Nos. 1 and 7.

CARVAJAL (Juan Suarez de).—Afterwards Bishop of Lugo. In 1536, summoned the pilots, cosmographers, and cartographers of the Crown, to meet at Seville, for the purpose of constructing "una muy exacta carta que sirviese de padron para las que se usaban en la navegacion á las Indias occidentales."¹ This ordinance seems to be different from that of October 30, 1536, although referring likewise to "los viajes a las Indias."² In 1539, he was also member of a commission "acerca de la guarda de las ordenanças que los Reies Catolicas dieron para la navegacion, i contratacion de las Indias."³

The *padron* above mentioned is doubtless the map of Chaves of 1537, described *supra*, p. 361, and referred to by Sebastian Cabot at the close of the year 1536.

¹ Navarrete, *Opusculos*, II., 68. ² Navarrete, *Bibliot. maritima*, II., 317. ³ Herrera, *Decad.* VI., 154. ⁴ *Probanzas* of December 31, 1536.

CASTAÑEDA.—See RUIZ DE CASTAÑEDA.

CASTAÑEDA (Johan de).—Pilot-Major.

“En este viage [of Gaspar de Espinosa to the Southern Sea, or Pacific, in May, 1520] fué por piloto mayor Johan de Castañeda, buena persona e diestro en las cosas de la mar.”—Oviedo, *Hist. General*, III., 64, 98; IV., 10.

CASTILLA (Nicolas).—Pilot of the ship on which Ribero's invention for pumping water out of vessels, was experienced in 1533 on a voyage to the West Indies.

Navarrete, *Hist. de la Nautica*, 364.

CASTILLO (Domingo del).—Pilot of Hernando de Alarcon¹ in the expedition which Antonio de Mendoza sent to aid that of Vazquez de Coronado. He made a map of the Californian regions, which he visited in 1541 with Ladrillero.²

¹ Ramusio, III., 363. ² Lorenzana, *Historia de Nueva España*. Herrera, Decad. VI., 159, 208.

CASTILLO (Francisco del).—Pilot of Juan Aguado in the expedition of August 5, 1495.

Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 171. *Supra*, p. 672.

CASTILLO (Pedro Sanchez del).—Of Palos. Pilot in 1513, and, apparently, a companion of Columbus in his second voyage (1493-1496).

Testimonio de los que iban con el Almirante y descubrieron la Tierra firme. MS. Archiv. de Indias.

CELAYA.—See SALAYA.

CEREZO (Christoval).—Pilot for the Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 445.

CERMEÑO (Diego).—Pilot of Cortés in 1520.

Oviedo, *Historia General*, III., 261.

CHAVES (Alonso de).—Pilot and professor of cartography in Seville, viz.:

“Cedula de Madrid 4 abr. 1528, recibise a Alonso de Chaves por Piloto, Cosmografo i Maestro de hacer cartas, astrolabios, i otras cosas para la navegacion con 30,000 de salario.”¹

Chaves also held the office of Pilot-Major, doubtless *ad interim*, while Sebastian Cabot was at La Plata; but succeeded him in the Chair of Cosmography in the Casa de Contratacion, July 11, 1552, and still held various positions, August 22, 1584,² and even April 21, 1586, at the age of ninety-four.³ He was the father of

Geronimo de Chaves, who also distinguished himself as a cosmographer and cartographer.

¹ Muñoz MSS., LXXVIII., 100. ² *Lista de la Expedicion Americanista*, B. 57 and 58. ³ Navarrete, *Bibliot. maritima*, I., 16-17. Herrera, III., 219; IV., 30. *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, and, *supra*, p. 239.

CHAVES (Baltasar de).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 545.

CHAVES (Geronimo de).—Son of Alonso. Born at Seville in 1523. Cosmographer to the King (Philip II.), and who was already noted as a scientist in 1545, when he published his edition of Sacro Busto (*Sevilla, en casa de Juan de Leon*, 4to.). He drew up a map of the West Indies, and one of Florida, inserted in Ortelius.

Navarrete, *Bibliot. maritima*, I., 563.

CODRO. — A Venetian cosmographer and astrologer, who accompanied Vasco Nuñez de Balboa to Darien, in 1517. By “astrologer” should be meant “astronomer,” as the term was used with the latter meaning even so late as the close of the sixteenth century. (See the letter addressed by the cartographer Ottavio Pisani to Galileo).

Oviedo, III., 63; IV., 9. Las Casas, IV., 241.

COLCHERO (Blas).—Pilot for the Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 546.

COLCHERO (Diego Sanchez).—Pilot for the Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 547.

COLUMBUS (Fernando).—The illegitimate son of Christopher Columbus by Beatrix Enriquez. Born in Cordova, August 15, 1488, where he went to school. In 1494, his father's brother, Bartholomew, took him to the Court, where he continued his education, and was appointed page to Queen Isabella, February 18, 1498. Accompanied Christopher Columbus in the fourth and last expedition (1502-1504), and seems to have been by his bedside when he died, May 21, 1506, at Valladolid. Returned to the West Indies in 1509, went back to Spain

in 1510, when he commenced forming a library, afterwards famous under the name of, first, *Biblioteca Fernandina*, then of *Biblioteca Colombina*, at Seville, where his home was until he died. Wrote a number of memoirs relating to Navigation and the rights of the Spanish Crown to the Moluccas. His claims for figuring in the present list consist, first, in his having been entrusted by Charles V., October, 1526, with supervising the construction of a model chart for sailing to the New World. Second, for his treatise, *Sobre la forma de descubrir y poblar en la parte de las Indias*, which is lost. Third, for his *Coloquio sobre las dos graduaciones diferentes que las cartas de Indias tienen* (1527). Finally, for having written a Life of his father, the original text of which is lost, whilst its translation into Italian is interpolated. Fernando Columbus died at Seville, July 12, 1539.

Excerpta Colombiniana, 1-24. *Supra*, p. 264.

CORÇO or CORZO (Pedro).—Pilot of Martin Estete. Discovered the Rio Chagres in 1527, with Fernando de la Serna.

Oviedo, IV., 61, 217. Navarrete, *Bibliot. maritima*, I., 431; II., 547.

CORDERO (Anton).—Pilot of Cortés in his expedition to the north-west coast in 1535. Was killed by a falling yard.

CORIA (Bernaldino de).—Pilot (?) of Cortés, after having been, in 1519, in the employ of Diego Velazquez. Settled in Chiapa.

Bernal Dias, lviii., clvii. Herrera, *Decad.* II., 132.

CORREA (Juan).—Pilot of the *Pinta*, one of the two ships sent to the West Indies under the command of La Cosa in 1507.

Navarrete, III., 162, and *Bibliot. maritima*, II., 213.

COSA (Juan de la).—Surnamed "El Viscaino," or the Biscay man, because born at Santoña,¹ in Cantabria; but a resident of Puerto de Santa Maria, in Andalucia, at least since 1493. In 1496, he seems to have re-established his home in the place of his birth,² but in 1500 and 1503, we see him again at the Puerto de Santa Maria.

He was the owner and master or mate of Columbus' flag ship during his first voyage:

"Vos Juan de la Cosa fuistes por maestre de una nao vuestra á las mares del océano, donde en aquel viage fueron descubiertas las tierras é islas de la parte de las Indias, é vos perdistes la dicha nao:—Whereas, You, Juan de la Cosa, went to the Oceanic seas, as mate on board a vessel which belonged to you, in the course of which voyage were discovered the countries and islands of the Indies, and you lost said vessel . . ."³

This language was used by Ferdinand and Isabella, February 28, 1494; that is, at a time when only one voyage had been accomplished to the New World, Columbus' second expedition lasting until June, 1496. Then, the only vessel lost was the flag ship (*Capitane*), called either the *Santa Maria*, or the *Marigalante*, wrecked in the night of Christmas-Eve, on the coast of Hispaniola. La Cosa's vessel must have been one of the two caravels which the town of Palos was ordered to charter at its expense as a punishment for certain misdeeds, since the third vessel was the property of Cristobal Quintero.

1493. He accompanies Columbus in his second voyage, but as chief cartographer.

1494, June 12. Together with all the officers and crews of that expedition, is compelled to declare on oath, that it was possible to go by land from Cuba to China. But when out of reach of the Admiral, recants the statement by giving to Cuba the insular form in a map-pamundi, which we still possess.

1496-1499. Remains in Spain, from June of the former year.

1499, May. Sails as chief pilot of Hojeda.

1500, June. Returns to Cadiz.

1500, June-August. Constructs at Puerto de Santa Maria, his famous map of the world, now preserved in the Madrid Naval Museum.

1500, October. Sails with Rodrigo de Bastidas, and ranges a portion of the north coast of South America.

1502, September. Returns to Spain.

1503, in the spring. Proposes an expedition to Uraba, and to construct there a fort at his own expense.⁴

1503, August. Is sent on a mission from the Spanish government to Portugal, and is imprisoned in Lisbon during a short time.⁵

1503, September 3. Presents to Queen Isabella, at Segovia, two charts made by him.

1503, in the autumn, commands an expedition to Uraba, by virtue of letters patent of September 7 preceding.⁶

1504-1506. Commands an expedition to Darien.⁷ Is that the one described by Hieronymo Vanniello in his letter to the Signoria of Venice, dated Burgos, December 23, 1506, announcing the return of two ships which the King of Spain had sent on a voyage of discovery to the newly-discovered continent, under the leadership of "Juan biscaino et almerigo fiorentino"?⁸

1507. Sails for the Indies in command of two ships, viz.: the *Huelva* and *La Pinta*, with Martin de los Reyes and Juan Correa as pilots respectively.

1508, June 17. He is confirmed in the office of Alguazil-Mayor, which had been first granted to him April 3, 1503.¹⁰

1509, June 15. Obtains leave to import two slaves into Hispaniola.

1509. Removes with his family to Hispaniola.

1509, November 10. Accompanies Hojeda in the expedition to Darien, and having been mortally wounded by a poisoned arrow in a fight with the Indians, dies at Cartagena, February 28, 1510.

Juan de la Cosa left a widow, a son,¹¹ and several daughters.¹² As a pilot exercising in the New World, he accumulated considerable property: "Como piloto avia ganado hacienda en estas partes."¹³

In the second expedition of Christopher Columbus there was, with Juan de la Cosa, another "Juan Vizcaino," but this was a simple mariner, and "vecino de Cartaya."¹⁴

¹ The list of witnesses for the *Informacion* of June 12, 1494, (Navarrete, II., 143) is represented to mention him as "Vecino del puerto de Santa Maria," but of being "de Santoña." ² Navarrete, II., 146: III., 7, 77, 109,

118, 162, 588. ³ Navarrete, *Bibliot. maritima*, II., 208, note 5, for the entire text of the document. ⁴ *Doc. inéditos de España*, XIII., 496. ⁵ Letter of Guerra, in Navarrete, II., 293. ⁶ *Doc. inéditos de España, ubi supra*. ⁷ Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 217, 220; *Doc. inéditos de Indias*, XXXI., 220. ⁸ Humboldt, *Examen critique*, V., 157. ⁹ Navarrete, III., 162. ¹⁰ Navarrete, III., 118. ¹¹ Herrera, *Decad. I.*, 187. ¹² Cedula of April 2, 1511, Herrera, *Decad. I.*, 236. ¹³ Oviedo, II., 413. ¹⁴ Navarrete, II., 148.

CORTÉS (Martin).—Born at Bujaraloz, in Aragon, but lived at Cadiz from 1530 until his death, and where he wrote, in 1545, his celebrated *Breve compendio de la sphaera y de la arte de navegar*; Sevilla, Alvarez, 1551, folio. The influence of that work was considerable with the Spanish mariners of the time.

Navarrete, *Hist. de la Nautica*, 169, and *Biblioteca maritima*, II., 429.

CUERVO (Francisco).—Pilot with Cortés. Returned to Spain from Vera Cruz in 1522.

Documentos inéditos de Indias, X., 258.

DAMPIES (Diego de).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos inéditos de Indias, XLII., 545.

DAÓPIAS (Martim).—An able astronomer, who was expected from England to accompany and supervise the expedition which was being equipped at Lepe in 1512, and intended to sail under the command of Dias de Solis in 1513.

"Se chama Martim Dãopias, e diz q' he bõo estrolago, e não esta agora aqui, que diz q' he ido a Ingratera, e q' esperão cada dia por ele: homem he q' en não conheço, nem sey quem hé."

Dispatch of Joaõ Mendez de Vasconcelos, in Navarrete, III., p. 132.

DAVILA (Francisco).—Of Madrid. "Sobresaliente" on the *S. Gabriel*. Companion of Garcia de Loaisa, and describer of his expedition to the Strait of Magellan, August 2, 1525—June 4, 1527.

Navarrete, V., doc. x., 225-233.

DELGADO (Sebastian Rodriguez).—Pilot in the Southern Sea (*i.e.*, the Pacific). Author of a petition to the King, asking that one competent to correct the compass and other nautical instruments be sent to him and his colleagues.

Navarrete, *Bibliot. maritima*, II., 708.

DIAS (Gonzalo).—Pilot to the Veragua regions. Settled in Cuba, where he gave his testimony at the request of one Andrea Colon (?), who acted as attorney-in-fact of Diego Colon, in 1515.

Navarrete, III., 586. *Tercera Probanza* of February 13, 1515; MS. of the Archives of the Indies.

DIAS (Gregorio).—Pilot. Seems to have accompanied Columbus in his third voyage, and made maps of Paria, Darien, and Veragua.

Navarrete, III., 582, 591. *Supra*, p. 434.

DURAN (Alonso).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 545.

DURAN (Thomas).—From the province of Valencia. A Dominican, who, June 2, 1503, was made professor of mathematics in the University of Valencia. One of the commission of cosmographers and pilots appointed to represent the Spanish government in the Junta of Badajoz, March 21, 1524. "Sabe lo que vale," wrote Francisco de Mello to the King of Portugal.

Navarrete, *Bibliotheca maritima*, II., 723. Fuster, *Bibliot. valenciana*, I., 46. Muñoz MSS., LXXVII., 57.

ELCANO (Anton Martin de).—Brother of the famous Sebastian de Elcano. "Ayudante de piloto en la caravela *Santa Maria del Pararal*," and, consequently, a companion of Loaisa in 1526 in the voyage to the Strait of Magellan.

Lawsuit brought by his mother in 1533, in *Documentos ineditos de España*, I., 340. Navarrete, *Bibliotheca maritima*, I., 302.

ELCANO (Martin Perez de).—Another brother of the famous Sebastian. He went also with Loaisa, as pilot of the *Sancti Spiritus*, and returned on board the *Victoria*.

Muñoz MSS., LXXVII., 77; *Doc. inedit. de España*, I., 247, in his brother's will.

ELCANO OR DEL CANO (Juan Sebastian de).—Of Guetaria. The famous pilot of Magellan; who had the good luck of surviving him and others, and thus to bring home safe to Spain the *Victoria*, which was the first ship that ever circumnavigated the world. He had sailed only as mate of the *Concepción*, and had before him

when setting out not less than five Commanders and six Royal Pilots.

From Seville, Sept. 6, 1522, when he returned, Elcano wrote a letter to Charles V., apprising him of the results of that memorable voyage. The Spanish text,—for we assume that he wrote in that language,—is lost. Schmeller published a translation into Latin,¹ which he found among the MSS. of the Munich Royal Library (*Cod. Teg.* 695). Here is an Italian version, apparently sent to the Duke of Ferrara in some despatch from his envoy at the Court of Spain, and extracted from the State Archives in Modena :

"Copia di lettera che scrive il Capitano Gioan Sebastian del Cagno da San Lucher presso a Sibilia a xv leghe de di 6. di Settembre 1522 allo Imperatore.

Molto Alta Maestà.

Saperà tua alta Maestà come siamo giointi 18. homini solamente cum una delle Navi che tua alta Maestà mandò in discoprimiento delle specierie cum el Capitano Ferrando di Magaglianes, che habbia sancta gloria, et perchè tua alta Maestà sappia le cose che habiamo passate, brevemente scrivo a quella et dico.

Primeramente giongemmo a 54. gradi alla parte del sur della linea equinoctiale, donde trovammo uno stretto che passava il Mar del Sur delle Indie, et terra ferma di tua Maestà, il quale stretto è di 100 Leghe per donde cerchammo, et in tempo di tre mesi, et 20 giorni trovammo molto prospero vento, et non trovammo terra nessuna se non due Isole dispopolate et piccole, et di poi demmo in uno Arcipellago di molte Isole molto ricche di oro, dove si morì il supradetto capitano Ferrando, et altri molti, et per non poter navigar cum le tre navi per la poca gente che restammo disfacemmo una nave et cum le due navigando d' Isola in Isola discoprendo, insino giungemmo con la gratia di Dio all' Isola di Maluch et questo fu dopoi la morte di Ferrando supradetto in otto mesi donde caricammo le due Navi di gerofani.

Saperà tua Alta Maestà che andando alle dette Isole di Maluch discoprimmo la Canfora, e Canella et Perle. Volendoci partir dalle terre di Maluch alla volta di Spagna, ci advedemmo che aqua intrava in una nostra Nave di modo che non si poteva rimediare altrimenti se non si discaricava, et passando il tempo che le navi navigavano per A . . . , et Malacar, determinammo o morire cum grande honore a servitio di tua alta Maestà, o per venire a fare sapere a quella il detto discoprimiento, et cusi cum una sol Nave partimmo stando tale come Dio voleva, et nel viaggio discoprimmo molte Isole ricche, frà le quali discoprimmo una banda donde nasce Lamanzio, et Noce Moscade, et Zabia donde nasce il Pepe, et Zimor onde nasce el Sandalo, et in tutte le supradette Isole si è una infinità di gengiono.

Le mostre di tutte queste specierie pigliate in le proprie Isole portammo per mostrave alla tua alta Maestà.

Tutte queste Isole stanno in li limiti dé marcantiones et cum queste come per nostre lettere, et pavimenti si darà relatione vera a tua alta Maestà.

La pace et amicitia di tutt li regi et Signori di tutte l' Isole supradette volendoti obedire come Rè et signore scritte dia sua propria mano porto a tua alta Maestà.

Partendo dall' ultima Isola in cinque mesi mangiando solamente riso, et bevendo aqua pigliammo l' Isola di Capo Verde et cum haiuto di Dio, et di S^{ta}. M^a. passati tre anni giongemmo.

Pertanto supplico a tua Maestà che proveda al Rè di Portogallo per quelli 13 homini che tanto tempo hanno servito.

Pui ha da sapere tua alta Maestà quello che più dobbiamo stimare che habiamo scoperto et rondolato tutto il cerchio del mondo andando per l'Occidente, et venendo per l'Oriente.

Supplico et domando a tua alta Maestà per li molti travagli, et sudori, fame, sete, freddo, et caldo che questa gente che ha passato in tuo servitio li facci mercede della quarta, et vigesima parte del Carico delle Navi.

Cusi mi resto basando, et mani, et pedi di tua Maestà. Fatta nella Nave Ventura nel Porto di San Lucher."

The reply of Charles V., dated September 13, 1522, was published in 1842.²

Sebastian de Elcano returned to the Strait of Magellan as Pilot-Major of Garcia Jofre de Loaisa, but died at sea, August 4, 1526.

It is generally believed that in the arms granted to him by the Emperor there was a globe with the beautiful motto :

Primus circumdedisti me.

But, according to a document lately published,³ it was only :

Hic primus Geometres.

Elcano left by Mari Hernandez de Hernialde, whom he had seduced, an illegitimate son, called Domingo de Elcano, to whom he bequeathed the bulk of his property, which consisted chiefly of dry goods. By Maria de Vida Urreta he had an illegitimate daughter, for whom he made a provision in his will : "por descargo de mi [su] conciencia," using nearly the same terms that Christopher Columbus did, in his testament, when providing for the unmarried mother of his son Fernando.

May 5, 1519, Charles V. limited to two hundred and thirty-five the number of Magellan's

intended companions.⁴ A list, taken from Simancas, but annotated with data found in the Muñoz transcripts, and published by Navarrete, contains two hundred and thirty-nine names. The number, however, of those who actually sailed out was at least two hundred and sixty-five, as he gives another list containing twenty-six more names.⁵ Besides, the searcher will find quite a number, omitted by Navarrete, in a necrology of one hundred and three, and in the pay-roll of the *Trinidad*, inserted in the collection of documents for the history of Chili. We regret that the want of space prevents us from giving a new and more complete list of the crews than has heretofore been printed.

Now, how many of Magellan's companions returned to Spain? At least thirty-three, and not eighteen only, as is generally stated. It is true that Elcano, in his above-quoted letter to the Emperor, says that, including himself, but eighteen succeeded in reaching home again : "Sapera tua Maesta come siamo gionti. 18. homini solamente cum una delle Navi che tua alta Maesta mandi in discoprimiento delle specierie." It is also the figure given in the Latin text of Munich : "Sciat Maiestas tua pervenisse huc ad nos 18 tantum homines cum una navi ex quinque illis, quas Maiestas tua cum Capitaneo Ferdinando Magellanes ad perquirenda aromata mieserat." This number, so far as it goes, is confirmed by a list taken by Navarrete⁶ from an original document preserved in the archives at Seville, viz.:

Juan Sebastian DE ELCANO, captain.

Francisco ALBO, pilot (of Axio, domiciled in Rodas, and who sailed out as second mate of the *Trinidad*).

Miguel RODAS, mate (of Rodas, second mate of the *Victoria*, born in 1492).

Juan DE ACURIO (or ACUCIO, of Bermeo, second mate of the *Concepcion*, born in 1494).

Martin DE YUDICIBUS (or JUDICIBUS, a Genoese, passenger on the *Concepcion*).

AIRES, artilleryman. (There is no such name in the other lists. Navarrete says that he is

- identical with the German gunner "Hans," of the *Victoria*. There was another German gunner, called "Hans Vargue," but this one belonged to the *Concepción*, and seems to be the "Maestre Ansbarge," mentioned by Medina, and whose heirs collected his back pay, June 10, 1528.)
- Diego GALLEGRO, sailor (of Bayona, in Galicia, born in 1496).
- Nicolas DE NAPOLES, sailor (also called "Griego," of "Napoles de Romania," born 1484).
- Miguel SANCHEZ DE RODAS, sailor (his name was only "Sanchez," born at Rodas, 1476).
- Francisco RODRIGUEZ, sailor (Portuguese, born in 1484).
- Juan RODRIGUEZ DE HUELVA, sailor. (His family name was only "Rodriguez," residing in Huelva, but born in Mallorca, in 1496.)
- Anton Hernandez COLMENERO, sailor (of Huelva, born in 1474).
- Juan DE ARRATIA, ship boy (of Bilbao, born in 1504).
- Juan DE SANTANDER, ship boy. (Perhaps we should read "de Santandres," of Cueto.)
- Vasco Gomez GALLEGRO, ship boy (Portuguese).
- Juan ZUBILETA, page (of Baracaldo, born 1506).
- Antonio LOMBARDO, supernumerary. (That is, Antonio, of Lombardia; and as in another list he is called "Antonio de Plegafetis," we take him to be Antonio FIGAFETTA, the celebrated Vicenza gentleman who wrote an account of the expedition,⁷ and sailed out in the *Trinidad*.)
- But these eighteen survivors are only the companions of Magellan who returned with Elcano. Others, however, succeeded in escaping from the Portuguese, and found their way home. To the above list, therefore, should be added the names of the mariners who were imprisoned upon their landing at Cape de Verde islands, July 13, 1522. Pigafetta says there were thirteen. Charles V. wrote to Elcano, Sept. 13, that he had taken steps immediately to have them released. We have not been able to ascertain whether all those returned to Spain, and when, or even their names, with certainty. May 23, 1524, sixteen witnesses said to have come on board the *Victoria*, were interrogated at Badajoz.⁸ A number of these figure in the above list; but the names of the following not appearing therein, we presume that they are the names of mariners who returned afterwards, and belonged to the crew seized by the Portuguese at Cape Verde islands :
- RICARTE de Normandia (also called "Ruxar, Rigarte, and Ripart," of Evreux, or of "Bruz" [?], born in 1494, carpenter of the *Santiago*.)
- Gomez HERNANDEZ, of Huelva, born in 1498.
- Juan MARTIN, of Aguilar de Campo, born 1494.
- Pedro DE TOLOSA, of Tolosa, born in 1494.
- Miguel DE RODAS, born in Rodas in 1476. The date of his birth indicates that he is different from the one who had the same name.
- Finally, we find among the survivors, all belonging to the *Trinidad* and who collected their arrears in Seville,⁹ the following :
- Simon DE BURGOS, a Portuguese, residing in Ciudad Rodrigo.
- Juan MARTINEZ, of Seville; signed receipt June 7, 1526.
- Hernan LOPEZ, who had been shipped at Tenerife; signed July 3, 1526.
- Sebastian GARCIA, of Huelva, who had sailed out on the *Concepción*; signed May 8, 1534.
- Gregorio GARCIA, of Seville; signed June, 1526.
- Alonso FERNANDEZ, of Palos, who had sailed out on the *Santiago*.
- Andres DE LA CRUZ, of Seville; signed receipt July 3, 1526.
- There were three more belonging to the *Trinidad*, who gave their testimony at Valladolid,¹⁰ August 5, 1527, viz.:
- Gonzalo GOMEZ, of Espinosa, in Old Castile, born in 1479; who sailed out as "alguazil," or police officer, and returned as captain.
- Leon PANCALDO, a famous Genoese pilot.
- Girès DE MAFRA, of Xeres, born in 1484.

We have purposely omitted the thirty-three who abandoned Magellan in November, 1520, and returned to Spain with Estevam Gomez on the *Sant Antonio* without having crossed completely the famous Strait. As to the list of thirty-one survivors given by Herrera,¹¹ we reject it, for he includes among them six, at least, who never saw their country again, viz.: Antonio Fernandez, who died August 26, 1520; "Pedro Gasco" (*i. e.*, Pierre le Gascon, of Bordeaux), who died May 2, 1522; Juan de Ortega, Diego Garcia, and Pedro de Valpuesta or Valpuerta, who died June 21 or 26; and Martin de Magallanes, who died July 26, 1522 (these latter five at Cape Verde islands¹²). Nor do we accept Herrera's statement that "fueron à la Corte los que vinieron en la Nao," as Charles V. in his letter of Sept. 13, to Elcano, limited the number to two only: "Tomeis dos personas de las que han venido con vos."

¹ Schmeller, *Ueber einige ältere handschriftliche Seekarten*, in *Abhandlungen der 1 Cl. d. Ak. d. Wiss.* IV. Bd., Munich, 1844, 269-273. ² *Doc. ineditos de España*, I., 247; *id.* for a number of docs. including Elcano's will, dated July 26, 1526. ³ *Doc. ineditos de Indias*, VIII., 17. Navarrete, IV., ⁴ 129, ⁵ 25, ⁶ 96. ⁷ *Bibliot. Americ. Vetust.*, *Additions*, p. xxviii. ⁸ Navarrete, IV., 369. ⁹ J. T. Medina, *Col. de doc. p. la hist. de Chile*, I., 178, 180, 202, 207-211. ¹⁰ Navarrete, IV., 378-388. ¹¹ Herrera, *Decad.* III., 116. ¹² Medina, *ubi supra*.

ENCISO (Martin Fernandez de).—The first geographical describer of the New World, as author of *Suma de Geographa que trata de todas las partidas y provincias del mundo: en especial de las indias*, Seville, 1519, folio; reprinted in the same city in 1530 and 1546. Enciso's object in writing that work was to aid pilots and mariners in accomplishing discoveries. He was already settled in Santo Domingo and had acquired wealth as a lawyer in 1509. Returned to Spain in 1512, and went back to America in 1514, holding the office of Alguazil-Mayor of the Golden Castile. It is not known when or where he was born, nor when and where he died.

Herrera, *Decad.* I., lib. vii.-x. *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, Nos. 97, 153, 273. *Documentos ineditos de Indias*, I., 441-450.

ENRIQUEZ (Pedro), of Palos.—"Piloto de Indias," in 1513, when he gave his testimony in Santo Domingo in favour of Diego Columbus.

Navarrete, III., 581.

ESPEUDRY (Nollet), of Greslain [?].—Colin Vasseur, the first pilot of Gonville, having died at sea, November 30, 1503, Espeudry was promoted in his place. It was in the course of a voyage to the East Indies that he effected a landing in Brasil, in January, 1504. This implies a route borrowed from the Portuguese after the return of Cabral. He was killed by pirates off the coast of Jersey, May 7, 1505.

D'Avezac, *Relation authentique du voyage du capitaine de Gonville*, p. 60.

ESTANQUES (Alonso).—The earliest Cosmographer-Major whom we have found mentioned in Spain. He takes that title in his yet unpublished *Cronica de los Reyes Don Fernando y Doña Isabel*, dedicated to Philip the Handsome, who died in 1506.

MS. in library of Don Pasqual Gayangos.

ESTEBAN (Juan).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 545.

FALEIRO (Francisco).—Portuguese cosmographer, brother of Ruy Faleiro, who aided in preparing the expedition of Magellan, and in the employ of the Spanish government from March 22, 1518, when he received a salary of 35,000 mrs.,¹ until at least May 16, when the Council of the Indies asked that he be allowed 50,000 mrs. on account of the services he could render as a cosmographer.

¹ Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 213. ² Navarrete, V., 334, and his *Disertacion sobre la Historia de la Nautica*, 148, 391. Antonio, *Biblioteca Hisp. nova*, I., 323, 583.

FALEIRO (Ruy or Rodrigo).—A celebrated Portuguese cosmographer, who lived at one time at Cunilla, in Portugal; but it is not known when and where he was born, nor the time and place of his death. He was appointed captain of the fleet intended for the famous voyage in search of the great strait, on equal terms with

Magellan, March 22, 1518.¹ He sent at once for his father, mother, and brother, whom we find already settled in Seville, July 18, 1519. He must have gone himself to Portugal, for we see him arrested in that country by order of the King.² Ruy Faleiro, however, did not sail with Magellan, and the vessel intended for him was given to Juan de Cartagena. He is called "Bachiller," which implies that he received a liberal education, and was not a seafaring man by profession. We do not even find that he ever navigated, although, March 22, 1523, he petitioned for a licence to lead, as Captain-General an expedition to the Indies at his own cost.³ Legends make of him a sort of magician.⁴ He was made a Knight of the Order of Sant Iago,⁵ and is said to have lost his mind.⁶

¹ Muñoz MSS., LXXV., f^o. 213. ² *Lista de la Expos. Americ.*, B, 821. ³ *Ibidem*, B, 822. ⁴ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, p. 226, note 11. ⁵ Navarrete, *Viajes apócrifos*, p. 22. Anghiera, *Epist.* DCXXXIX. ⁶ Barros, *Decad.* III., lib. 5, cap. 8. Oviedo, II., 9. Argensola, *Anales*, I., 740. Navarrete, IV., 110, and his *Opusculos*, I., 213.

FERNANDEZ (Antonio).—Portuguese pilot, who intended to sail with Magellan¹ in 1519. But in the rolls, we find, of that name, only a servant of Gaspar de Quesada,² who died Aug. 16, 1520, and a soldier who died ten days afterwards,³ unless these two, owing to an error in the date of their decease, were one only.

¹ Sebast. Fernandez, in Navarrete, IV., 155. ² Navarrete, IV., 19. ³ Medina, *ubi supra*.

FERNANDEZ (Bartolomé).—Pilot of Juan Fernandez Cabrillo, in the expedition to northern California in 1542-1543.

Herrera, *Decad.* VI., p. 89.

FERNANDEZ (Juan).—Pilot of Pizarro; was in Nicaragua and in the Castilla del Oro in 1531, and Pilot-Major of Pedro de Alvarado in 1534, in Peru.

Quintana, *Españoles celebres*, chapter on Pizarro, p. 113. *Doc. ineditos de Indias*, X., 167.

FERNANDEZ (Mateo).—Pilot in 1548.

Oviedo, lib. i., cap. xxix., Vol. IV., 587.

FERREIRA (Cristobal), Portuguese.—Pilot of Magellan in 1519.

Sebastian Alvarez, in Navarrete, IV., 155.

FERRER (Miguel).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 547.

FERRELO (Bartolomé, the Bartolomé Ferrer of Herrera¹).—Pilot-major of the expedition of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, which sailed from the Port of Navidad, in New Spain, June 27, 1542, in search of a strait between the Pacific (*Mar del Sur*) and the Atlantic (*Oceano Setentrional*), and returned April 14, 1543, as commander-in-chief, Cabrillo having died in the Puerto de la Posesion, on January 3, preceding. He reached as far north as 43° latitude, if not so high as Cape Orford in Vancouver, as Humboldt says, thus nearly completing the periplus of the New World.²

¹ *Documentos ineditos de Indias*, XIV., 191. Herrera, *Decad.* VII., p. 89. ² Humboldt, *Examen critique*, I., xix. Navarrete, *Viaje de las goletas Sutil y Mejicana*, xxix.-xxxvi.; *Viajes apócrifos*, p. 32; and *Biblioteca maritima*, II., 290.

FERRER (Jaime or Jaume).—Born at Vidreras, resided at Blanes. A cosmographer by taste, and a jeweller by occupation. Wrote several letters and made a mappamundi relating to the New World,¹ which exercised a certain amount of influence over the minds of Ferdinand and Isabella, in 1495. He is sometimes mistaken for the navigator Jaume Ferrer, who lived in 1346, and with another namesake born in Mallorca, who flourished in 1418, and who is said² to have been sent for by the Infant Henry of Portugal, to manage the famous Naval Academy of Sagres,—*which has never existed!*

¹ *Bibliot. Americ. Vetust.*, No. 261; *Additamenta*, No. 154. Navarrete, II., 97-105, and *Bibliot. maritima*, II., 10-13. ² Torres-Amat, *Escritores Catalanes*.

FIGUEROA (Joan Sanchez de).—Pilot at St. Marta in 1525 (?).

Oviedo, *Historia General*, II., 350.

FONSECA (Francisco de).—Portuguese. Pilot who intended to sail in the expedition of Magellan in 1519. His name is not in any of the rolls of the expedition.

Sebastian Alvarez, in Navarrete, IV., 155.

FRANCO (Domingo).—"Insigne piloto o qual descubrio e escrevero Nova derrota para a

Navegação do Maranhão." It is the word "descubrio," which prompts us to insert Franco; but Barbosa, from whom we borrow this indication, contains so few references of the sixteenth century that this Domingo Franco may be a pilot of a later period.

Barbosa Machado, *Bibliot. Lusit.*, I., 711.

FREIRE (João).—Portuguese. Cartographer who made a portolano, containing a peculiar delineation of the north-east coast of America. Lived apparently in 1546.

Jean et Sébastien Cabot, 220-221.

GALDIN (Fernand Gutierrez).—Pilot of Gil Gonzales Davila¹ in the year 1521, and with Cortés.² Gave his testimony concerning Pizarro³ in 1537.

¹ *Doc. ineditos de Indias*, XIV., 28. ² Bernal Diaz, cap. ccv., 305. ³ Herrera, *Decad.* VI., 57.

GALLEGO (Pedro).—Pilot in 1534, when he gave his testimony regarding Pizarro.

Herrera, *Decad.* VI., 57.

GALLEGO (Vasco).—Portuguese, long settled in Seville, and who was royal pilot in 1515, 1516, and 1519.

"Vasco Gallego fue proveido Piloto de S. A. desde 12 Jul. 1514. Este i Andres Niño fueron despues a Tierra firme con las 2 caravelas emjoinadas."¹

He made his will, June 30, 1517, which is signed "Velasco Gallego."² He was one of the pilots of the *Victoria*,³ in the expedition of Magellan, and died at sea,⁴ February 28, 1521.

¹ Muñoz MSS., LXXV., f^o 320, 322; LXXVI., f^o 91. ² *Doc. ineditos de Indias*, XXXVI., 455. Navarrete, IV., 155. ³ Navarrete, IV., 19. ⁴ Medina, *ubi supra*.

GALLEGO DE CARVALHO (Vasco).—A Portuguese, who is said to have been with Joaõ de Lisboa to explore the Rio de la Plata so early as 1506. Perhaps he is the same as the above Vasco Gallego, but his alleged voyage to the Rio de la Plata at such a date is not substantiated by documents.

Varnhagen, *Diario de Lopez de Souza*, 87, note.

GALYNDIN (Francisco Garcia).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 547.

GARCIA (Anton).—Of Triana. Born in 1468. Pilot of Hojeda in 1502, and with Luis Guerra and Alonso Velez in 1499-1500. Gave his testimony at Seville in 1513. Pilot of Ayllon in 1521.¹ Master in the expedition sent by Cortés to Honduras, under the command of Cristoval de Olid,² February 9, 1529.

¹ *Doc. ineditos de Indias*, XXXV., 177. Navarrete, III., 545. ² *Doc. ineditos de Indias*, XII., 387.

GARCIA (Bartolomé).—Accompanied Columbus in the fourth voyage as "marinero" only, but he gave his name to an island. Died May 28, 1503.

Navarrete, I., 290.

GARCIA (Bartolomé), a Genoese.—With Diego de Lepe in 1499. Master of the vessel *La Concepción*, which belonged to Pizarro, in 1534.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, X., 145.

GARCIA (Diego).—A Portuguese pilot settled in Moguer, who claimed to have led an expedition to the Rio de la Plata¹ in 1512. January 15, 1526, he sailed from La Coruña, and reached Sebastian Cabot's Fort Sanct-Spiritus, in that river, in April, 1527. He is called by Barcia "Marinero insigne,"² and wrote a report of that voyage, which is the basis of Herrera's account,³ and has been published by Varnhagen.⁴

¹ *Supra*, page 604. ² Barcia, *Florida*, 10th leaf. ³ Herrera, *Decad.* III., 278; IV., 2. ⁴ *Revista Trimestral*, XV., 6-14. *Doc. ineditos de Indias*, XI., 563. Biddle, *Cabot*, 123, 134. D'Avezac, *Consid. sur l'histoire du Brésil*, 109, note. Navarrete, *Bibliot. maritima*, I., 331. *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, 357.

GARCIA (Diego).—Commanded one of the vessels of De Soto in 1538. Does not seem to be the same as the above.

Garcilasso de la Vega, *Florida del Inca*.

GARCIA DE VILLALOBOS (Diego).—See VILLALOBOS.

GARCIA (Miguel).—Examiner of pilots whilst Sebastian Cabot was unable to fill the office on account of his expedition to La Plata, in 1526.

Herrera, *Decad.* III., 260.

GARCIA (Pero).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 546.

GARRIDO (Juan).—Pilot for the West Indies. *Documentos inéditos de Indias*, XLII., 546.
 GAYTAN (Gabriel).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos inéditos de Indias, XLII., 546.

GIL (Miñ).—Portuguese pilot, who intended to sail with Magellan in 1519. We give his name as we find it in the letter of Alvarez. He is not mentioned in any of the rolls of that expedition.

Sebastian Alvarez, in Navarrete, IV., 155.

GINOVES (Baltasar).—A Genoese pilot, of Porto-Maurizio, who sailed out as second mate of the *Santiago*, became pilot of the *Victoria* in the expedition of Magellan, from August 6, 1520, to April 3, 1521, when he died at sea.

Navarrete, IV., 21. Medina, *ubi supra*.

GINOVES (Lucas).—Pilot, of Genoese origin, as we infer from his name or surname, who was with Cortés.

Bernal Diaz, *ccv.*, 305.

GOMEZ (Estevam).—According to Barros, he immigrated from Portugal in company with Magellan, whose countryman and perhaps fellow-citizen he was; as the former is called "Gomez de Porto," and Magellan "Vecino de Porto." Juan de Faria, however, in his letter to the King of Portugal, says: "Estevam Gomez, do Porto, que estava en Bilbao." But if they came together, Gomez was already in Spain October 20, 1517. He received the appointment of Pilot to His Majesty,¹ February 10, 1518, at a salary of 30,000 marks, and again in 1519. Accompanied Magellan as one of his pilots, but returned to Spain without accomplishing the circumnavigation of the globe. Pigafetta says that Gomez bore towards Magellan the greatest hatred for having been supplanted by him in that memorable expedition which he had come from Portugal to propose to the Spanish Crown before his alleged rival. If so, it is difficult to understand why he accepted to be simply pilot in that voyage, though it was on the flagship (*La Trinidad*). Besides, as we have just seen, according to Barros, Gomez and Magellan came to Spain together.

Gomez, who had sailed from San Lucar with Magellan, October 27, 1519 (August 10, says Max. Transylvanus), returned abruptly to Seville on the *Sant Antonio*, May 6, 1521, after having abandoned his chief in the Strait, two or three days after its discovery, October 21, 1520 (November 26, says Max. Transylvanus), having been on the homeward voyage seven months (?). Herrera states that he was arrested immediately on landing in Spain, but soon set free, as we see him already filling the post of pilot on board the squadron of Pedro Manrique, who attacked the French privateers, June 24, 1521.

Estevam Gomez was one of the pilots designated to act for Spain during the conference held at Badajoz by virtue of the agreement of February 19, 1524. But he sat only a few days, as, March 21 following, Charles V. appointed in his place the Dominican friar and mathematician, Tomas Durán. This removal was on the plea that the services of Gomez were required elsewhere; evidently for the expedition to the north-west, which had been projected since 1523.

In 1525, he commanded the famous expedition sent to the north-east coast of the New World, to find a western passage supposed to exist between Florida and the Baccalaos region. For a detailed account see, *supra*, pp. 229-243. He was still living, December 20, 1527.² It is not known when and where he died.

Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 213; LXXXVI., 28. Anghiera, *Decad. VI.*, cap. x.; VIII., cap. x. Navarrete, IV., 155, 201, 202, 215, and his *Opusculos*, I., 219-224. Ramusio, III., 52. ² Medina, *Doc. inedit.*, III., 68.

GOMEZ (Francisco).—Pilot of Hojeda in 1502.¹ He may be the same who was acting as pilot to the West Indies about 1525.

Navarrete, III., 29, note. *Doc. inéditos de Indias*, XLII., 545.

GONZALVES (Amador).—Portuguese pilot who was wrecked in 1543.

Oviedo, *Historia General*, IV., 577.

GONZALEZ (Anton).—Portuguese pilot with Antonio Sedeño in 1538.

Herrera, *Decad. VI.*, 120,

GRADO (Juan).—See CABEZAS.

GRAJALES.—A doctor, who lived at the Puerto de Santa Maria before 1544, where he wrote the long series of legends which were printed with the famous planisphere of Sebastian Cabot, and pasted on the right and left of the same.

Title of the MS. of those legends, in the library of the King at Madrid; and *supra*, p. 640.

GRANDE (Juan).—Of Palos, who accompanied Columbus in the third and fourth expeditions, but seems to have become pilot¹ afterwards. He gave his testimony at Santo Domingo in 1513.

Navarrete, III., 581, 583, 584, ¹ 585.

GUERRERO (Andres).—Pilot of Gonzalo Pizarro in 1546.

Navarrete, *Biblioteca maritima*, I., 82.

GUILLEN (Felipe).—Apothecary of Seville, who is said to have invented one of the first methods for finding the longitude at sea. As he lived in that city at the same time as Sebastian Cabot, it is a question with us, whether the latter did not borrow from Guillen the claims to that invention which he alluded to in such a mysterious manner, many years afterwards, in his conversations with Richard Eden. Guillen constructed also a number of nautical instruments for the navigation to the New World. Removing to Portugal in 1525, he entered the service of Joaõ III., who rewarded him very liberally. It was then, as we believe, and not in 1519, that Guillen had those controversies on scientific subjects with Simaõ Fernandez, mentioned by Gil Vicente.¹ He was also a great chess player and "cortador de tijera." (?)

¹ Gil Vicente, *Compilação de todas sus obras*, Lisboa, 1562, fol., lib. v., p. 271, cited in the *Memorias de Litt. Portuguesa*, VIII., 174. Navarrete, *Opusculos*, II., 67.

GUTIERREZ (Diego).—There have been two cosmographers of that name and surname, father and son, and neither must be confounded with the Diego Gutierrez who accompanied Columbus in 1493. Diego Gutierrez, senior, was born at Sevilla in 1485.¹ November 5, 1544, he was prohibited from constructing naval charts and nautical instruments, which prohibition was

renewed November 28, 1545. Four years afterwards, however, September 22, 1549, he filled the office, *ad interim*, of Pilot-Major, by virtue of a power of attorney from Sebastian Cabot. In 1550, he made at Seville a portolano of the Atlantic Ocean, embracing an important delineation of the east coasts of the New World, and signed as "Cosmographo de Su Magestad." Only in 1554 did he cease to receive his salary, which was transferred, October 22 of that year, to Diego Gutierrez, junior.

¹ *Probanza* of December 31, 1535, when he was said to be 50 years old. *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, No. 28, pp. 231-236.

GUTIERREZ (Juan).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Doc. ineditos de Indias, XLII., 547.

HERNANDEZ (Bartolomé).—Pilot of Alonso de Hojeda in 1502.

Navarrete, III., 29, note.

INGENIO (Diego).—Of Cartaya, in Andalusia. Led French vessels to Cumana about 1528. Oviedo, *Historia General*, I., 611.

JALOBERT (Marc or Macé).—Pilot of the *Correlier* in the first expedition of Jacques Cartier to Canada in 1534, and captain of the *Petite Hermine*¹ in the second expedition, 1535. He was still following the sea in 1555.

Alfred Ramé, *Documentos ineditos*, p. 10. ¹ D'Avezac, *Second Voyage de Cartier*, p. 6.

JEREZ (Juan de).—Of Moguer. Went with Columbus in his first¹ and second² voyages. Was one of the pilots of Vicente Yañez Pinzon in the expedition of 1499-1500. Gave his testimony at Santo Domingo, November 10, 1513.

¹ MS. *Informacion* of June 12, 1494. ² *Probanza* of December 22, 1535. Navarrete, III., 19, 588. Washington Irving, *Columbus*, III., 44, quoting the Rogatory Commissions, of which he secured copies, which our American friends would do well to publish in full.

JIMENEZ, and XIMENEZ, which see. He is also called ORTUÑO (Fortun).—Pilot-Major of Hernandez de Grijalva in 1533.

Doc. ineditos de Indias, XII., 298, 313. Bernal Diaz, cc., 291.

JORDAN (?).—Pilot of Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon's second voyage in 1526. No such a pilot or name is to be found in the papers relating to Ayllon in the archives of the Indies.

Herrera, Decad. III., 241. J. G. Shea, *op. cit.*

LADRILLO OR LADRILLERO (Juan Fernandez).—Pilot of Juan de Vadillo to Darien. He was the Pilot Major of Pedro de Alvarado in 1541, and went to the Strait of Magellan in 1558. We first see his name as a mariner in 1535, having been examined for the office of pilot by Sebastian Cabot in that year.

Oviedo, II., 460. Navarrete, *Biblioteca maritima*, II., 229, 490, 528, and his *Viage del Sutil*, p. xliii.

LEDESMA (Pedro de).—March 18, 1513, said to be thirty-seven years of age;¹ born, therefore, in 1476, apparently in Seville. Gregorio Camacho heard him say that he accompanied Columbus in his first voyage.² If so, it must have been as ship-boy; but in 1498-1500, he was one of the pilots of the third expedition,³ and in the fourth, 1502-1504, captain of the *Vizcaino*.⁴ He figures, however, in the official roll only as "marinero."⁵ Ledesma then was the pilot in the expedition of Vicente Yañez Pinzon⁶ and Juan Diaz de Solis, 1508-1509. In 1511, 1512, and apparently in 1514, he was appointed pilot to His Majesty:

"Cedula de Burgos, 6 Decembr. 1511, nombrado a Pedro de Ledesma por piloto de S. A. en la Casa de Contratacion con 24000 de quiton al año. 1512. Pedro de Ledesma, piloto con 24000 desde Mayo."⁷

Ledesma also sailed out as pilot in the expedition which Juan Diaz de Solis led to La Plata in 1515:

"Cará. Sta. Maria de la Merced; maestre e Piloto Pedro de Ledesma. Esta es que fue destinada para el viaje de Juan Dias de Solis. Se añego entre Tierra firme i Cuba bolviendo."⁸

According to that extract, Ledesma was drowned between Cuba and the continent on the homeward voyage; that is, in September, 1516, when after the death of Solis, the expedition returned to Spain under the command of Francisco de Torres. Las Casas, however, was told that Ledesma had been stabbed to death

in Seville.⁹ Ledesma was an unreliable man, always in the interest of the enemies of Columbus and of his family.¹⁰ The alleged discovery of Yucatan by Pinzon and Solis rests exclusively upon his assertions.

¹ Navarrete, III., 539. ² *Ibidem*, 588. ³ *Ibidem*, 539. ⁴ *Ibidem*, 556. ⁵ Navarrete, I., 294. ⁶ *Historie*, p. 199; and *supra*, p. 453. ⁷ Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 243, 257, 264. ⁸ *Ibidem*, 320. ⁹ Las Casas, III., 180. ¹⁰ Navarrete, III., 593.

LEON (Juan de).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos inéditos de Indias, XLII., 545.

LERMA (Juan de).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Ibidem, Vol. XLII., 547.

LIAÑO (?).—Pilot of Geronimo de Melo, in 1531, in a voyage to the Rio de la Magdalena.

Herrera, Decad. IV., 216.

LISBOA (João de).—Portuguese pilot who visited the coast of Brazil, so early as 1506, says Alexandro de Gusmão,¹ and after whom a Brazilian river was named. He is said to have conveyed information to Magellan concerning the Cape de Sta. Maria. He was, therefore, still living in 1519.

Herrera, Decad. II., 230. Navarrete, *Biblioteca maritima*, II., 257. Varnhagen, *Diario de Souza*, 87, and his *Appendice quarto*, 50.

LOPEZ (Cristobal).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos inéditos de Indias, XLII., 545.

LOPEZ (Francisco).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Ibidem.

LOPEZ (Juan).—Pilot of Hojeda in 1502.

Navarrete, III., 29, 104, 107.

LOURENZO (Visconte).—Portuguese. Pilot-Major of the expedition to Brazil, commanded by Martim Affonso de Souza in 1530.

Varnhagen, *Diario de Souza*, 30, 94.

LOPEZ ARCHULETA.—See ARCHULETA.

MAFRA (Bartolomé de).—Of Palos. Pilot of the *S. Clemente* in the expedition of Pedrarias Davila in 1514.

MAFRA (Ginès de).—Of Xeres, born in 1484 or 1485.¹ Sailed out as mariner in the expedition of 1519, on the *Trinidad*, of which he seems to have become one of the pilots. He was seized by the Portuguese at Benaconora, in April, 1522, and incarcerated at Malaca, Cochin, and finally at Lisbon. Ginès de Mafra gave his testimony at Valladolid, August 10, 1527, and in 1535 was the pilot of Francisco Castellanos in Guatemala.

Navarrete, IV., 12, 370, 378, 387, his *Biblioteca marítima*, I., 584, II., 526, and *Hist. de la Nautica*, 152.

MAFRA (Hernando de).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 547.

MAFRA (Juan de).—Pilot before 1525. Gave his testimony about Peru and Pizarro in 1534.

Herrera, Decad. VI., 57. *Documentos ineditos de Indias*, XLII., 547.

MAFRA (Juan Rodriguez de).—Of Palos, born in 1470. Pilot of Columbus in the third expedition (1498¹), of Diego de Lepe in 1499,² and, apparently, of Rodrigo de Bastidas in 1500-1502.

"1512. Mayo. Juan Rodriguez de Mafra, piloto con 20000 desde 22 de Mayo.—Cedula de Burgos, 23 de mayo 1512, nombrando à J. R. de M., vezino de Palos, piloto de S. A. con 20000 de salario."³

He gave his testimony in 1513, 1516, and 1519. Pilot of the *San Antonio* in the expedition of Magellan, in the course of which he died, being then pilot of the *Concepción*: "Se anota que murio en la armada de Magallanes," March 28, 1521.⁴ He was sometimes called "Juan Rodriguez" only, whilst a document dated June 30, 1517, is signed by him "Rodriguez de Maza (*sic* ⁵)."

¹ Navarrete, III., 540, 581, 583, 584. ² *Ibid.*, III., 553. ³ Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 265, 266. ⁴ *Ibidem*, LXXXVI., 85, 91, and Medina, I., 173. ⁵ *Documentos ineditos de Indias*, XXXVI., 455.

MARCHENA (Antonio de).—A monk, personal friend of Columbus, who accompanied him in the second expedition as astrologer or astronomer at the request of Queen Isabella, but who never was her confessor, and has been mistaken for another monk, called Juan Perez, who

first received Christopher Columbus in the monastery of La Rabida in 1491.

Christophe Colomb, I., xv., pp. 364-372, printed in 1884; and *La España moderna*, printed Sept., 1890.

MARGALLO (Pedro).—One of the Portuguese scientists at the junta of Badajoz, appointed in the place of Bernardo Perez, in April, 1524.

Navarrete, IV., 348, 561. *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 61.

MARGAXALO (Manuel de).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 547.

MARIANO (Antonio).—Pilot to the King, appointed February 3 or March 14, 1514.

"Se abonan cantidades a Pedro de Ledesma, Juan Vespuchi, Vicente Yañez Pinzon, Juan [Rodriguez] Serrano, Antonio Mariano, pilotos de S. A. (los dos ultimos nuevamente admitidos, i por este tiempo muere Blas de Solis), destinados para el armada que va a tierra firme la qual se despachava en S. Lucar por Mayo [de 1515]."

That is the famous expedition to La Plata, equipped at San Lucar, but which sailed from Lepe, not on October 15, but in May, 1515, commanded by Juan Diaz de Solis.

Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 319, 320.

MARQUEZ (Juan).—Pilot, who gave his testimony concerning Pizarro in 1534.

Herrera, Decad. VI., 57.

MARTEL (Pedro).—Pilot with Antonio de Sedeño in 1538.

Herrera, Decad. VI., 120.

MARTIN (Andres).—Called "Martin de la Gorda," because he was the pilot of the ship of that name which carried Columbus to Spain in irons by order of Bobadilla, Oct.-Nov., 1500.

Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, II., 501.

MARTIN (Diego).—Of Palos, brother-in-law of Vicente Yañez Pinzon. Pilot of Columbus in the third expedition;¹ of Alonso de Hojeda in 1502,² and of Nicuesa in 1509-1510. Was at Panama in 1527, where he told Oviedo he had seen male sirens. We do not know whether he is the Diego Martin who commanded one of the vessels of Alcaçaba in 1536, being then upwards of seventy years old.³

¹ Oviedo, II., p. 466. ² Navarrete, III., pp. 29, 105. ³ Oviedo, II., pp. 160, 179.

MARTIN (Domenico).—Pilot of the expedition which was dispatched from San Lucar, in November, 1495.

Muñoz MSS., LXXV., fo. 156.

MARTIN (Gonzalo).—Pilot, and author of a "Derrotero para ir de España, desde San Lucar à las Indias," which exists in a MS. of the time of Charles V.¹ He sailed with Columbus in the second voyage,² and was living in 1535.²

¹ Navarrete, *Bibliot. maritima*, I., 594. ² *Probanza* of December 22, 1535.

MARTIN (Juan).—Flemish, born in 1485. Settled in Moguer. Pilot of Niño and Guerra in the expedition of 1499.

Navarrete, III., 542. *Supra*, p. 678.

MARTIN (Perez).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 545.

MARTINEZ (Manuel).—Pilot like the above.

Ibidem, Vol. XLII., 545.

MATEOS (Hernan Perez).—Of Lepe, born before 1456. Cousin of Martin Alonso Pinzon. Simple sailor¹ in the first, but pilot in the second² and third³ expeditions of Christopher Columbus. Was still living in 1536, when he gave his testimony, being then settled in Santo Domingo, at the age of "mas de 80 años." Furnished details to Oviedo for his *Historia*.

In the fourth voyage of Columbus there were two Matheoses, Pedro and his son Esteban, both simple sailors.⁴

¹ Oviedo, I., 25; Las Casas, I., 290, and V., 104. ² *Probanzas* of January 26, 1536, MS. ³ Navarrete, III., 582, ⁴ 584-585.

MAURIO (Antonio).—A Roman cosmographer in the employ of the Spanish government in 1515, because "le havian aprobado por gran Cosmografo," and who was made a member of the junta, with Americus Vespuccius, Sebastian Cabot, the Pinzons, and others, to correct the model sailing chart. Perhaps he is identical with the Antonio Romano described hereinafter.

Herrera, Decad. II., 18.

MEDEL (Alonso).—Of Palos. Sailing master of the *Niña* or *Santa Clara*, during the second voyage of Columbus.

Las Casas, II., 362. Navarrete, II., 145.

MEDEL (Juan).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 545.

MEDINA (Pedro de).—Born about 1493. Was entrusted by the King with the examination of pilots and sailing masters for the West Indies.¹

¹ His own *Regimiento de navegacion*, Sevilla, 1552, introduction. Navarrete, *Bibliot. maritima*, II., 581, 583; and his *Hist. de la Nautica*, 157, 367, *Bibliot. Americana Vetustissima*, 391, 413, 427.

MELO (Geronimo de).—Portuguese, who first explored the Rio de la Magdalena, in 1531.

Herrera, Decad. IV., 216.

MENDEZ (Martin).—Pilot, second in command of the expedition of Sebastian Cabot to La Plata in 1526. His daughter gained in court heavy damages against Cabot, whose salary and back pay were attached by order of the tribunal, March 2, 1532, to satisfy the judgment. He had been one of the pilots at the Badajoz junta¹ in 1524.

Jean et Sébastien Cabot, 358. *Doc. ineditos de Indias*, XXXII. ¹ G. de Cespedes, *Regimiento*, 152; Herrera, Decad. III., 184.

MESA (Gines de).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 545.

MEXIA (Pedro).—Chronicler, moralist, and mathematician. Was appointed¹ in 1537, Professor of Cosmography in the Casa de Contratacion, an office in which he had for successor Jeronimo de Chaves. He died² in 1552. In 1545, he was one of the commissioners appointed to examine the *Arte de Navegar* of Pedro de Medina, the sale of which had been prohibited by Charles V.³ He was also the author of a celebrated work in which there is a notice of Magellan's voyage.⁴

¹ Navarrete, *Hist. de la Nautica*, 140. ² *Ordenanças reales para la Casa de Contratacion*, Sevilla, 1553, fol. ³ *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 206. ⁴ *Ibid.*, *Additions*, Nos. 80, 132, 133.

MEZQUITA (Alvaro de la).—Of Estremoz, in Portugal, the son of Magellan's brother.¹ Was to be one of the pilots in his uncle's expedition,² but sailed out only as supernumerary on the *Trinidad*.³ He became, however, in 1520, captain of the *S. Antonio*, the best of the five ships, which returned to Spain, May 6, 1521, under the command of Geronimo Guerra, a relative of Cristobal de Haro. Esteban Gomez and Alvaro de la Mezquita were also on board,¹ the latter being made prisoner after stabbing the former. On landing at Seville, Alvaro was imprisoned, but soon afterwards released. One of Magellan's servants was called Francisco de la Mezquita, and died during the voyage.

¹ Maximilianus Transylvanus, 7th l., and Navarrete, IV., 201. ² Seb. Alvarez, in Navarrete, IV., 189, 201. ³ Navarrete, IV., 14, 4 189.

MEZQUITA (Martin de la).—Portuguese, related to Magellan; was to accompany him as pilot¹ in 1519, but remained in Spain, and received a salary of 15,000 marks, until the return of the expedition.²

¹ Sebastian Alvarez, in Navarrete, IV., 155. ² Muñoz MSS., LXXXV., f^o. 213.

MIGUEL (Juan).—Pilot of the *Concepcion*, one of the ships of the expedition of Pedrarias Davila in 1514.

Muñoz MSS., LXXXV., f^o. 320. Oviedo, IV., 12.

MIGUEL (Pero).—Cartographer of Pedrarias Davila, in Nicaragua, in 1529. Rendered great service in the war against the King of Uraca.

Herrera, Decad. II., 241. M. M. de Peralta, *Costa Rica, Nicaragua y Panama*, p. xi.

MIRA (Pedro de la).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos inéditos de Indias, XLII., 545.

MIRUELO (Diego).—Pilot, who is mentioned for the first time in connection with the voyage of discovery of Ponce de Leon to Florida, where he was met by the latter, July 25, 1513, on a reconnoitring expedition of his own, but apparently in one of the Lucayas:

"Diego Miruelo, Piloto, que encontraron con un Barco de la Española, que iba a sus Aventuras, aunque otros dicen, que con fortuna havian aportado alli."¹

The words "otros dicen" imply that Herrera has consulted authorities besides the log-book of Ponce de Leon's first expedition to Florida, but we have been unable to ascertain what those were. Miruelo is stated to have made a second voyage to Florida in 1516, and to have "brought home specimens of gold which increased the fame of this country among the Spaniards."² He is also stated³ (we do not know on what authority) to have been the chief pilot of the first expedition of Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon to the Carolinas, or Chicora, so called. Diego Miruelo is further said to have also led Ayllon's expedition of 1526, but that "his naval operations were executed in so unsatisfactory a manner that he went mad, and died from grief." We apprehend that this statement, borrowed from Barcia, is one of the numberless errors of that most unreliable compiler, and that it applies rather to Miruelo's nephew and namesake, who was the pilot of Narvaez in 1528.

¹ Herrera, Decad. I., 249. ² Garcilasso de la Vega's work upon De Soto, lib. i., chapter 2; and Barcia's *Ensayo chronologico*, p. 2, Madrid, 1723, as quoted by Kohl, *Discovery of Maine*, 243, 3 247. ⁴ Barcia, *Ensayo chronologico de la Florida*, 8.

MIRUELO (?).—Nephew of Diego Miruelo, and pilot of Pamphilo de Narvaez in 1528:

"Llevó Pamphilo Narvaez en su navegacion quando fué a la Florida, un piloto llamado Miruelo, pariente de el pasado, y tan desdichado como èl en su oficio, que nunca acerto à dar en la tierra, que su tío [Diego Miruelo] avia descubierto, por cuya relacion tenia noticia de ella, y por esta causa lo avia llevado Pamphilo de Narvaez consigo . . . y muera de pesar."¹

The relationship between this Miruelo and Diego Miruelo is shown first by the former being called "pariente" of the latter, who is afterwards designated as "su tío." He is mentioned by Oviedo,² and by Cabeça de Vaca.³ Our impression is that the "Bahia de Miruelo," in Florida, was named after him, and not after his uncle. The reproach referred to by Garcilasso is to have landed in the country "discovered by Diego Miruelo," without having done his professional duties: "sin aver hecho el oficio de buen Piloto, en demarcar la tierra, y tomar el altura."

He explored, however, the shores of the Gulf of Mexico from the River of Palms to Florida.

¹ Garcilasso de la Vega, *Florida del Inca*, Madrid, 1722, fol., pp. 2 and 5, and *Tabla*. ² Oviedo, III., 615. ³ Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, *Relacion y comentarios*, Valladolid, 1555, cap. ii.

MOGUER (Juan de).—Pilot of Juan Aguado in the expedition of August 5, 1495.

Muñoz MSS., fº. 171. *Supra*, p. 672.

MONDEJAR (Marquis de).—President of the junta of cosmographers and astronomers appointed by the king to examine the works and instruments of Apianus. He wrote a treatise on longitudes. We take him to be Francisco, son of Inico Lopez Hurtado de Mendoza, third marquis of Mondejar, whose sister was affianced to Luis Colon in 1539.¹ Had that marriage taken place, the probability is that it would have altered for the better the entire history of the progeny of Christopher Columbus.

¹ *Fernand Colomb*, doc. viii., pp. 184-185. Navarrete, *Hist. de la Nautica*, 176.

MONTES (Diego de).—Cosmographer in Venezuela with Jorge Espira in 1535.

Oviedo, *Historia General*, II., 308.

MORA (Rodriguez de).—Portuguese pilot, said to have sailed with Magellan, and who petitioned, with his colleagues Andrès de San Martin, Vasco Gallego, and Rodriguez Serrano, for an increase of salary during the voyage, Seville, June 30, 1519. His name, however, does not figure in any of the rolls.

Lista de la Exposicion Americana, B, 51.

MORALES (Andrès de).—Of Triana, born in 1476 or 1477.¹ Pilot of Columbus in one of his voyages, we cannot tell exactly which, but it is probably the third (1498-1500), as the statement¹ is made with reference to a landing on the continent. If so, he sailed back to Spain before Columbus, by one of the returning vessels from Santo Domingo. He was, in 1500-1502, pilot of Rodrigo de Bastidas, and accompanied La Cosa in 1504-1506.³ In November, 1515, Morales was appointed Royal pilot. He was celebrated for his skill as a cartographer, almost

as much as for the "precious diamonde which he bought of a naked younge man in the region of Cumana. This stone was as longe as two ioyntes of a man's middell fynger, and as bygge as the fyrst ioynte of the thumme."⁴ Morales lived to a very advanced age, at Santo Domingo.

¹ *Probanzas* of February 13, 1513, when he was said to be from thirty-six to thirty-seven years old. ² Navarrete, III., 319, 352, 540; *Bibliot. maritima*, I., 88, 89. ³ Oviedo, II., 418. ⁴ Anghiera, *Decad.* III., lib. iv., fº. 53. Las Casas, II., 416.

MORALES (Hernando de).—Of Seville. Pilot. Gave a very prudent and reticent opinion concerning the limits of the Portuguese possessions in Brazil, November 13, 1515.

Registro de cédulas de la Casa de Contratacion, 1515-1519, quoted by Navarrete, III., 319.

MORENO (Antonio).—Cosmographer of the Casa de Contratacion at Seville, who was in possession of an alleged relation of the voyage of Magellan, written by order of the great commander himself, when the expedition was in the Strait, November 21, 1521. Perhaps this Antonio Moreno is intended for the afore-mentioned Antonio Maurio, the Roman cosmographer in the employ of the Spanish government in 1515.

Pinelo-Barcia, *Biblioteca occidental*, col. 667. Barbosa, *Biblioteca Lusitania*, II., 31.

MORILLO (Diego).—Pilot-Major of Francisco de Garay in June, 1523. The name recalls that of Diego Miruelo, who was met in the Lucayas by Ponce de Leon in 1513, and who is said to have been Ayllon's pilot in 1521 and 1526. Perhaps he is the same man. He may also be the Miruelo who accompanied Pamphilo de Narvaez in 1528.

Documentos inéditos de Indias, XXVI., 98.

MUÑOZ (Hernando).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Ibidem, XLII., 547.

NAPOLÉS (Vicencio de).—Pilot¹ of Alvaro de Saavedra, in the expedition which Cortés sent from Aguatanejo, in New Spain, to the Moluccas in 1526. He wrote an account of that voyage, which was presented in 1534.

¹ Navarrete, V., 477. *Bibliot. maritima*, II., 753.

NIEBLA (Pedro de).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos inéditos de Indias, XLII., 547.

Niño (Andres Garcia).—Royal pilot in 1514, 1515, and 1516, after having already made a voyage to the American continent.¹ Was with Oviedo at Xaragua in Hispaniola in 1515,² when Diego Albitez sent him to Spain on a mission. Pilot-Major of Gil Gonzales Davila in 1519 and 1521,³ he discovered the Gulf of Fonseca. Was in those regions in 1524.⁴ "De pensamientos no bajas," says Las Casas of this Niño.

¹ Muñoz MSS., LXXV., p. 320. Navarrete, IV., 155. ² Oviedo, III., 97. ³ *Doc. inéditos de Indias*, XIV., 8 (Expedition which sailed from San Lucar, Sept. 13, 1521). ⁴ Peralta, *op. cit.*, 32. ⁵ Las Casas, IV., 206. Herrera, Decad. I., 21, II., 85, 87, III., 119, 272.

Niño (Cristobal Perez).—Of Palos. Master or pilot of the *Carderera* in the second voyage of Columbus (1493-1496).

Navarrete, II., 147.

Niño (Francisco).—Of Moguer, son of Per Alonso.¹ Pilot of Columbus in his second voyage (1493-1496) on board the *Niña*.² Pilot also of Pedro Fernandez Coronel (1498-1500).³ Perhaps he is the same Francisco Niño who received at Santo Domingo, September 9, 1504, from Francisco de Morillo, by the order of Christopher Columbus, a certain sum of money.⁴ If so, he likewise accompanied him in the fourth voyage (1502-1504). He was a member of the large family of mariners of the name of Niño. Besides Cristobal Perez, Per Alonso, and Andreas Garcia, mentioned hereafter, we notice Juan Niño, master of the *Niña* in the second voyage,⁵ Francisco, who was ship-boy in that same expedition, and who gave his testimony at Santo Domingo, June 16, 1512, and an Alonso Niño who is probably Pero Alonso Niño, grandson of the great seaman of that name. They all were from Palos or Moguer. Francisco married Isabel Gonzales de la Caballeria, by whom he had a son, namesake of his grandfather, and who settled at Tunga, in New

Granada. Francisco was still living, June 2, 1557.

¹ *Doc. inéditos de Indias*, XVI., 461. ² *Probanza* of June 16, 1512. ³ Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 191. *Documentos escogidos del Archivo de la Casa de Alba*, 204. ⁵ Testimony of F. de Morales and F. Niño, in the above-cited *Probanza*.

Niño (Juan).—Accompanied Columbus in his first voyage, according to the unpublished deposition of Morales, taken June 16, 1512.

Niño (Per Alonso).—Of Moguer. Pilot of the *Santa Maria* in the first voyage of Columbus.¹ Was appointed pilot of the caravella of Juan Sansueta, which was to sail from San Lucar, February 3, 1496, but set out only June 15 or 16 following, returning to Spain,² October 29, 1496. Such being the case, he cannot have been, as Muñoz believed,³ one of the pilots of the expedition of Juan Aguado, which was at sea from August 6, 1495, until the close of 1496.

We have the positive testimony of Rodrigo de Bastidas and of Juan Grande,⁴ that Per Alonso Niño accompanied Columbus in his third voyage, not, however, as pilot, but as mariner only.⁴ We infer that after the Admiral returned to Santo Domingo, August 31, 1498, several of his ships were sent back to Spain, and that Niño sailed home in one of them. Otherwise, he could not have been the pilot and partner of Cristobal Guerra,³ in the famous expedition to the Coast of Pearls, as that lasted from the summer of 1499 until Feb. 6, 1500.

Niño was thrown into prison when he returned with Guerra.⁵ Muñoz calls him "P^o Al^o Niño de Ayanguis."⁶ He married Leonor de Boria, by whom he had a son, the above-mentioned Francisco Niño.

¹ Navarrete, I., 147, 148, III., 571. ² Las Casas, II., 127, 180; Navarrete, *Viajes apócrifos*, 20; *Supra*, *Chronology*, p. 673. ³ Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 189; *Paesi*, caps. cviii.-cx. ⁴ Navarrete, III., 587; Washington Irving, III., p. 11. ⁵ Herrera, Decad. I., pp. 105, 106. ⁶ Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 186, 187.

Niño (Rodrigo).—Of Toledo. Pilot in Peru with Gasca in 1548. Was heavily fined in 1550 for allowing to escape twenty-three criminals sentenced to hard labour.

Documentos inéditos de Indias, XI., 511.

NUÑEZ (Pedro).—Born at Alcazar de la Sal, in Portugal, in 1492. Cosmographer-Major, and professor of mathematics in the University of Coimbra (1544). He is the author of *Dous Tratados sobre a carta de marear*, inserted in his edition of the *Tratado da Sphera* of Sacro Busto, Lisboa, 1537, folio, and, together with a number of other scientific works, of a *Roteiro do Brasil*, which we have been unable to find. He was a great opponent of Orontius Finæus, and died in 1577.

Navarrete, *Hist. de la Nautica*, 171-174. *Bibliot. Americana Vetustissima*, No. 222.

NUSARDO (Antonio).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 545.

OLIVES (Bartolomé).—A Majorcan cosmographer, who designed several important maps of the New World, in 1532, while residing at Messina. We do not know whether he is the same Bartolomé Olives who continued to make maps until 1584.

Supra, *Cartographia Americana Vetustissima*, No. 197, p. 585.

ORTUÑO.—See JIMENEZ and XIMENEZ.

PALOS (Juan Fernandez de).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 545.

PANCALDO (Leone).—Born at Savona in 1482¹ (?), and, like Columbus, the son of a wool weaver. Enjoyed the personal confidence of Diego, son of Christopher Columbus, whom he must have known in the New World, and who sent him from Hispaniola (where he resided since 1509), January 14, 1514, a power of attorney to settle certain matters in the province of Genoa.² He sailed out as mariner of the *Trinidad*, in the expedition of Magellan; but must have acquired the title of pilot before his return to Spain in 1527, as the official documents of the latter date³ give it to him. We find Pancaldo settled in Savona, September 30, 1531, when he entered into a contract with the King of Portugal, whereby, in consideration of the

sum of 2,000 ducats, he bound himself not to teach anyone the route to the newly-discovered region (*i.e.*, the Moluccas), and not to construct any map of the same.⁴ October 4, 1531, he refused to enter the service of João III., on the plea of his great age and a desire to take rest, inasmuch as he had neither sons nor daughters: "Yo soi ya viejo y no tengo hijos ni hijas y queria ya reposar y estar en tierra reposando estos pocos dias que tengo de bevir."⁵ But if his statement that, August 2, 1527, he was "de 45 años"¹ is to be accepted, Pancaldo, in 1531, was only 49 years of age. Yet he is said⁶ to have perished at sea, in an expedition "all' isola delli Fiori nel rivo della Plata," commanded by Pietro Vivaldi (?), in 1535.

¹ Navarrete, IV., 370. ² Doc. in *Christophe Colomb*, II., 238, 450. ³ Navarrete, IV., 12, 378. ⁴ Doc. in G. B. Belloro, *Ellogio di L. P.* in *Giornale d. Studioso*, Genova, No. of November 13, 1869. ⁵ Doc. in Desimoni, *Una moneta, e quattro documenti riguardanti il piloto Savonese L. P.*; Savona, 1891. ⁶ Verzellino, *Memorie*, Savona, 1891, II., 38. See also Oviedo, II., 191, and Navarrete, IV., 383-386.

PARIS (Francisco de).—"Natural de Paris [Paros?] que es en Grecia." Companion of Garcia de Loaisa on board the *Victoria*, and describer of the latter's voyage to the Strait of Magellan (1525-1526).

Navarrete, V., doc. xxiii., 368-376.

PASTENE (Juan Bautista de).—A Genoese. "Piloto General en el mar del Sur," and pilot of the *San Pedro* in the expedition which, by the order of Pedro de Valdivia, explored, after discovering, the west coast of South America from Valparaiso to the Strait of Magellan, in 1544. Died at Santiago de Chili, about 1560.

Power of attorney from Valdivia to Pastene, in C. Gay, *Historia fisica y politica de Chile*, I., 35-48. *Documentos ineditos de Indias*, III., 9.

PAVON (Francisco).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 547.

PEÑATES (The).—Of Gibrleon. There were several seafaring men of that name with Cortés. They were whipped at the post in Cozumel.¹

Bernal Diaz, cap. ccv., 1lvii.

PEÑATE (Hernando).—Pilot of Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro.

Oviedo, IV., 117. Herrera, Decad. III., 200-202.

PEREIRA.—See BOTELHO.

PEREZ (Anton).—Pilot of Pamphilo de Narvaez, in 1528.

Oviedo, *Historia General*, III., 594.

PEREZ (Bartolomé).—Of Rota. Pilot of the *San Juan* during the second voyage of Columbus; also of Cristobal Guerra in 1499-1500.

Navarrete, II., 146, III., 587.

PEREZ (Diego).—Of Seville. Pilot¹ before 1525, and, in 1538, commanded a ship in the West Indies, where in that year he fought a French corsair near Cuba, and killed eight of the crew. See the account of Gonzalo de Guzman,² July 20, 1538.

¹ *Doc. ineditos de Indias*, XLII., 545. ² Navarrete, *Biblioteca marítima*, I., 594.

PEREZ (Hernan).—Pilot with Cortés. Returned from Vera Cruz to Spain in 1522; signed sailing directions about 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, X., 257, XLII., 445.

PEREZ (Jorge).—Pilot of Loaisa in 1525. He had been appointed in the place of Sebastian de Elcano, August 1526, and died at sea soon afterwards.

Navarrete, V., 369-70.

PEREZ (Ruy).—Pilot of the expedition of Juan Aguado, on board the ship commanded by Bartolomé de Leça, from August 5, 1495, to the close of the year 1496.

Muñoz MSS., LXXV., p. 189.

PILESTRINA (Salvat, probably Salvatore de Palestrina).—A Majorcan cosmographer, but apparently of Italian origin, who resided in Majorca, at least since 1511, and who is the supposed author of the large map described *supra*, p. 425.

Kunstmann, *Die Entdeckung America's*, p. 129, and Atlas, plate iii. Kohl, *Doc. History of Maine*, plate viii. Jean et Sébastien Cabot, No. 5, p. 161. Dr. Hamy, *L'œuvre géographique des Reinel*, Paris, 1891, p. 8.

PILOLA (Juan de).—Pilot on board the *S. Gabriel*, in Garcia de Loaisa's expedition to the Strait of Magellan.

Davila, in Navarrete, V., 230.

PINEDA (Alonso Alvarez).—Pilot and leader of the expedition which, by order of Francisco de Garay, explored a portion of the Gulf of Mexico, including the mouths of the Mississippi, in 1519 and 1520.

Supra, pp. 165-167.

PINOS (Juan de los).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 545.

PINZONS (The).—Of Moguer and Palos. The seamen of that name were chiefly commanders or masters, but there have also been among them several pilots; and as they are frequently mistaken one for the other, we deem it necessary to insert here all the Pinzons mentioned in connection with voyages to the New World. They belonged to an old family of Palos, which continues to this day, but at Moguer. A few years ago, a Pinzon was admiral in the Spanish navy. We have been able to reconstruct the genealogy in the beginning of the sixteenth century, only partially, as follows:

There were three brothers, viz.: Martin Alonso Pinzon, Francisco Martinez Pinzon, and Vicente Yañez Pinzon. Martin Alonso Pinzon died in 1493, leaving five children, viz.: four boys, and a girl who was an epileptic. Three of the boys were Arias Perez Pinzon, Juan Martin Pinzon, and Diego Hernandez Pinzon. Andres Gonzales Pinzon, who died before 1519, was perhaps the fourth.

Among the descendants and connections of the Pinzons above-mentioned, we notice Diego Martin, who married a sister¹ of Vicente Yañez Pinzon, by whom he had sons who accompanied him in 1499. There was, besides, Diego Hernandez Colmenero, also nephew of Vicente Yañez, and who commanded one of the ships of that expedition.² We then see Juan Rodriguez de Mafra, Hernan Perez Mateos, and Juan de Umbria, the two latter being cousins of Martin Alonso Pinzon.³ Also, a chaplain called Gines Murio, Alvaro Alfonso Nortes, and Alonso

Gonzales, all living in 1519. Diego de Lepe and Miguel Alonso are likewise mentioned as belonging to the Pinzon family.

¹ Navarrete, III., 550. ² D'Avezac, *Consid. sur l'hist. du Brésil*, 158. ³ Navarrete, III., 559.

PINZONS.—Pilots of Cortés. We have been unable to ascertain whether they are to be found among the pilots of the name of Pinzon, above or hereafter mentioned.

“E tambien pasaron otros soldados, hombres de la mar, que se decian los Peñates, y otros *Pinzones*, los unos naturales de Gibraleon y otros de Palos.”

Bernal Diaz, cap. ccv., p. 306.

PINZON (Andrés Gonzales).—Died before 1519. Navarrete, III., 145.

PINZON (Arias Perez).—The eldest son of Martin Alonso.¹ Went with his uncle, Vicente Yañez, in the memorable expedition to Brazil (1499-1500). He claimed to have accompanied his father to the library of Pope Innocenzio VIII. (before 1492), at Rome, when they were shown a map exhibiting transatlantic regions. Gave his testimony at Palos, October 1, 1515, when stated to be forty-five years old. If so, Arias Perez was born in 1470. Not a truthful man. He made another deposition at Palos in 1532,² and seems to have been still living in 1535.

¹ Navarrete, III., 83, 542, 560. ² *Probanzas* of Nov. 1, 1532.

PINZON (Diego Hernandez).—Son of Martin Alonso. Accompanied his uncle, Vicente Yañez, in the voyage of 1499-1500, and received from the Crown a reward on that account, October 1, 1501.

Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 195. Navarrete, III., 102. Washington Irving, III., 44.

PINZON (Diego Martin).—Was living in 1519, and seems to be different from Diego Fernandez Pinzon, so called.

Navarrete, III., 145.

PINZON (Francisco Martinez).—Apparently the second brother of Martin Alonso Pinzon. He was mate of the *Pinta* during the first voyage of Columbus.

Las Casas, I., 260.

PINZON (Juan Martin).—Of Huelva, born in 1475, son of Martin Alonso. Gave his testimony in 1535, when he abandoned the claims of the Pinzons in favour of the Crown. How is it that Pedro Arias, who was then living, did not join in that act of renunciation?

Probanzas of August 24 and 28, 1535. Navarrete, III., 145.

PINZON (Martin Alonso).—The eldest brother,¹ born about 1450. Commanded the *Pinta* during the first expedition of Columbus. She was a worthless vessel.² He abandoned Columbus, January 23, 1493, returned alone to Spain, hoping to forestall the Admiral, and is said to have died of grief when, after landing at Bayonna in Galicia, he heard that Ferdinand and Isabella refused to receive him. The statement rests upon the *Historie*.³ Oviedo, who was then at the Court, says only⁴ that Pinzon sailed from Bayonna de Mino for Palos, where he entered the port at the same time as Columbus, but fearing to be arrested, he jumped into a small boat and went to hide himself in a retreat, from which he came out only after Columbus had left for Barcelona, that is in April, 1493. An eye-witness, Francisco Medel, says, on the contrary, that Pinzon, landing in a state of illness, was taken to his own house at Palos, whence they took him to the Convent of La Rabida: “Venia malo, e lo pasaron de su casa al monesterio de la Rabida, y yo le fué á ver.”⁵ He died fifteen or twenty days afterwards, of remorse, says Las Casas.⁶ It must be stated, however, that if the Catholic Kings had had such a contemptible opinion of Martin Alonso Pinzon as the *Historie* and the writers who follow in their walk (Herrera, Charlevoix, &c.) pretend, Charles V. would not have granted to his descendants, September 23, 1519,⁷ a coat of arms, recalling the services he had rendered “en cierto viages en descubrimiento de la isla Española,” by emblazoning the same with three caravels bearing at the stern a hand which pointed to an island. Afterwards the Pinzons added the device ascribed to Columbus, but modified as follows:

*Por Castilla y por Leon
Nuevo Mundo halló Pinzon.*

His wife was named Maria Alvarez, by whom he had the five children already mentioned. He lived at Palos, in the Calle de Nuestra Señora de la Rabida.⁶

¹ Navarrete, I., 13, 148, III., 604-611. ² Navarrete, I., 137. ³ *Historie*, 84. ⁴ Oviedo, I., 27, and deposition of Alonso Velez de Alid, in the *Probanza* of November 1, 1532. ⁵ *Probanza* of December 22, 1535. ⁶ *Las Casas*, I., 469. ⁷ Navarrete, III., 145. ⁸ *Probanza* of November 1, 1532.

PINZON (Vicente Yañez).—Born before 1463. He was the youngest of the three brothers, the most celebrated of them, and, after Columbus, the greatest of the seafaring men who accomplished discoveries in the New World before Magellan. He commanded the *Niña* in the first voyage of Columbus.¹

Peter Martyr mentions a voyage made shortly after 1493, by "Vicentius Annez Pinzonus of his owne charges with onely one shyppe,"² but concerning which we possess no other information. Nor can we affirm that the letters patent granted to him in December, 1495, for a transatlantic expedition composed of two ships,³ were carried out. Proofs exist only for the famous voyage of discovery which began November 18, 1499, returning September 30, 1500, after Pinzon had discovered Brazil and the Amazona, which he called "St. Mary of the sea of fresh waters," viz.:

"Descobrysteis ciertas Islas e Tierra firme que posysteis los nombres siguientes: 'Santa Maria de la Consolacion e Rostro-hermoso,' e dende alli seguisteys la Costa que se corrie al Norueste el Rio grande, que llamasteys 'Santa Maria de la Mar dulce,' e por el mismo Norueste toda la Tierra de lengua fasta el Cabo de San Vicente [?] . . . con las islas questan a la boca del dicho Rio que se nombro 'Marina tambulo [sic].'"⁴

March 13, 1505, the officials in Seville were informed that the King "acordado de ymbiar a descubrir por el Mar Oceano las partes que vos diran Amerigo e Vincente Yañez Pinzon."⁵ This was a mere cloak to conceal a voyage to the Portuguese possessions in the Indian seas, as, shortly afterwards, Pinzon received the visit of Pedro de Miranda, sent by the King to confer

regarding a proposed expedition to the "Country of Spice," which was equipped, but never sailed.⁶

March 24, 1505, he was appointed commander of the fortifications to be erected in Porto Rico, at a salary of 50,000 mrs., transmissible to his descendants.⁷

April 24, 1505, he was made Governor of that island,⁸ with leave to plant a colony. At the same time, letters patent were granted to him for a voyage of discovery on the express condition that he should not go to the following regions, *nor beyond*:

"No podays yr a las islas e tierra firme donde Cristobal Guerra e Pedro Alhonso [Niño] trujeron las perlas, ni a la costa de Ququebacoa ni Uraba in toda la costa e tierras en adelante."⁹

We do not know the results of that enterprise, or even if it was ever carried out, but September 28, 1505, he was still in Spain. If, however, the voyage took place, the reader will notice that Pinzon was forbidden from exploring the coast *west of the Gulf of Paria*. This restriction should be noted, as implying that the subsequent voyages of discovery undertaken by Pinzon were limited in the same manner. Otherwise it would have been an infringement of the rights, not only of Guerra and Niño, but of Rodrigo de Bastidas.

In 1506, Philip the Handsome, King Consort, determined to fit out the expedition to the "Especeria," contemplated the year before by his father-in-law, Ferdinand of Aragon. To that effect, three ships equipped in Biscay were despatched to Seville, and placed under the command of "Vicinti Añez é á Amerigo." August 3, 1506, he wrote to the Casa de Contratacion to confer with Pinzon and Vespuccius on the subject,¹⁰ but the Casa replied, September 15, 1506, that it was impossible to be ready before February, 1507.¹¹ The King of Portugal, having heard of this intended violation of the Treaty of Tordesillas, entered a protest, and the little squadron was broken up; but after the ships had reached Seville. Two of the vessels were sent to Hispaniola in 1507, under the command of Diego Rodriguez de Grajeda and of

Juan de Subano; the third remained to be armed and equipped by Pinzon and Solis in April, 1507, for their contemplated voyage of discovery in America.¹² These facts prove that Vicente Yañez Pinzon was in Spain in 1506, as well as during the winter of 1506-1507, and that he cannot have named in that year "The Bay of the Nativity," which is a word corresponding to Christmas Day, as he was then at Seville. They further corroborate the conclusion set forth *supra*, pp. 453-464, that Pinzon did not discover Yucatan in 1506, or at any time.

Navarrete speaks¹³ of a voyage undertaken by Pinzon and Solis in 1507, with two caravels: "dirigiéndose por las islas de Cabo Verde a reconocer el de San Augustin en Tierra-firme," whence they would have returned to Spain. But he quotes no authority, and our impression is that only the voyage of 1508-1509 is meant.

"Por cedula de Burgos, 22 marzo 1508, se nombra nuestro Piloto a Viceynte Yañez Pinçon."¹⁴

The next day, March 23, 1508, he receives letters patent for a transatlantic voyage of discovery,¹⁵ sailing June 29 following, from San Lucar with Juan Diaz de Solis. That voyage, as we have shown, was accomplished *east of the coast of Paria*, after an exploration of the south coast of Cuba. Pinzon and Solis returned to Spain,¹⁶ November 14, 1509, with a quantity of the metal called "güanines,"¹⁷ which seems to have been a base kind of gold. On landing, Solis was imprisoned, we do not know for what cause, whilst Pinzon received a reward.¹⁸ This is the *only voyage* accomplished by those two mariners jointly, of which there is any trace in authentic documents. This fact should also be noted in connection with, and contrary to their alleged discovery of Yucatan in 1506.

March 21, 1513, Pinzon gave his testimony in Seville, and we notice that in the deposition he is called "Capitan de SS. A. A."

"Desde 3 hasta 14 febr. y Abr. 4, 1514, se abonan cantidades à Vincente Yañez Pinçon, piloto de S. A. destinados para el armada que va à tierra firme la qual se despachava en San Lucar por Mayo."¹⁹

March 21, 1513, Vicente Yañez Pinzon declared himself to be²⁰ "de mas de 50 años de

edad:—more than fifty years of age."²¹ On the other hand, he died before 1519.²² But Las Casas, who knew him personally, states that Vicente Yañez lived many years after the discovery of America. This seems to imply more than fifty-six years at the time of his death. Triana was his last home.

¹ Navarrete, I., 20; III., 406; III., 75, 102, 112, 294, 321, 528. ² Anghiera, Decad. II., vii., 38. ³ *Supra*, p. 671. ⁴ *Supra*, p. 679, and *Doc. ineditos de Indias*, XXX., 535. ⁵ *Op. cit.*, XXXI., 283. ⁶ Navarrete, III., 294. ⁷ *Doc. ineditos de Indias*, XXXI., 285. ⁸ *Op. cit.*, XXXI., 318. ⁹ *Ibidem*, 314. ¹⁰ Navarrete, III., 294; ¹¹ II., 317; ¹² III., 321, 322. ¹³ Navarrete, *Bibliot. maritima*, II., 213. ¹⁴ Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 239, 319. ¹⁵ *Doc. ineditos de Indias*, XXII., 5-13. ¹⁶ *Supra*, p. 463. ¹⁷ *Doc. ineditos de Indias*, XXXI., 513. ¹⁸ Herrera, Decad. I., 189. ¹⁹ Muñoz, *ubi supra*. ²⁰ Navarrete, III., 547. ²¹ Las Casas, I., 257. ²² Navarrete, III., 145, 547.

PIRES (Luis).—Portuguese pilot in command of one of the ships of Pedro Alvarez Cabral in the discovery of Brazil, in 1500.

Humboldt, *Examen critique*, V., 87, note.

PIREZ (Andres).—Portuguese pilot, 1500-1520. Author of an *Arte de Navegar*, which is yet unpublished and anonymous, but on f^o. 19 we read:

"Esta nauagaçam he hõa & verdadeira porque foy esperimentada per mim andre pi[re]z em o mar ouçijano." (It was written towards the year 1517): "desde era de 1517 anno."

MS. Paris National Library, Portuguese, No. 40.

PONCE (Martin).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 547.

PORTOGALETE.—Surname of a pilot not known by his real name, and who was on board a ship belonging to Pedro de Cifuentes, which explored the Gulf of Mexico in 1528.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, X., 57.

Poyo (Macias del).—Of Murcia. Pilot of the flag-ship of Loaisa's expedition. Returned to Spain with Fray Andres de Urdaneta, from an expedition to the Moluccas by the way of New Spain. July 24, 1525—September 4, 1536.

"Y el dicho Macias el año de veinte é ocho (*sic*), por el mes de Mayo, fue proveido de piloto de la nao de Sayavedra para la Nueva España."¹

¹ Navarrete, V., 367, and *Bibliot. marit.*, I., 100, 106.

PUEBLA (Juan de la).—Pilot of the expedition sent by Francisco de Garay in 1521.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XXXV., 479.

PUEBLA (Pero Sanchez de la).—One of the pilots of the expedition of Jorge de Sosa, which sailed from San Lucar in November, 1495.

Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 186.

PVMIENTA (Juan).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 545.

QUEJO (Juan de).—Apparently the Juan de Quexo, of Palos, aged sixty in 1535, then called simply "marinero,"¹ although he is said to have been the pilot of Columbus in the third voyage,² and to have accompanied him in the fourth.³ He may also be identical with the following Juan Barrio de Quexo.

¹ *Probanza* of December 22, 1535. ² Navarrete, III., 559. ³ *Ibid.*, 557. *Doc. inedit. de Indias*, XLII., 547.

QUEJO or QUEXOS (Pedro de).—Pilot-Major of Vazquez de Ayllon in 1521¹ and in 1526.²

¹ Shea, *Old Florida*, p. 238, and *supra*, p. 205, 211. ² Navarrete, III., 74, on the authority of the then unpublished lib. xviii. (?) of Oviedo, whose book iv., cap. v., of Vol. I., p. 111, is devoted to that expedition of Vazquez de Ayllon, but there is no mention of Quejo.

QUEXO (Juan Barrio de).—Explorer of the Orinoco, long before Diego de Ordaz,¹ apparently towards 1522, which is the time when we first see this Quexo in the New World, if he is identical with the Juan Bono de Quexo of Herrera.²

¹ Oviedo, II., 216. ² Herrera, *Decad.* III., 414.

QUINTERO (Alonso).—Pilot of Diego de Almagro. Discovered the coast of Chili to 33° south latitude.¹ Is said to have been the pilot who took Cortés to the New World in 1504.² Apparently the master of the *Santa Catalina*, in the expedition of Pedrarias Davila in 1514.³

¹ Oviedo, IV., p. 269. ² Herrera, *Decad.* I., p. 165. ³ Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 320.

QUINTERO (Antón).—Of Palos, born in 1493. Pilot in 1535, when he gave his testimony.

Probanzas of December 31, 1535.

QUINTERO (Francisco).—Pilot in 1534, when he gave his testimony about Peru and Pizarro.

Herrera, *Decad.* VI., 57.

QUINTERO or QUITERO (Hernando).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 545.

QUINTERO (Juan).—Of Argenta, born in 1463. Accompanied Columbus in his first voyage¹ and in the third.² He was one of the first who landed on the continent. This Quintero, therefore, cannot have accompanied, as pilot or otherwise, Vicente Yañez Pinzon in the voyage of 1499-1500, as Navarrete says,³ considering that the third expedition of Columbus lasted from 1498 until 1500. He gave his testimony in 1514, and in 1535.⁴

¹ Deposition of Juan Gonzales, Navarrete, III., 568. ² Navarrete, III., 584. ³ *Ibidem*, 19. ⁴ *Probanza* of December 22, 1535. *Doc. inedit. de Indias*, XLII., 545.

QUINTERO (Pero Rodriguez).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 547.

RAMIREZ (Anton).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 545.

REINELS (The).—There have been several pilots and cosmographers of that name, all Portuguese, and several of whom were in the service of Charles V. We have no positive data which will enable us to establish their relationship or identity. The first in order is :

REINEL (Pedro).—Maker of the Lusitanian map undated, but apparently of the year 1505,¹ which is preserved in the Munich Royal Library. Barros mentions² a Pero Reinel, who, so far back as 1487, had the reputation of being an experienced navigator. He may be the maker of that map, and also the Pedro Reinel who entered the service of Spain in 1519 or 1522, described below.

¹ Kunstmann, *Atlas zur Entdeckungen-geschichte America's*, plate i. Kohl, *Discovery of Maine*, plate ix., and *supra*, p. 435. *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, p. 162. ² Barros, *Decad.* I., 58.

REINEL, senior.—Portuguese cosmographer who came to Seville, in 1519, to complete the map and globe which his son had commenced

constructing for the voyage of Magellan, and served as a model for Ribero's charts and sphere.

Sebastian Alvarez, *ubi supra*.

REINEL, junior. — Portuguese cartographer, first constructor of the globe and map above-mentioned. The appearance is that the reason why his father came from Portugal to complete the work, was probably the death of his son, which we presume had taken place in 1519. Where Navarrete, in reproducing the letter of Alvares, only says: "el hijo de Reinel,"¹ Mr. de Barros Arana writes: "Hernando de Reynell,"² we do not know on what authority.

Sebastian Alvarez, *ubi supra*. ¹ Navarrete, IV., 155. ² D. Barros, Arana, *Vida y Viajes de Hernando de Magellanes* (from Lord Stanley's excellent work), translated in Portuguese by Mr. F. de Magalhães Villas Boas; Lisbon, 1881.

REINEL (Pedro). — "Piloto Portugues de mucha fama," who came to Spain at the same time as Simon de Alcazaba, that is in 1522, and entered the service of Charles V. Perhaps he is the maker of the Munich map. If so, it must have been constructed when he lived in Portugal, for the configurations of the New World are certainly too crude and incomplete to be of such a date as 1522. He may also be the Reinel junior or senior above-mentioned.

Herrera, Decad. III., 132.

REINEL (Jorge). — Also called "Piloto Portugues de mucha fama." Came with the above Pedro in 1522. If the said Pedro and Jorge are the Reinels, father and son, who made the map and globe for the Magellan expedition mentioned by Sebastian Alvarez, then Herrera errs when he places their coming to Spain *sub anno* 1522.

Ibidem.

REVELLO (Gaspar). — Cosmographer, who invented instruments for navigating to the Indies. By a cedula of June 16, 1535, a commission composed of Fernando Columbus, Sebastian Cabot, Francisco Salero, and Alonso de Santa Cruz, was appointed to examine and report on those contrivances.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 502.

REYES (Martin de los). — Pilot of Columbus in his fourth voyage,¹ says Oviedo, although he does not figure on the official roll; and of La Cosa in the expeditions of 1504-1506,² and 1507.³ He was also the pilot of Balboa⁴ in 1513, and one of the twenty-three Spaniards who first stepped into the Pacific Ocean, Oct. 29, of that year. We find him in charge of one of the ships sent by Vazquez de Ayllon to Chicora⁵ in 1521. He furnished information to Oviedo.

¹ Oviedo, I., 16, 78; II., 135, ²416. ³ Navarrete, III., 162; *Bibliot. maritima*, II., 213. ⁴ *Doc. ineditos de Indias*, XXXV., 162, 177, 181.

RIBERO or RIBEIRO (Diego). — Cosmographer and cartographer. It is not known exactly when or where he was born, except that it was in the kingdom of Portugal.

1519, July 18, appears for the first time in documents, as entrusted with the constructing of charts for the expedition of Magellan, after a model supplied by the two Reinels.¹ He seems to have declined to sail on that voyage, being content with making his bare living: "mais que ganhar de comer para seu engenho."²

"1523, Julio 10. Do. Ribeyro Portugues haya 30,000 salario por cosmografo. 1523. Cedula de Valladolid. Cosmografo, Maestre de hacer cartas e astrolabios e otros ingenios, con 25000 de salario."³

1524. He is engaged as a scientific adviser on the part of Spain in the Badajoz junta.⁴

1524, March 1, at Vittoria, he assists Martin Centurione, the Genoese ambassador, in translating into Spanish, Duarte Barbosa's work on the East India regions:

"Acabose de trasladar este libro de su original en lengua portuguesa traduzida en lengua castellana en Vitoria estando en deel enperador y Rey despaña a primeiro dia de março Año de mill y quinientos de veynte y quatro Años por M [arti] n Centurion enbaxador de la comunityad de genova con ynterpretacion de diego Ribero portugues cosmografo de su magestad y m[ae]str[o] de cartas de navegar."⁵

1525. In addition to his other titles, he is called "Piloto de Su Magestad."⁶

1526-1536. Whilst Sebastian Cabot is at La Plata, and for five years afterwards, he and Chaves take his place as examiners of pilots.⁷

1526, October 6. Charles V. directs Fernando Columbus to entrust Ribero (and other cosmographers) with making a model chart, which he did not live to finish.⁸

1526, November 9. His invention for pumping water out of ships is accepted by Charles V., who gives him a pension of 60,000 mrs. as a reward.⁹

1529. We have a map made by him, in duplicate, in that year.¹⁰

1533, August 16. Ribero dies, apparently at Seville, leaving minor children.

"Halló a D^o. Ribeiro, Piloto de S. M. con salario de 30,000 en la Casa [de Contratacion]. Pagasele regularmente hasta 16 Agosto 1533 en que fallecio, i se libra lo del ultimo tercio a rata a sus herederos."¹¹

"Diego de Olivera [guardian] por sé y en nombre de los hijos y herederos de Diego Ribero."¹²

¹ Navarrete, IV., 155. ² Sebastian Alvarez, in Lord Stanley of Alderley's *First Voyage round the World*, Append., p. x. ³ Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 213; LXXVI., 308. ⁴ *Ibidem*, LXXVII., 54, 58. ⁵ Facsimile of the colophon of the Barcelona MS., in Lord Stanley's translation of Duarte Barbosa's work. ⁶ Muñoz Manuscripts, LXXVII., 165; LXXVIII., 181. ⁷ Herrera, Decad. III., 394; IV., 30. ⁸ Oviedo, II., 149. ⁹ Navarrete, I., p. cxxiv., and *Bibliot. marítima*, I., 358. ¹⁰ *Supra*, pp. 569, 573. ¹¹ Muñoz Manuscripts, LXXVII., 165. ¹² Navarrete, I., cxxv., note 1.

RIBERO (Diego).—A namesake. Pilot of Diego de Nicuesa in 1508.

Oviedo, II., 469.

ROCHE (Juan).—Pilot of Francisco Pizarro. Gave his testimony at Toledo, May 4, 1534.

Herrera, Decad. VI., 57.

RODAS (Miguel de).—Pilot and mate in the expedition of Magellan. Returned in the same ship with Sebastian de El Cano in the year 1522. Member of the Badajoz junta,¹ April 6, 1524.

¹ Muñoz MSS., f^o. 52. Herrera, III., 116.

RODRIGUEZ (Hernando).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos inéditos de Indias, XLII., 547.

RODRIGUEZ (Hieronymo).—*Ibidem*.

RODRIGUEZ (Juan).—Of Palos, born in 1470. Pilot of Diego de Lepe, 1499-1500.¹ Gave his testimony at Seville in 1513.² There was a

sailor of that name and surname, but from Cibdad Rodrigo, in the second voyage of Columbus,³ and another, of Huelva, among the survivors of the expedition of Magellan.⁴

¹ Navarrete, III., 553. ² *Probanza* of February 12, 1513. ³ *Informacion* of June 12, 1494. ⁴ Herrera, Decad. III., 553.

RODRIGUEZ (Melchior).—Pilot before 1525.

RODRIGUEZ (Sebastian).—Pilot of Diego de Lepe?

ROLDAN (Bartolomé).—Of Palos. Pilot of Columbus in his first and third voyages:

"Bartolomé Roldan, piloto, que fué con el Almirante en el primer viage que se descubrieron las Indias, y en el que descubrió á Paria."¹

That is, he was with Columbus, 1492-1493, and also from May 30, 1498, until November 20, 1500. How then can he have accompanied Hojeda, from the summer of 1499 to April, 1500, according to the following deposition?

"Jacome Ginoves sabe que con Hojeda fué Bartolomé Roldan."²

That this should be possible, we must assume that Roldan returned to Spain with one of the ships which Columbus sent back from Hispaniola in 1498-1499. He is also said to have accompanied Diego de Lepe:

"Juan de Jerez sabe que Bartolomé Roldan tornó con Diego de Lepe cuando fué a descubrir la tierra firme."³

Here there is an absolute impossibility, as the voyage of Lepe lasted from December, 1499, until November, 1500. Roldan may have been with Hojeda or with Lepe, but not with both, and we are wholly unable to decide whom to prefer.

Roldan had been previously the pilot of Juan Aguado, 1495-1496.⁴ He gave his testimony in 1512 and 1513⁵ at Santo Domingo, when he settled and lived to a very old age, leaving a large landed estate.⁶ We think that he is the favourite pilot whom Columbus took with him when, on returning from his first voyage, he paid a visit to the King of Portugal, who gave that pilot a reward of twenty ducats.⁷

¹ Navarrete, III., 583, 587, ² 588, ³ *ibid.* ⁴ Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 171. ⁵ *Probanzas* of June 17, 1512, and November 10, 1513. ⁶ Las Casas, I., 443, ⁷ 466.

ROLDAN "EL MOZO" (Juan).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 543.

ROMANO (Antonio).—Italian cosmographer in the service of Spain :

"A los Oficiales de Sevilla ordeno [King Ferdinand] que se informase, si Antonio Romano, que decian que era mui Docto, Cosmografo, i Marinero, podria servir en esta Armada.."

The expedition referred to is that of Pedrarias Davila of 1514. The instructions, of which the above is an extract, are not to be found in Navarrete ; nor is there any mention of Romano in the account of Davila's expedition written by Pascual de Andagoya.

Perhaps he is identical with the Roman Antonio Maurio, who was imported from Rome in 1508, to aid in making the *Padron Real*.

See *supra*, MAURIO.

Herrera, Decad. I., 284.

RUIZ CASTAÑEDA (Bartolomé). — "Piloto mayor de la Mar del Sur." Perhaps he is none other than the famous Bartolomé Ruiz, although the latter is never called "de Castañeda," but "de Estrada."

Muñoz Transcripts (?).

RUIZ DE ESTRADA (Bartolomé). — "Piloto muy bueno."¹ In the employ of Pizarro and Almagro in 1524. Pilot-Major of their expedition² in 1529 ; but after having explored in 1526, the Golden Castil.³ He is frequently called only Bartolomé Ruiz.

¹ Muñoz MSS., LXXVII., 103. ² Doc. in Quintana, *Espanoles celebres*, 178. ³ Oviedo, IV., 117, 232. Zarate, lib. I., cap. 2. Herrera, Decad. III., 249, Decad. V., 49.

RUIZ DE LA MONJA (Pedro).—Pilot of Pedrarias Davila on board the *Concepcion*, 1514.

Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 320.

RUIZ (Sancho).—Pilot of the *Santa Maria* during the first voyage of Columbus.

Navarrete, I., 148. Las Casas, I., 443.

SAA (Diego de).—Portuguese. A great mathematician, well versed in nautical science, and the opponent of Pedro Nuñez. Wrote *De Navigatione*, Paris, 1549, 8vo, which, however,

contains nothing about the New World, or maps concerning the same.

Antonio, *Bibliot. Hisp. Nova*, 312. Navarrete, *Hist. de la Nautica*, 175 ; *Bibliot. maritima*, I., 359, II., 3.

SALAYA (Sancho de), also called CELAYA and ZELAYA.—Doctor and cosmographer ; member of the Badajoz junta in 1524. Married Maria, daughter of Gil Gonzales d'Avila.

Muñoz MSS., LXXVII., 54. Antonio, *Bibl. Hisp. Nova*, II., 276. Navarrete, IV., 328, 333-368. *Doc. ineditos de Indias*, new series, IV., 437.

SALERO (Francisco).—One of the experts appointed to report on the nautical instruments for navigating to the Indies, invented by Gaspar Revello in 1535.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 502.

SAMANO (Juan de).—Pilot, who went to the Indies without permission before 1518.¹

"Cedula de Molina del Rei, 15 Nov. 1519, cada año 40,000 mrs."²

Seized one of Cortés' ships in 1523.³ Accomplished discoveries in Nueva Galicia by order of Nuño de Guzman in 1531.⁴

¹ Herrera, Decad. II., 84. ² Muñoz MSS., LXXV., p. 213. ³ Herrera, III., 110 ; ⁴ IV., 192.

SANCHEZ (Bartolomé).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 545, 547.

SANCHEZ (Diego).—*Ibidem*.

SANCHEZ (Francisco).—*Ibidem*.

SANCHEZ (Gines).—Pilot in 1534, when he gave his testimony concerning Francisco Pizarro and Peru.

Herrera, Decad. VI., 57.

SANCHEZ (Juan).—Pilot-Major in the fourth voyage of Columbus. Died May 17, 1504.

Navarrete, I., 289. Washington Irving, II., 407.

SANCHEZ (Lazaro).—Of Triana. Born in 1495. Gave his testimony with Sebastian Cabot,¹ in 1535. There was a Lazaro Sanchez among the companions of Pizarro, who in 1533, received a share of the treasures of Atahualpa.²

¹ *Probanza* of Dec. 31, 1535. ² Herrera, Decad. V., 55.

SANCHEZ (Lope).—Appointed pilot Oct. 17, 1522. The Council of the Indies, March 18,

1525, removed him on account of his refusal to go as pilot in the expedition of Garcia Joffre de Loaysa to the Strait of Magellan.

Muñoz MSS., LXXVI., 279. 280. Herrera, Decad. III., 215. *Doc. ineditos de Indias*, XLII., 547.

SANCHEZ (Miguel).—Appointed pilot in 1514, and acted as such on board the *Guecha*, in the expedition of Pedrarias Davila,¹ where he fell sick and died (?) in 1516.

Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 320. Herrera, Decad. II., 36.

SANTA CRUZ (Alonso de).—Of Seville.¹ "Archic cosmographus Regius sub Carolo V.," says Antonio;² but our impression is that he held the office only under Philip II., although already noted as a cosmographer in 1536. This is shown by his own testimony, given December 31 of that year, to the effect that "es cosmografo y ha averiguado el padron verdadero de la navegacion de todas esta tierras [de Paria y Cumana] con el señor licenciado Carvajal."³ He was then only cosmographer of the Casa de Contratacion. He had previously accompanied Sebastian Cabot in the expedition to La Plata (1526-1530), where he seems to have seen traces at Cape Frio of the establishments founded by Americus Vespuccius,⁴ and also sirens of the sterner sex.⁵ He is the author of a celebrated (and as yet unpublished) *Islario*, from which we have borrowed important information,⁶ and he has furnished Oviedo with geographical data concerning the east coast of South America. Santa Cruz seems to have died in 1576.⁷ He conversed with Fernando Columbus concerning the discoveries of his father: "lo oyó decir à D. Fernando Colón que dice ser hijo de D. Cristóbal Colón."⁸ Santa Cruz wrote a number of works, none of which, except one,⁹ were ever printed, but four of them still exist in the National Library at Madrid, viz.:

Cronica de los Reyes Catolicos Fernando e Isabel.—G. 24.

Nobiliario General.—Y, 105, 9.

Libro de blasones, Part II.—Z, 118.

Libro de longitudes, y manera que hasta ahora se ha tenido en el arte de navegar. Dedicated to Philip II.—Aa, 97.

We have been unable to ascertain whether he ever wrote the *General Geografia* announced in

his *Islario*. Perhaps it is the geographical work mentioned by Alexio Venegas, and which is lost.

For his *Islario General de todo el Mundo*, see *supra*, No. 227, p. 621.

¹ Venegas, *Diferencia de libros*, cap. xvi. ² Antonio, *Bibliot. Hisp. Nova*. ³ *Probanza* of December 31, 1536. ⁴ Adolf Varnhagen, *Sull' importanza d'un manoscritto inedito*. Vienna, 1869, 8vo, p. 413. ⁵ Oviedo, II., 179. Columbus made the same assertion, but his sirens were female. In either case they were, of course, simple manatees. ⁶ *Supra*, p. 237. ⁷ Navarrete, *Opusculos*, II., 61-86. ⁸ *Probanza* above cited. ⁹ *Relacion que hizo al consejo del rey de los Anales de Gerónimo de Zurita*, in Zurita's Annals, Zaragoza, 1610, Vol. VI.

SANT MARTIN (Andres de).—Pigafetta calls him "San Martino de Sevilla";¹ but Kohl says that he was a Frenchman. In February, 1512, we see him in the employ of the Casa de Contratacion, and occupying a position among scientific mariners sufficiently high to become a candidate for the post of Pilot-Major of Spain, just rendered vacant by the death of Americus Vespuccius.²

"Por cedula de Burgos, 1512, 22 de Mayo, nombrando a Andres de S. Martin piloto de S. A. con 20,000 de salario."

Idem in 1516, 1517, and 1519,³ Sant Martin accompanied Magellan as an "astrologer," says Barros.⁴ By that term must be understood "astronomer," for we know of astronomical observations made by him at Rio Janeiro,⁵ when the *San Antonio*, on the roll of which he figures as pilot, was in that port, Dec. 13-16, 1519.

He is one of the twenty-seven members of the expedition who were treacherously murdered in the island of Matan, May 1, 1521, three days after Magellan.⁶ Sant Martin wrote two accounts or journals of that expedition, which were in the possession of Gines de Mafra, and taken away when the Portuguese authorities imprisoned him at Lisbon⁷ in 1523.

¹ Pigafetta, *Navigacion et descouvrement de la Indie Superieure*, MS. ² Kohl, *Discovery of Maine*, 213.

³ Navarrete, III., 307. ⁴ Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 213, 214, 217, 265. ⁵ Barros, Decad. III., lib. v., cap. ix.

⁶ Herrera, Decad. II., 104. ⁷ Navarrete, III., 66; ⁸ IV., 387. We presume that is the origin of the statements of Herrera and Pinelo relative to an account intitled *Del descubrimiento del estrecho de Magallanes*.

SEQUEIRA (Diego Lopez de).—Considered by the Spaniards as one of the two most competent members of the Badajoz junta in 1524.

Muñoz MSS., LXXVII., 58.

SERRANO (Juan Rodriguez).—Portuguese pilot settled in Seville.¹ Antonio de Brito and Peter Martyr, however, call him a Spaniard.² He accompanied Alonso Velez de Mendoza³ in 1499, and Pedrarias Davila in 1514.

“Cedula, Madrid 8 febr. 1514.⁴ Piloto con 30000 mrs. de salario.”

He figures among the pilots of the expedition to La Plata,⁵ which was to sail in May, 1515, and commanded the *Santiago* in the voyage of Magellan,⁶ from which he never returned. Charles V. in 1527, instructed Alvaro de Saavedra Ceron, to inquire in Cebu “si viven Juan Serrano piloto i otros que con el fueron presos : rescatarlos, i rason de todo.”⁷ He had been seized by the natives when they killed Magellan, April 27, 1521,⁸ and died at Zebu, May following. Some believe he was poisoned.⁹ “Good pilot, bad captain,” says Oviedo.¹⁰

¹ Sebastian Alvarez, in Navarrete, IV., 155. ² Anghiera, Decad. III., lib. v., 54. Navarrete, IV., 308. ³ *Doc. ineditos de Indias*, XXXVI., 455, and *Parecer* of Nov. 13, 1515, unpublished, but quoted by Navarrete, III., 594. ⁴ Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 25, 214, 231, 5319. Oviedo, III., 22. ⁵ Navarrete, IV., 21. May 1, 1521, he is mentioned as captain of the *Concepcion*, *op. cit.*, p. 66. ⁷ Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 35; ⁸ LXXVI., 91. ⁹ Barros, Decad. III., lib. 5, caps. 7 and 8. ¹⁰ Oviedo, II., 15. Anghiera, *ubi supra*.

SILVA (Joan de).—Of Graciosa in the Azores. Pilot who was to accompany Magellan in 1519, but went as passenger only in the *Concepcion*.

Sebastian Alvarez, in Navarrete, IV., 19, and 153.

SIMOENS (Sebastian).—Portuguese pilot, who wrote to the King of Portugal a letter concerning a new route to the Moluccas, but, through the Strait of Magellan, April 18, 1527.

Muñoz MSS., LXXVII., 55.

SOLADOR (Diego Sanchez).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 547.

SOLIS (Blas de).—Juan Diaz de Solis' brother.

“Cedula de Logroño, 28 Sept. 1512 nombrado a Blas de Solis, Piloto de la Casa [de Contratacion] con 25000.”

Blas de Solis was the brother-in-law of Francisco de Torres, by whom he was succeeded as “Piloto de Su Alteza,” and died Dec. 12, 1514.

Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 265, 319, 322.

SOLIS (Juan Dias de).—A pilot born in Portugal, says Damião de Goes.¹ This pretended Portuguese nationality may be due to a homonymous sea captain of the time, who was born in Portugal. January 21, 1517, the Spanish government wrote to the Casa de Contratacion :

“Juan Diez de Solis, Portugues, vino huyendo a estos reynos de Castilla desde Portugal, por muchos crimines y ecesos que alla habia hecho.”²

(The complaint was that this Solis had equipped several vessels in Seville, and gone to Brazil, from which he boldly returned to Europe, with a cargo of dyewood.)

Peter Martyr³ and Oviedo,⁴ however, say that Solis was a native of Lebrixa, in Spain, and domiciled at Lepe.⁵ The first time he appears in the documents, it is as regards the voyage of discovery which he accomplished with Vincente Yañez Pinzon, 1508-1509; for the pretended discovery of Yucatan in 1506 is a pure legend.⁶ He was imprisoned immediately upon landing in Spain, we do not know for what reasons. It is probable that Solis was soon released and went then to Portugal on business, which led him to return to Spain soon afterwards.⁷ When we next see Solis, it is in relation to his appointment as Pilot-Major upon the death of Americus Vespuccius :

“1512. Cedula de Burgos, 25 marzo, nombrando a Juan Diaz de Solis, vezino de Lepe, piloto mayor en lugar por fallecimiento de Amerigo Vespuchi.”⁸

His salary was 50,000 mrs., 10,000 of which he had to pay, and did pay, to Maria Cerezo, the widow of his predecessor.⁹ Solis then led the expedition to La Plata, which sailed October 8, 1515, according to Herrera,¹⁰ who seems to have had access to the original documents concerning that unfortunate voyage. We must say that Muñoz states that the “armada se despachava en S. Lucar por Mayo.”¹¹ This may mean that the expedition was equipped only in May, at San Lucar, but that it sailed from Lepe

in October.¹² He was killed and eaten up by the Indians of the Charruas tribe, before September, 1516; when the expedition returned to Spain under the command of Francisco de Torres, his brother-in-law. We infer the date of the death of Solis from the fact that, November 16, 1516, Andres de San Martin was a candidate for the office held by him, because "agora es fallecido"; but the expedition had already returned to Spain, September 4, 1516.¹³

¹ De Goes, *Chronica do Rey Manoel*, II., 437. ² *Doc. ineditos de Indias*, XI., 291. ³ Anghiera, *Decad. lib. x.*, p. 42. ⁴ Oviedo, II., 167. ⁵ *Doc. inedit. de Indias*, XXII., 5. ⁶ *Supra*, pp. 453-464. ⁷ João Mendez Vasconcellos, in Navarrete, III., 127-133. ⁸ Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 265, 213, 230. ⁹ Navarrete, III., 305. ¹⁰ Herrera *Decad. II.*, ii. ¹¹ Muñoz, *op. cit.*, 319. ¹² Las Casas, IV., 270. ¹³ Navarrete, III., 307.

SOPUERTA.—Of Palos. Pilot of Fernando Cortés at a very old age.

Bernal Diaz, ccv.

SOTIL (Fernandez).—Pilot of Francisco Gordillo in the expedition sent, in 1521, by Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon and Juan Ortíz de Matienzo to the continent west of the Bahamas.

Brevoort, *Verrazano the Navigator*, 70. Shea, *Old Florida*, 238.

SOTO (Diego de).—Of Triana, born in 1500. Pilot, who gave his testimony in 1535.

Probanzas of December 31, 1535.

SOTO (Francisco de).—Spanish Pilot, but who remained on shore.

"Cedula de Valladolid, 5 Sept. 1513 nombrando a Francisco de Coto Piloto con 25000 para que esté en su casi i sirva en lo que se le mandare. Parece un piloto sin obligacion de navegar. Per otra cedula de Aranda, 28 Julio 1515, se concede que siendo habil este Coto, puede usar el oficio de Piloto mayor mientras su hermano Jn. Diaz de Solis este en el viage a que va."¹

That is, although called De Soto, he was the brother of Diaz de Solis, and filled his place of Pilot-Major *ad interim*. He again figures as Royal Pilot with a salary of 25,000 mrs., September 14, 1518, but seems to have died about that time.²

¹ Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 306; ² LXXVI., 85. Navarrete, III., 141.

SOTO (Juan de).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 547.

TARRAGONA (Simon).—Astrologer (or Astronomer) at the junta of Badajoz in 1524. Accompanied Alvaro de Saavedra, in the expedition which sailed from Aguatanejo on the west coast of New Spain for the Moluccas, Nov. 1, 1526—Aug. 15, 1534.

Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 49; LXXVII., 58. Navarrete, V., 480.

TORENO (Nuño Garcia de).—Celebrated pilot who, November 13, 1515, stated that he had drawn maps in the house of Americus Vespuccius: "haciendo yo cartas en la casa de Amerigo." He was therefore engaged as a cartographer before 1512.¹

"1519, desde 9 setiembre. Nuño Garcia, Piloto i Maestro de hacer cartas de navegar con 30,000."²

By order of Magellan he executed eighteen maps, at the rate of 5 ducats a piece, for the memorable voyage of 1519.³ Gomara says that Garcia de Toreno was a member of the Badajoz junta in 1524. All we could find is that he signed one of the documents addressed from Badajoz, April 25, 1524, to Charles V.⁴ The earliest map made by him which has reached us, is the fragment of a planisphere, bearing the inscription:

"Fue fecha en la noble villa de Valladolid por nuño garcia de toreno piloto y maestro de cartas de navegar de Su magestad: Año de . 1.5.2.2."⁵

He made a mappamundi for Peter Martyr, in Seville, which served for the map of the New World, engraved to accompany the *Libri delle Indie occidentali*, and published, as we believe, by Ramusio, at Venice,⁶ in Oct.—Dec., 1534.

Garcia de Toreno enjoyed a very great reputation. Pedro Ruiz de Villegas says of him:

"Nuño Garcia que fue muy grande oficial de hazerlas [padrones de las cartas hechas en Castilla] y trabajo de anco los mejores padrones que pudo."⁴

¹ *Parecer de pilotos*, copied by Muñoz, unpublished, but cited by Navarrete, *Opusculos*, I., 67. ² Muñoz MSS., LXXVI., 142. ³ Navarrete, IV., 8, 180. ⁴ *Apud* Cespedes, *Regimiento*, 148, 152. ⁵ *Supra*, pp. 518, 597. ⁶ *Bibliot. Americ. Vetust.*, No. 190; *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, No 10, pp. 168-171.

TORRE (Hernando de la).—Of Burgos. Companion of Garcia de Loaisa, and describer of his expedition to the Strait of Magellan, August 2, 1525—June 1, 1526—June 11, 1528; probably the best account of all.

Navarrete, V., doc. xiv., 241-313.

TORRES (Francisco de).—Brother-in-law of Juan Diaz¹ and Blas de Solis.²

“Cedula de Mansilla, 24 Nov. 1514, recibiendo por nuestro piloto Francisco de Torres en lugar e por vacation de su defunto cuñado Blas de Solis con igual salario.”²

Idem in 1515, 1516, 1518, and 1519.³ He brought back to Spain the remnants of the expedition of Solis to La Plata, in Sept., 1516.

¹ Navarrete, III., 135. ² Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 49, 322. ³ *Ibidem*, 344.

TRISTAN (Diego?).—Portuguese. Pilot in the service of Spain in 1524.

Muñoz MSS., LXXVII., 55.

UMBRIA,¹ or DE LA UMBRIA, or DE UNGARIA² (Gonzales de).—Pilot of Cortés³ in 1519, and had his toes cut off as a punishment.⁴ He returned to Spain in 1524, and placed himself under the protection of Fonseca.

¹ Bernal Diaz, lvii., 4 clxviii, ccv. ² Oviedo, III., 261. ³ Herrera, Decad. II., 132, 215.

UMBRIA or DE UNGRIA¹ (Juan de).—Of Moguer, born before 1453.¹ Pilot of one of the four vessels which sailed under the command of Jorge de Sosa² in November, 1495. He accompanied Vincente Yañez Pinzon in 1499—1500,³ and was the pilot of the galley *Santa Maria de la Vitoria*, in the voyage of Pedrarias Davila⁴ in 1514. Gave his testimony at Porto Rico⁵ in 1515. He was a cousin of Martin Alonso Pinzon.¹

¹ Navarrete, III., 547, 559, 560, 563. ² Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 186, 4320. ³ Navarrete, III., 19. ⁵ *Probanças* of January 3, 1515.

UMBRIA (Pedro de).—Oviedo states positively that he was one of the pilots of Columbus in his fourth voyage: “En el quarto é ultimo viage . . . con quatro caravelas . . . de las quales eran pilotos Pedro de Umbria, e Diego Martin Cabrera, e Martin de los Reyes.”¹ Elsewhere,

referring to the countries discovered in the course of that expedition, he invokes the testimony of those pilots, as having himself heard it from them: “Segund yo oy à los pilotos Pedro de Umbria é Diego Martin Cabrera, é Martin de los Reyes, y à otros que se hallaron en ello.”² Withal, it must be stated that Pedro de Umbria does not appear in any capacity in the official roll of the expedition,³ which, however, mentions only one pilot, Juan Sanchez, Pilot-Major, who died May 17, 1504. Nor do we feel certain that this Pedro de Umbria is the Pedro de Umbria who accompanied Diego de Nicuesa in 1508. The latter Pedro lost his life in that expedition; consequently, Oviedo could have “heard” him give information only before that time, which is an early period on the part of Oviedo for collecting data concerning a history which he only commenced writing in 1532.

“Hernandez de Oviedo vezino de la Española ha tenido cuidado y inclinacion de screuir las cosas de Indias: ofrece llevar adelante su trabajo si se le da algun salario para el gasto de recoger materias i mantener un oficial . . .”⁴

Then when he speaks of the Pedro de Umbria of Nicuesa, he seems never to have heard of him before: “Allí fuesse un piloto, llamado Pedro de Umbria.”⁵ So does Peter Martyr, when relating his death; nor do either of them recall his supposed agency in the fourth voyage of Columbus.

¹ Oviedo, II., 135, 5467; ² I., 78. ³ Navarrete, I., 289-296. ⁴ Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 78, *sub anno* 1532.

UMBRIA (Pedro de).—We are unable to state whether the present is only the above.

“But Beragua was founde by the vnfortunate destenie of Petrvs de Vmbria. For he, beinge a man of prompt wytte and apt forwardenes to attempte thynges . . . tooke vpon hym the aduenture to searche the shore to the intent to find a waye for his felowes. . . . But Vmbria with the other eleuen, were vtterlye caste away.”—“Allí fuesse un piloto, llamado Pedro de Umbria.”²

These two quotations refer to the expedition of Diego de Nicuesa, *sub anno*, 1508.

¹ Anghiera, Decad. II., 28. ² Oviedo, II., 467.

URDANETA (Andres de).—Of Villafranca de Guipuzcoa, born in 1498. Accompanied Juan

Sebastian de Elcano in the expedition of Loaisa, which he has described with the pilot Macias del Poyo.¹ He was on board the *Sancti Spiritus*, which was lost entering the Strait of Magellan :

“Se perdió a la entrada del Estrecho al cabo de las Once mil Virgines, scis meses poco mas ó menos despues que se hicieron á la vela en la Coruña.”

Urdaneta only held the office of purser, but he was also a good cosmographer,² who seems to have furnished geographical data concerning that important voyage. We learn from him, as eye-witness, that Loaisa died July 30, 1526, and Sebastian de Elcano four days afterwards, Aug. 4. He also went with Pedro de Alvarado³ in 1541, entered the Church in 1553, died June 3, 1568.²

¹ Navarrete, V., 366-368, 376-382, 401-439. ² *Bibliot. maritima*, I., 99-107, and p. 101 for the letter of Philip II. of September 24, 1559. ³ Herrera, Decad. VII., 39.

URIARTE (Martin de).—Pilot of Garcia Jofre de Loaisa to the Strait of Magellan, June 24, 1525—June 11, 1528, when his ship reached Tidor. Wrote a journal of the expedition: “Y despues de pasado todo esto que arriba he escrito, yo Martin de Uriarte, piloto . . .”

Navarrete, V., 241-287-313.

VACA (Pero Sanchez). — Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 544.

VAEZ (Manoel).—Portuguese pilot who was wrecked in 1548.

Oviedo, *Historia General*, IV., 587.

VANEGAS (Francisco). — Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 547.

VANEGAS (Juan). — Pilot of the vessel on which were first tried the nautical inventions of Diego Ribeiro.

Navarrete, *Hist. de la Nautica*, 364.

VARA (Francisco). — Of Triana. Pilot of Pedro de Vadillo in 1525 at St. Marta.

“Hombre diestro en la navegacion, pero muy cursado en blasfemar.”

Oviedo, *Historia General de las Indias*, II., 350. *Documentos ineditos de Indias*, XLII., 545.

VASQUEZ (Lorenzo). — Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 445.

VELASCO.—He may be Pedro Velasco, the pilot of Diogo de Teive in the discovery of the island of Flores, one of the Azores.¹ This Velasco is represented as a Spanish captain who explored the St. Lawrence in 1506. The chief authority for the statement is doubtful.

¹ *Archivo dos Açores*, I., 250. Le Blanc, *Les Voyages fameux*, Pars III., 63. Charlevoix, *Hist. de la Nouvelle France*, I., 4.

VESPUCCIUS (Americus).—Son of a notary. Born at Florence, March 9, 1451.¹ October 19, 1476, was at Trebbio, where he had taken refuge on account of the plague.² We possess sixty-eight letters addressed to him in 1483, 1488, 1489, 1490, and 1491 (1492 new style), at Florence.³ These letters are nearly all directed “*Amerigho di Ser Nastago* [issued from Mr. Anastasio] *Vespucci* . . . *In casa di Lorenzo di Piero Francesco de' Medici* [in the house of Lorenzo, issued from Piero Francesco de Medici].” They relate to business matters chiefly, showing that he was then employed in the commercial firm of the Medici in that city, and in direct correspondence with the head of the house, Lorenzo (cousin of Lorenzo the Magnificent), which indicates a certain position.

If we accept as authentic the fragment of a letter discovered by Bandini⁴ in a private collection, Vespuccius was already in Spain, at Cadiz, January 30, 1493 (1492 old style).⁵ A letter addressed by him to Corrado Stanga, the diplomatic agent of the Medici at Genoa, dated December 30, 1493 (1492 old style), represents him as being then settled in Seville as a merchant.⁶ On the other hand, as the last letter addressed to him in Florence (which has reached us), is that of Basilius de Monte, dated “a di x Novembris 1491,”⁷ or 1492 new style, we are authorised to infer that Vespuccius emigrated to Spain in the winter of 1492-1493. In the account, ascribed to him, of his first transatlantic voyage, there is the following statement :

“El motivo della uenuta mia in questo regno di Spagna fu per tractare mercatantie: et come seguissi in q'sto proposito circa di quattro anni . . . deliberai lasciarmi della mercantia . . . midisposi dandare a uedere parte

del mondo . . . :—The reason of my coming to this kingdom of Spain was to engage in commercial pursuits ; but after following that occupation for about four years, I decided to leave off business . . . and to visit the different parts of the World.”⁸

The account further states that he sailed on that expedition : “del porto di Calis adi ro maggio 1497.”⁹ His sojourn of four years in Spain would then date from May, 1493 ; whilst the letter of Bandini shows Vespuccius as already in Spain, January 30 of that year. It may be replied, and the terms of that letter authorise the supposition, that he was then simply travelling in Spain,¹⁰ and that we can consider him as actually settled there, within the meaning of the account, only when he wrote the letter to Stanga, viz.: “Sybilie die XXX decembris M° CCCC° LXXXII [1493, n. s.] But, as that document affords no clue to ascertain how long before he had taken his domicile in Seville, we must either see a contradiction between the statement contained in the account of the first voyage, or consider Vespuccius as having removed to Spain in May, 1493. On the other hand, if the Bandini fragment is accepted, the date should be removed back to January preceding.

The object of this analysis is chiefly to ascertain whether in one case or in the other, Vespuccius may have met then Columbus in Spain. We must answer in the affirmative, as the great Genoese was at Seville (with the exception of a short time spent at Barcelona and Cordova) from March 1 to September 25. The expression of Columbus when speaking of the Florentine : “he has always endeavoured to be agreeable to me,”¹¹ may therefore date from the time when Columbus returned from having accomplished his great discovery,¹² but not from an earlier period. The analysis shows likewise that the statement so often repeated by historians, that Vespuccius accompanied Columbus in his first expedition, is altogether devoid of truth.

We next see his name¹³ in documents only January 12, 1496, when he appears as carrying out a contract made by a Florentine merchant,

established in Spain, probably at Seville, since at least 1486, and called Juanoto Berardi. At that date, Americus acts as administrator or liquidator, on account of the death of Berardi, which had occurred in December, 1495.

It has been asserted by Navarrete and Humboldt that Vespuccius remained at Seville, managing the Berardi firm¹⁴ until at least May, 1898. This assertion, if true, would dismiss at once the alleged authenticity of the voyage of 1497—1499, which, chronologically, we must now mention. But as we have twice already stated,¹⁵ there is not a particle of evidence on that point, beyond a reference to Muñoz, who is represented as having found proofs to the effect that Vespuccius remained in charge of the Berardi firm, and as such, equipped the third expedition of Columbus (spring of 1498). The document where such proofs are said to have been discovered, is the register—*Gastos de las Armadas de las Indias*—of the Casa de Contratacion of Seville. Now the only datum ever extracted from those books, referring directly or indirectly to Americus Vespuccius, is the above-mentioned receipt of January 12, 1496. And although a controversy has been raging for the last ninety years relative to the authenticity of the voyage of 1497, and in which Navarrete, Santarem, Varnhagen, and others took an active part, exploring even anew the archives of Seville, those records,—the mere production of which would have decided the point definitely,—never could be made to yield a single name or date to substantiate the assertion ascribed to Muñoz.¹⁶

The whereabouts of Americus Vespuccius after January 12, 1496, therefore can be ascertained, thus far, only from the account of his first transatlantic voyage, said to have been written by him, and in which it is stated to have been accomplished under the Spanish flag, and to have lasted from May 10 or 20, 1497, until October 15, 1498 or 1499. “Adi 15 doctobre 1498,” says the Italian text ; “XV. Octobris die anno Domini Mccccclxxxix (*sic pro lxxxxix*),” prints the *Cosmographiæ introductio*. As it is

said therein that the voyage occupied eighteen months: "nel qual uiaggio ste ' mo. 18. mesi," and "in qua profectioe xviii consummavimus menses," the date of 1499 is necessarily the correct one. At all events, there having been at that time so many transatlantic voyages, both legitimate and clandestine, shows that, *a priori*, and chronologically speaking, thus far, this first expedition of Vespuccius is not improbable.

The next data are also to be derived from statements ascribed to Vespuccius, concerning his second expedition. This is represented to have taken from May 16, 1499: "adi 16. di Maggio 1499," until September 8, "adi 8. di Settembre," but of what year is not stated. The account, however, does not allow a duration of more than sixteen months, and the voyage therefore terminated in 1500. Still there is at the outset an impossibility, which applies either to the first or to the second expedition, viz., the date of May 16, 1499, for the departure of the latter. It is certain that if Vespuccius did not return from his first voyage before October 15, 1499, he could not have sailed on the second expedition May 16 of that year.

Now, we have the testimony of Alonso de Hojeda that Vespuccius, together with La Cosa, accompanied him in his first exploration of the American continent: "en este viage, trujo consigo a Juan de la Cosa, é Morigo Vespuche."¹⁷ The date when that expedition sailed is not known exactly. We only know that it was in the summer of 1499, and can fix its return before July, 1500. This voyage embraces, therefore, about fourteen months of Vespuccius' second expedition. To account for the remaining space of ten weeks, we must assume that one of the four ships of Hojeda did not return with the others, but about two months and a half later, and that Vespuccius was on board that vessel.

We have next two more expeditions, but they were accomplished under the Portuguese flag, and known only by the accounts also ascribed to Vespuccius. The first of these lasted from

May 10, 1501: "adi . 10 . di Maggio 1501," until September 7, 1502: "adi . 7 . Septembre del 1502." The second, from May 10, 1503: "adi . 10 . di Maggio 1503," until June 18, 1504: "adi . 18 . di Giugno 1504."

September 4, 1504, Vespuccius was in Lisbon, where he finished writing the account of his four expeditions, or the abridgement of the same which we possess, in Italian and Latin.

He is next seen in Seville, where, February 5, 1505, Christopher Columbus entrusts him with a letter for his son Diego, who was at the Court. We notice in that letter the following characteristic passage:

"Fablé con Amerigo Vespuchi, portador desta, el cual va allá llamado sobre cosas de navegacion. El siempre tuvo deseo de me hacer placer: es mucho hombre de bien: la fortuna le ha sido contraria como a otros muchos: sus trabajos no le han aprovechado tanto como la razon requiere. El va por mio y en mucho deseo de hacer cosa que redonde á mi bien, si á sus manos está. Yo non se de acá en que yo le emponga que á mi aproveche, porque non sé que sea lo que allá le quieren. El va determinado de hacer por mi todo lo á él que fuese posible. Ved allá en que puede aprovechar, y trabajad por ello, que el lo hará todo y fablara, y lo porna en obra; y sea todo lo que se haya podido decir que toque á esto, se lo he dicho, y enformado de la paga que á mi se ha fecho y se haz:— I have spoken with Amerigo Vespuchi, who bears this letter, and has been summoned to the Court for maritime affairs. He has always endeavoured to be agreeable to me, and is a very worthy man. Fortune has proved adverse to him, as to so many others, and his efforts did not profit him as they ought. He starts from here in the best disposition to aid me in something useful, if he possibly can. I am at a loss what to request of him, as I do not know what he is called for at the Court. Vespuccius goes hence determined to do for me all he can. See in what way he can be useful to me, and study [yourself] the matter over, as he will do everything, as well as speak and set all means at work. But let all this be done secretly, so that they should not suspect him. So far as I am concerned, I have told him all I could about my own affairs, and how I had been and am rewarded."¹⁸

Vespuccius, on his return from Toro, settled in Seville. April 11, 1505, he is already called "Vecino de la cibdad de Sevilla." April 24 following, he was naturalised a Castilian subject, "for the good services which he had already rendered and was expected to render to the crown of Castile and Leon."¹⁹ Immediately

afterwards, he was instructed to prepare, conjointly with Vicente Yañez Pinzon, an expedition to the Molucca islands. He was at Moguer and Palos in the spring of 1505, where he met one Pedro de Miranda, who had been sent to make enquiries concerning the same: "consultar é fablar con Amerigo é Vicente Yañez en lo tocante à la armada que se ha de facer por mandado de S.A."²⁰ The conference with Miranda was renewed in June following. It is, doubtless, the expedition which was equipped in Biscay, "para descubrir la especeria," and is mentioned in the cedula of August 23, 1506.²¹ September 15, 1506, the Casa de Contratacion sent Vespuccius to the Court to inform the King that the squadron could not be ready before 1507.²² In fact, it was broken up, owing to the protest of the King of Portugal.²³ But how can we reconcile those dates, all derived from authentic documents, with the letter of Hieronymo Vianello?

That Venetian military man writes to the Signoria, in a letter dated: "Burgos adi dezembro 1506," that two ships which had been sent on a voyage of discovery beyond Hispaniola, under the command of Juan Biscaino [La Cosa] and Amerigo Fiorentino, have just returned to Spain.²⁴

It is true that Juan de la Cosa returned from such an expedition during the last two months of 1506, but those who accompanied him were Martin de los Reyes and Andres de Morales; whilst there is no mention of Americus Vespuccius in connection with that most successful voyage, which lasted nearly two years.²⁵

According to the despatch sent from Burgos, March 16, 1508, by Francisco de Cornaro to the Signoria of Venice, the Spanish government was preparing an expedition to the Moluccas, to be entrusted to Vespuccius in that year:

"Almerico Fiorentino ha havuto ducati 13 m. delle trate de dette Insule et che è per andare a provedere de buone navi a Biscaglia, le quali tutte perche vuol fare inuestire de piombo et andar per via de ponente a trovar le terre che trovano portoghesi navigando per levante et partira infallanter questo Marzo."²⁶

There is no doubt in our mind but that there is an error in the date, probably on account of the method of computing the beginning of the year, and that this expedition is only the one which, prepared in Biscay, went to Seville, where it was dismissed in 1507; two of the ships being sent to Hispaniola instead, and one remaining for the intended voyage of Pinzon and Solis, which they finally carried out in 1508-9.²⁷ The fact that the above expedition to the Moluccas never sailed out is shown by the circumstance that it would have been a violation of the Treaty of Tordesillas, which the King of Portugal had already invoked when he first heard of the project; by the dates of official documents quoted below, and proving that Vespuccius was in Spain in 1508, in 1509, and to the day of his death.

March 14 and 18, 1508. Americus Vespuccius is with the Court at Burgos.²⁸

March 22, 1508. He is appointed Pilot-Major.²⁹

"Por cedula de Burgos, 22 Marzo 1508, se nombra Piloto Mayor a Amerigo Vispuche, vezino de Sevilla, con salario de 50,000 [with additional 25,000] mrs."³⁰

Then is the entry *sub anno* 1508 as follows:

"Que pagó a Amerigo Vespuche é Diego Rodriguez de Grajeda é Esteban de Santa Celay, maestros de las naos de S. A. e otras personas, per costa da la hacienda que procedió de la armada de la especeria este año de ocho [1508] 161,392 mrs."³¹

This does not refer to an expedition sent to the Indian seas in 1508, but to the settlement of the expenses incurred for that intended voyage, initiated in 1505 by Ferdinand of Aragon, revived in 1506 by Philip the Handsome, equipped partially by Vespuccius, but abandoned when the King of Portugal entered a protest against the fitting-out of that expedition, as we have already stated. The following recapitulation of dates shows that Vespuccius cannot have been at sea during any of those periods.

1507. November 26, Americus Vespuccius is ordered to repair to the Court.³²

1508. February, March 14, 18, and 22, he is with the Court at Burgos.³³

1508. August 18, a new *çedula* increases his duties as Pilot-Major, requiring him to examine pilots, and to gather cartographical data for the model map.³⁴

1508. December 9, he corresponds from Seville with Cardinal Ximenez.³⁵

1509. June 12, he is still in Seville,³⁶ and from that time to the date of his death, February 22, 1512, he collects in person regularly, his salary as Pilot-Major.³⁷

It is scarcely necessary to add that he had nothing whatever to do, personally, with giving the name of America to the New World. This has been the work of a German cosmographer called Martin Waldseemüller, who invented and applied the word in 1507, while writing his *Cosmographiae introductio* at St. Diey, in Lorraine.

Americus Vespuccius left a widow, Maria Cerezo, but no children, as the pension of the latter reverted to "su hermana i heredera Catalina Cereço."³⁸

¹ Bandini, *Vita*, p. xxiv., on the authority of "un libro d'approvazioni d'età, che si conserva nell' Archivio Secreto di S. A. R." (of Tuscany, at Florence). Vespuccius then was nearly of the same age as Columbus; the latter being born between October, 1446, and October, 1451. ² Autograph in Feuillet de Conches, *Cause-ries d'un curieux*, Vol. III. It was purchased by him in 1853 for 1000 francs, from Charron, the Parisian bookseller, and doubtless came originally from the Stroziana library mentioned by Bandini, p. xxvii., a portion of which is now in the Laurentiana, since 1786. That valuable autograph was again sold at the Fillon sale. ³ *Archivio Mediceo avanti il Principato; filza LXVIII.*, 220 *sequitur*.—State archives at Florence. ⁴ Bandini, *Vita*, p. xxxv. It is signed *Donato Niccolini*, and *Amerigo Vespucci*, both being represented as travelling together in Spain. Bandini describes it "un frammento di lettera tutto dal tempo corroso, e mancante nella più volte citata raccolta posseduta dall' Erudito Signor Abate Scarlatti [in 1745]." ⁵ The Florentines at that time commenced the year on the day of the Annunciation, March 25. Bartolozzi, *Ricerche*, p. 93. Hence the expression of "old style" used here. ⁶ It is signed: "Amerigho Vespucci merchante fiorentino in Sybillia." That document was discovered in the State archives at Mantua, by the late Prof. Gilberto Govi, who published it in the *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, November 18, 1888, p. 299. ⁷ *Archivio Mediceo, op. cit.*, No. 281. ⁸ *Lettera*, p. 2. ⁹ The Latin translation (in the *Cosmographiae introductio*) gives: "Vigessima die Maii MCCCXXVII de porta Calice." ¹⁰ "L'uni di

noi dua, cioè o Donato o Amerigo frà breve tempo potrebbe essere che passeranno a Firenze." Bandini, *ubi supra*. Vespuccius may have been one of those two who returned to Florence. ¹¹ Navarrete, I., p. 351. ¹² After that date, Columbus and Vespuccius can only have met between June, 1496, and May, 1497; and in the winter of 1500-1501. ¹³ Navarrete, III., 317. ¹⁴ We have not seen Book vii. of the unpublished part of Muñoz' *Historia*, mentioned by Navarrete, I., 351, note; but we are satisfied that it contains no documentary evidence on the point here discussed. Otherwise Navarrete would have quoted it (as he did, Vol. III., 317, note 2, for the date of 1495), in the various biographies of Vespuccius which he published after 1825. ¹⁵ *Supra*, pp. 353-357. ¹⁶ Navarrete, III., 544; ¹⁷ I., 351-352; ¹⁸ III., 292, 320; ¹⁹ 294, 302; ²⁰ 194; ²¹ 321. ²² *Supra*, pp. 462-64, 730-31. ²³ Humboldt, *Examen critique*, V., 157. For the text in full see Varnhagen, *Nouvelles recherches*, 12-14, and *Copia de uno capitolo de lettere di Hieronimo Vianelo, scrite a la Signoria date a Burgos a di 23 dezembro 1506*, in *I Diarii di Marin Sanuto*, Vol. VI. (1881), cols. 533, 539-541. ²⁴ Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 217, 220, ²⁷ 230. ²⁵ *Bibliot. Americ. Vetust., Additions*, p. xxvii. ²⁶ *Supra*, p. 463. ²⁸ Navarrete, III., 115, ²⁹ 297, ³¹ 304, ³² 114, ³³ 322, ³⁴ 299, ³⁶ 323, ³⁷ 304. ³⁰ Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 217, 220, 230. ³⁵ *Cartas de Indias*, 5, with facsimile, and *supra*, p. 126, note 4. ³⁶ Varnhagen, *Appendice segundo*, 37. ³⁸ Muñoz MSS., LXXVII., 28; and *supra*, pp. 107, 335.

VESPUCCIUS (Juan).—The nephew of Americus, and also born in Florence. In the *çedula* of May 22, 1512, he is called "Juan de Vespucci, sobrino de Amerigo Vespucci." According to the genealogical tree exhibited by Bandini,¹ Americus had three brothers, viz.: Antonio, Girolamo, and Bernardo. Antonio, who was the eldest, is the only one who had children. There were five, and Giovanni was the youngest. It follows that all the Vespuccis who, since the sixteenth century, claimed to belong to that family could only be descendants of the eldest branch by Antonio, as Americus himself left no issue.

Juan Vespuccius appears in documents for the first time, May 22, 1512, in a *çedula* appointing him pilot of the Casa de Contratacion.

"Cedula de Burgos, 22 Mayo, 1512. Juan Vespucci es nombrado piloto de la Casa con 20,000."²

July 24 following, he is instructed, with Juan Diaz de Solis, to construct the official model for sailing charts;³ but he alone was authorised to

take copies of the same: "Que Juan Vespuche haga las cartas de navegar sacadas del padron real, e no otro ninguno."⁴ He accompanied Pedrarias Davila as Pilot-Major of the expedition which sailed from San Lucar for Darien, April 12, 1514.⁵ According to Herrera, he was appointed, in 1515, a member of the junta composed of the best pilots that could be found for improving charts, with increased salary. The latter statement from Herrera is probably based upon the ordinance of August 6, 1515, granting Juan Vespuccius an annual remuneration of 10,000 marks.⁶

August 30, 1515, July 23, 1516, and May 6, 1519, he is inscribed in the rolls of the pilots to the King.⁷ He became a member of the Badajoz commission, and signed (as such) one of the official opinions,⁸ April 15, 1524.

March 28, 1525, Charles V. turns him out of office, probably for having declined to accompany Garcia Joffre de Loaisa in the expedition to the Strait of Magellan and Moluccas.⁹ He is nevertheless appointed one of the two officials (Miguel Garcia being the other) to examine pilots,¹⁰ in the place of Sebastian Cabot when sent to La Plata,¹⁰ April 5, 1526. Peter Martyr held him in great esteem:

"Of the which younge Vesputius is one to whom Americus Vesputius his vncke (being a Florentine borne) left the exact knowledge of the mariners facultie, as it were by inheritance after his death for he was a very expert maister in the knowledge of his carde, his compasse, and the eleuation of the pole starre with all that pertaineth therto. This younge Vesputius was assygned by the Kyng to bee one of the maisters of the gouernours Shippe, bicause he was cunninge in iudgyng the degrees of the eleuation of the pole starre by the quadrante. Vesputius is my verye familiar frende, and a wyttie younge man in whose company I take great pleasure, and therefore vse hym oftentimes for my geste. He hath also made many vyages into these coastes, and diligently noted suche things as he hath seene."¹¹

That was written before October, 1516; but in 1514, Peter Martyr already called Juan Vespuccius "Magister nauclerus."¹² Of his works we only possess a mappamundi constructed it seems in 1522—1523, engraved and published

twice in Italy, but curious chiefly on account of its equi-distant polar projection.¹³

¹ Bandini, *Vita di A. Vespucci*, pp. xxii.-iv., for what is known concerning the family. In our researches among the baptismal registers of Santa Maria del Fiore, we have failed to find the date of the birth or of the baptism of Juan Vespuccius. ² Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 264, 265, ³ 213; Navarrete, III., 306. ⁴ Navarrete, *Hist. de la Nautica*, 138. ⁵ Anghiera, Decad. II., 37. ⁶ Herrera, Decad. II., 18. ⁷ Navarrete, *Opusculos*, I., 75. ⁸ *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, 334. ⁹ Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 22, 52; Navarrete, IV., 341, ¹⁰ 306; Herrera, Decad. III., 215, ¹⁰ 260. ¹¹ Anghiera, Decad. III., 54; ¹² II., 37. ¹³ *Supra*, pp. 533-34, and facsimile.

VIEGAS (Gaspar).—Portuguese cartographer, concerning whom we only know that he is the author of a series of maps, one of which is signed as follows: "*Gaspar Viegas. D[outobr]o, 1534.*" *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, 183-185.

VILLALOBOS (Diego Garcia de).—Pilot of the *Santiaguillo*, who first explored the coast of Chili at the time of Pedro de Valdivia (1540). The earliest information concerning that coast, south of Valparaiso, was conveyed, however, by Alonso de Camargo.

Anuario hydrogr. de Chili, I., 466, 670.

VILLEGAS (Pedro Ruiz de).—Of Burgos. Cosmographer-Major of Charles V. Enjoyed an immense reputation as a mathematician and astrologer. Played an important part in the junta of Badajoz in 1524, being opposed to the sale of the Moluccas. He also invented a method for ascertaining the longitude, by the libration or by the phases of the moon. Was still living under the reign of Philip II, ¹ consequently after 1554—1556.

Navarrete, *Bibliot. maritima*, II., 613, and in his *Coleccion*, IV., 328-368. Herrera, Decad. III., 284; IV., 94. ¹ Vanderhamm, *Vida de D. Felipe el Prudente*, Madrid, 1632, p. 136.

VIZCAYA (Juan Sanchez de).—Pilot who explored and described the Rio de la Plata, and the Rio del Brasil, in 1539.

Lista de la Exposicion Americanista, B, 764.

VYZCAINO (Joanicote).—Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 545.

VYZCAINO (Lopez Sanchez).—*Ibidem*.

XALMIENTO (Cristobal Garcia).—Pilot of the *Pinta* in the first transatlantic expedition of Christopher Columbus, 1492-1493.

Navarrete, III., 571.

XIMENEZ and **JIMENEZ** (Fortun or Ortuño).—A great Basque cosmographer,¹ and Pilot-Major of the expedition sent by Cortés, October 29, 1533, to accomplish discoveries in the Pacific. He was on board the *Concepción*, but it is the other vessel, the *San Laçaro*, which discovered Lower California, December 24 following. Ximenez is charged with having murdered his captain, Diego Becerra de Mendoça. He was killed by the Indians of the island of Santa Cruz in the course of that expedition.

¹ Bernal Diaz, cc. *Doc. ineditos de Indias*, XII., 299. Herrera, Decad. V., 158. *U. S. Geogr. Surveys of W. of the 100th meridian*, p. 489, and *supra*, p. 720, which the present item completes.

YAÑEZ (Rodrigo).—Pilot of the *St. Spiritus*, one of the ships of the expedition of Pedrarias Davila in 1514.

Muñoz MSS., LXXV., 320.

ZAMORANO (Nicolas).—Pilot-Major of the expedition of Hernando de Alarcon, which sailed from Acapulco, May 9, 1540, and ranged the Pacific coast to 37°¹ north latitude. He made a map of that voyage, which he sent to Oviedo. There was a Rodrigo Zamorano, professor in the Casa de Contratacion and cosmographer to the King, in 1583.²

¹ Oviedo, IV., 17. Herrera, Decad. VI., 208. *Relation du voyage de Cibola*, in Ternaux' *Voyages*, 1838, Appendice iv., p. 301. ² *Lista de la Exposicion Americanista*, B, No. 61.

ZAZARABACA (Diego Sanchez). — Pilot for the West Indies before 1525.

Documentos ineditos de Indias, XLII., 547.

[END OF PART FIFTH.]

Appendix.

EXTRACTS FROM THE WARDENS MANUSCRIPT ACCOUNTS
OF THE DRAPERS COMPANY OF LONDON, VOL. VII., folios 86-87.

FROM MARCH 1ST TO APRIL 9TH, 1521.

(See *supra*, pages 28-29, 47-48.)

An answer made to
serten of the kings
counsell as concern-
yng the kings shippes
to be occupyed.

THE FIRST DAY OF MARCHE¹ here assembled my lord the maire, Sir laurence Aylmer M. Monoux M. Milborn M. Bayly & M. Wylkynson aldermen M. Carter M. Clerk and M. Vaughan Wardens & of the Counsell M. Hawkyns M. Cremor M. Game M. Rudston M. Askue M. Gentyll M. Perpoint M. White M. Champyon M. Sadler & M. Dolphyn and at the said assembly yt was agreed that the Wardens w^t M. Rudston M. Perpoint & M. Dolphyn shall cōmon w^t the Wardens of other aunceaunt feliships to knowe what aunswere were best to be made to M. Wynkfeld & M. Brown of the kings counsell concⁿyng the kings shippys. And the same day after assembly made at Frere Austyns by wardens of dyu^s companys and agreed all aftir one mynd we made ou^r aunswere in wryting & delyu^ded yt vnto the said counsell by thassent of this hows; the tenor where of is this that foloweth

The aunswere of the wardens of drapers of London vnto the reporte of Sir Rob^t Wynkfeld and Sir Wolston Broun knyghts and of ou^r Sou^ayn lord the kings moste honorable counsell First where it hath pleased the kings highnes of his moste g^racious zelee good mynd and tendre fauo^r towarde his m^pchaunde of london had, as by the reporte of the foresaid Sir Robt. and Sir Wolston vnto the said Wardens lately made, For the whiche moste g^racious zelee good mynd and tendre fauo^r all we ben naturally bounden to pray to God for his moste g^racious and prosperous cōtynuaⁿce in good helth and long lyf. And as toching the taking or receyving of one of the kings shippys, we say that we have noo auctorite to bynd ou^r hole cōpany and Feliship vnto any suche charge. And also that in ou^r company be but fewe aventurors, saving onely in to Flaunders, where vnto requireth noo grete shippys. Furthermore we say that if it be the kings pleasur to caws to be manned rygged appareled and vitayled suche a ship as the cōpany shall think cōvenient, that than we the said wardens shall applye vs to labo^r ou^r said cōpany for to freght and laid the said ship to the best of

¹ Of the year 1521, new style. We reiterate our thanks to Miss LUCY TOULMINE SMITH, to whom we are indebted for the present perfect transcript of this valuable and most interesting document.

our powers, having suche a resonable p^{ce} of y^e freght as other shipps hath in lyke viage & lading. Also we thynk it is dowtfull that any English ship shalbe sufferd to laid in Spayn & in other co^{untres} by reason of such acts & statuts ther made afl^l such lyke man^o as be made in Englonde for Gascon wyn^o & Tolles wood from Burdeux

THE XJ DAY OF MARCHE here assembled M. Moneux M. Milborn M. Bayly & M. Wylkynson Aldermen M. Carter M. Vaughan Wardens the hole counsell the liu^oey & the hole body of the feliship, ryche & poure, and at the said assembly was redd openly vnto them the articles folowing directed vnto vs by the wardens of the mercers from the kings Counsell and to x other crafts of the moste Aunciant in thes woords that is to say

Certen nomb^o of shipps to be appoynted to go into the new found lande. First the king & my lord Cardinall and the Counsell thynketh aswele for his hono^r as for the gen^oall welth of this his Realm that there be appoynted a c^otayn no^umbre of ships to be prepared for a viage to be made into the newefound Iland

And his g^{rcs} pleasur^e is, that it be opened vnto the gen^oaltie of m^ocha^unts adventurers and c^otayn companys to knowe there benevolent mynd therein

And the demand that is required of you is to furnyshe v shipps after this man^o, The king's Grace to prepare them in takyll ordenaunce and all other necessaries at his charge, And also the king to bere the advento^r of the said shipps, And the m^ochaunts & companys to be at the charge of the vitaylling and mennys wages of the same shipps for one hole yere and the shipps not to be above vj^{xx} ton apece And also it is the king's pleasur^e that this Citie of London shalbe as hede Reulers for all the hole realm for asmany Cites and Townes as be mynded to prepare any shipps forwards for the same purpos and viage, as the Town of Bristowe hath sent vp there knowledge that they wyll p^{are} ij shipps, And if ye be mynded to doe as afore is resyted, his g^{rcs} pleasur^e is that x yere afl^l there shall no nacion have the trate but you

And to have respyte for there custom xv monthes & xv monthes, and the said wardens to make aunswere in wryting of the p^{misses} aforesaid bitwen this & Wednysday next comyng

The p^{misses} considered the Maister Wardens and Counsell endeverd them furthwith w^t the best woords exortacion and diligence to knowe the benevolent mynd of eu^{ry} man there assembled at that tyme and also com^{ma}undid them that than were absent to come bifore my lord the Maire and them the next morowe aftir. Soo that all there g^{rcs} amownted to a small somme. And my lord and maisters seyng that made there aunswer in form folowing that is to say

Answer made to a byl sent by the warde's of m^ocers. The answer of the wardens of drapers of London w^t thassent and consent of the moste parte of all there company, vnto a byl lately sent vnto them by the wardens of the m^ocers of London c^otaynyng the appoyntment of v shipps to be p^{re}pared towards the Newefound Iland.

First the foresaid Wardens & company of drapers supposen and say that if ou^r Sou^oayne lord the kings highnes, the Cardinalls g^{rc}e and the kings moste honorable Counsell were duely and substa^{nc}ially enformed in suche man^o as perfite knowledge myght be had by credible reporte of maisters & mariners *naturally born within this Realm of England² having*

² This is an allusion to the foreign birth of Sebastian Cabot, who was born in Venice, and not considered then in England as an Englishman. The *italics* are ours, and do not appear in the original record.

experience, and exercised in and about the forsaid Iland as wele in knowlege of the land, the due courses of the seey thiderward and homeward, as in knowlege of the havenes, roods, poorts, creks, dayngers, & sholds there vppon that coste and there abowts being, that than it were the lesse jopardy to aventer thider, than it is nowe, all though it be ferther hens than fewe English maryners can tell.

And we thynk it were to sore aventr to joperd v shippes with men & goods vnto the said Iland vppon the singuler trust of one man callyd as we vnderstond Sebastyan, whiche Sebastyan as we here say was neu^o in that land hym self, all if he maks reporte of many things as he hath hard his Father and other men speke in tymes past.

And also we say that *if the said Sebastyan had bene there* and were as coñyng a man in & for thoos parties as any man myght be having non other assista^{nts} of maisters & maryn^{rs} of Englonde excercised & labored in the same p^{rties} for to guyd there shippes and other charges than we knowe of, but onely trusting to the said Sebastyan, we suppos it were no wysdom to avent^r lyves & goods thider in suche man^{er}. What for fere of syknes or dethe of the said Sebastian, or for desevering of the said v shippes by nyght or by day by force of tempests or otherwyse one from another owt of syght, for than it shuld be gretely to dowte wheder ever thes v shippes shuld mete ayen in company or nay, for the said Sebastian cannot be but in one ship, than the other iiij^{or} shippes & men stands in grete pe^{ll} for lak of coñyng maryn^{rs} in knowlege of thoos p^{rties} and to ordre & guyd them; and soo the vitayll and mennys wages shalbe spent in vaiyn, and they glad to return homeward w^t small comforte, for it is said amonx maryners in old proverbe, He salys not surely that salys by another mannys compas

Also we say that it is not possible that the said v shippes besids there Balast may receyve the vitaylls to suffice so many men for one hole yere, Soo that we think verely that in this aduent^r can be perceyved any aduantage or profite to growe vnto any man, but rather losse and damage, besids the gretest joperdy of all whiche is mennys lyves

Then aftir that this ou^r Aunswere and the aunswers of x other Crafts were debated and resoned amonx them all at Saynt Thomas of Akers, they aggreed to send furth the Governo^r and iiij^{or} wardens of diuers misters vnto my lord Cardynall w^t this cōmyssion folowing

Here aftir foloweth the Articles that the cōmissioners sent to my lord Cardynall from the Wardens of xj companys to be spoken in the behalf of the said Wardens

Fyrst the foresaid Wardens sayen that there companys be wyllyng to accomlishe the kings desire and pleasu^r in furnyssing of ij shippys accordingly, and they suppos to furnyss the thryd, soo that one may bere w^t an other indifferently of xj Felishippes assembled w^t the Ald^{men} of the same, And also vppon certayn articles to them to be g^{nted} by the kings highnes & his honorable Councell

And the said wardens desyre to have lenger respyte for a full aunswere therein to be yeven

The said comissioners brought aunswere fro my lord Cardynall that the king wold have the p^{misses} to goo furth and to take effect. And there vppon my lord the Maire was send for to speke w^t the king for the same matier, So that his g^{ace} wold have no nay there in, but spak sharpely to the Maire to see it putt in execucion to the best of his power

For the same purpose the xxvj DAY OF MARCHE my lord the Maire cōmaunded the hole company of all this fraternite to assemble bifore hym at the Drapers hall, where was wt grete labo^r & deligence & many diuers warnynge g^runted first & last ijC m^ocs³ p^rsentyd by a byll to the Maire the ixth DAY OF APRILL in this man^r.


The maister and wardens of Drap^rs of london in the names of all there company g^runten of there benevolent myndes to pay towards ijC m^ocks g^runtyd to-
 wart mynnys wags & maryn^rs wages and vitayling of certayn shippes for one viage to be
 rygging of shipps to made by the grace of God into the Newfound Iland ijC m^ocs vnder
 the new found land. suche condicion as shalbe articed bitwen the kings moste noble coun-
 sell and the adventurers of the said Cite of London vnto the foresaid Iland, the names of
 the payers and their seu^rall sōmes for the said ij C m^ocs appereth in the iijd leef folowing.

[On folio 9 is the list of names and the sum each gives. "My lord the Maire Sir John Brugge" heads it with £8. Monaux gives £8, Milborn £7, Bayly £5, and so on. This first list, of masters and livery contains 78 names; a second list of 46 Bachillers, who give smaller sums, one gives £3. 6. 8., the next 5 marks, then 10s., 40s., down to many at 3/4, 20d., and 12d. (a mark is 13. 4).]

³ i. e. 200 marks.

Geographical Index

and

 Index of Names.

Introduction to the Geographical Index.

THE present is not such a Geographical Dictionary as we would have gladly added to our work, had there been sufficient space left for a compendium of that description.

Under more favourable circumstances, we should endeavour to ascertain the original structure and comparative spelling of the name of every region, river, mountain, island, cape, gulf, town, and settlement of the New World, cited by the ancient Spanish and Portuguese historians, or inscribed in the old maps;¹ to mark their latitude and longitude as stated in that class of documents; to determine the province, kingdom, or, rather, caciqueship to which each belonged; when they were discovered, subdued, or colonised, and by whom; and to fix, if possible, their true, or approximate place in modern maps; adding, of course, the historical and cartographic authorities for every one of our attempted identifications.

Unfortunately, we found that a dictionary of the kind would swell the present work to excessive dimensions, and that we had already exceeded the size announced in the prospectus, to such an extent that instead of being comprised within six hundred pages, the book now numbers upwards of eight hundred. We found ourselves compelled, therefore, to give only a succinct index.

In that index, the names have been transcribed precisely as they are inserted in the maps which constitute our Cartography, however imperfectly spelled, or unintelligible in many instances, they may be. This servile reproduction finds its excuse in the fact that otherwise the names and legends could not have served the purpose of identification, when endeavouring to discover the origin, filiation, or relationship of those cartographical documents. We should also confess that most of the designations have passed in the course of time through so many corruptions, in various languages, that we failed to ascertain their meaning, or ascend to the original form, even when intended to reproduce a Spanish, Portuguese, or Italian word. With the hope of aiding in that difficult reconstruction, we have added references to contemporary historical writings and documents where mention is made of a number of those geographic names. They are quoted under the initials of the authors, or of the abridged title of the collections containing the documents referred to, from editions selected by us which can be more easily consulted by the generality of readers, viz.:

P. M.—*Petri Martyris ab Angleria Mediolanensis. Oratoris clarissimi, Fernandi & Helisabeth Hispaniarum quondam regum à consilijs, de rebus Oceanicis & Orbe nouo decades tres.* Basileæ, apud Ioannem Bebelium. M.D.XXXIII; folio.

¹ In connection with the subject, it should be noted that the tribes or populations of aborigines had not all risen to the conception of a geographical entity for the territory which they inhabited. Our belief is that in many instances the country went only by the name of its cacique, which the Spaniards gave to the region which was under his sway. This was particularly the case with

the caciqueships extending from Cape St. Augustine westward to the Gulf of Mexico. *Bogota, Chiapas, Comogre, Paris, Pocorosa, Quiripa, Tangarala, Urraca, Zarnaco*, even *Tubanama*, although given both to a province and to a river, are all names borne originally by the caciques of the regions thus designated in the ancient histories and maps.

- P.M.—*The first Three English books on America. Being chiefly Translations, Compilations, &c., by Richard Eden*; Birmingham, 1885, large 4to. This excellent edition, which contains the first three Decades and the *Enchiridion*, is due to Mr. Edward Arber, F.S.A.
- P. M.—*Opus epistolarum Petri Martyris Anglerii Mediolanensis*. Amstelodami; Apud Danielelem Elzevirium, c15 Ioc LXX, folio.
- Enciso.—*Suma de geographia que trata de todas las partidas y prouincias del mundo: en especial de las indias [por el bachiller Martin Fernandez de Enciso]*; Sevilla, 1519, folio; with the leaves unnumbered, which prevented us from specifying the reference.
- Ov.—*Historia general y natural de las Indias, islas y tierra-firme del mar oceano, por el capitan Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés*; Madrid, 1851-55, 4 vols. 4to.; without any index, either of names or of geographical designations; only a list of the *Voces Americanas empleadas por Oviedo*.
- L. C.—*Historia de las Indias escrita por Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas, obispo de Chiapa*; Madrid, 1875-76, 5 vols. 8vo.; without index, or notes of any kind. It is to be regretted that such an important work should have been so poorly edited.
- Nav.—*Coleccion de los viages y descubrimientos, que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde fines del siglo xv. Con varios documentos ineditos concernientes à la historia de la marina castellana . . . Coordinada é ilustrada por Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete*; Madrid, 1825-1837, 5 vols. 4to.
- Doc. ined.—*Coleccion de documentos ineditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonizacion de las posesiones españolas en America y Oceania, sacados, en su mayor parte, del Real Archivo de Indias*; Madrid, 1864, many vols. 8vo. This series of valuable documents has been likewise very imperfectly edited.

The lack of space has also prevented us from inserting in our descriptions and nomenclatures many of the islands. We now give these in the following Geographical Index, but only when found in the earliest maps, viz.:

| | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|------------------------|---------------|
| LA COSA : Cosa. | CANERIO : Can. | KUNSTMANN NO. IV. : K. | WEIMAR : W. |
| CANTINO : C. | RUYSCH : R. | TURIN : T. | RIBERO : Rib. |

For the sake of brevity, we have embraced under the general designation of "Antil." not only the West Indies proper, but also the Bahama islands, and those which are scattered in the Caribbean Sea. For the same reason, all the localities situate between the Brazilian Elbow and Honduras, have been designated as being in "Tierra firme." By "N.E. coast," is meant here the seaboard extending from Florida to Labrador. The sign =, for instance in "Saona = Adamaney," indicates synonyms.

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¹ When quoting Peter Martyr d'ANONIERA we are compelled to preserve his Latin rendering of Indian names when he omits

giving the original word, as, in most instances, we have no means of ascertaining the original meaning of the word.

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² It is to be noted that Oviedo very frequently adds a cedilla to the initial C in Indian names. This implies that the pronun-

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³ A great number of Indian names begin with *Gua*, which seems to be an article.

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Additions and Corrections.

- PAGE 1, line 17, *read*: inutility (instead of irrelevancy).
Page 17, line 24, *read*: an engraved Sevillan or Spanish map.
Page 18, line 33, *read*: manuscript charts.
Page 34, note 52, *read*: apparently at the suggestion of Sebastian CABOT,—declined to pay her annuity. Maria CEREZO appealed to Charles V.
Page 43, line 24, *add*: Nor should we forget that, according to HAKLUYT, England's claims, as derived from the letters patent of John CABOT, comprised the east coast as far south as Florida. See, *supra*, p. 35.
Page 44, line 12, *read*: before a rogatory commission from the Council of the Indies.
Page 44, line 2 in note 24, *read*: Book V., chapter vi., pp. 116-120.
Page 45, line 9, *read*: 1525.
Page 45, line 10, *strike out*: and Virginia.
Page 57, line 26, *read*: 368.
Page 60, line 14, *read*: 1483.
Page 60, note 9, *read*: in DRUMMOND.
Page 72, note 31, *read*: Dr. Richard KING.
Page 76, line 14, *read*: mouths of rivers.
Page 78, line 29, *strike out*: 1512 or.
Page 87, line 34, *read*: As that cape.
Page 88, line 11, *read*: Vocavitque eius initium Alpha ω :—And named the poynt where he fyrst arryved *Alpha* and *O*.
Page 88, line 18, *read*: “Dice: que desde el Cabo de Cuba que se ve con la Española, que llamó Fin de Oriente, y por otro nombre Alpha et Omega, navegó hacia el Poniente:—He says that from the cape of Cuba which is seen from Hispaniola and which he called *The East-end*, and also by the other name of *Alpha* and *Omega*, he sailed westward.”
Page 88, note 28, *read*: Decad. I., lib. iii., p. 28 of HAKLUYT's edition; and f. 13 of EDEN's translation.
Page 96, line 3, *read*: sixteenth.
Page 97, line 25, *strike out*: 1512 or in.
Page 101, note 17, *strike out* the reference to plate.
Page 105, note 5, *add*: This MS. was discovered and first mentioned in 1885 by Mr. Olindo GUERRINI. See our *Christophe Colomb et Savone*, p. 36.
Page 111, line 32, *read*: and *Oceanus yndiais*.
Page 115, line 4, after geographer, *add*: “also shared this opinion,” and *strike out* from “never” to “1520,” and on line 16, from “The fact,” to “globes.”
Page 121, line 16, *read*: the alleged expedition.
Page 121, note 13, *read*: p. 169.
Page 132, line 14, *read*: that island, just where it stands on such maps.
Page 136, line 5, *read*: north of Cuba only a configuration.
Page 136, line 10, *strike out*: 1512 or.
Page 139, line 17, *read*: of which can be seen on the right [of the reader] the engraved representation.
Page 149, line 31. instead of “doce,” and “1512,” *read*: quatorce, and 1514. Thanks to our friend Don M. R. Zarco del Valle, investigations instituted at our request in the Archives of the Indies, at Seville, in Vol. I. of *Asientos y Capitulaciones, desde 23 de Marzo de 1508 hasta 7 de Noviembre de 1574*,—Estante 139—Cajon 1—Leg^a 1), have brought to light the fact that the date of “mil è quinientos doce años,” is an invention of the editors of the *Coleccion de documentos ineditos de Indias*. But if we had relied upon the information received from the custodians of those archives, we should have committed

another error, just as inexplicable as the first. The communication stated that the second letters patent in favour of Ponce de Leon, granting him the privilege to settle "la ysla Florida," was "Fecha en Valladolid en 27 de Setiembre 1513." This date seeming to us still more unaccountable than the one of 1512, we wrote again, begging that a facsimile should be sent with the transcript. The reply was as follows: "Desde el folio 11 al 12, vueltos, existe otra Capitulacion (*la 2a.*), tomada con Juan Ponce de Leon para ir á poblar á las Islas de Brinini (Así está escrita), y la Florida, fecha en Valladolid á 27 de Setiembre de 513 años; como resulta del calco que és á continuacion." To this explanation was appended the following facsimile, which proves quite the reverse:

fecha En vallio Nxxly de setiembre de D. Xij años / por l. Rey

Thanks to the precaution taken to secure a facsimile, which however reached us too late to modify our text, the reader will notice that what the learned archivists insisted in calling the year "1513," is in reality the year 1514. Further, other documents show that Ponce de Leon, who had obtained his letters patent of February 23, 1512, while he was yet in the island of Porto Rico (San Juan), received orders from King Ferdinand, August 12, 1512, to repair at once to Spain. It follows from those facts that Oscar Peschel's belief as regards the discovery of Florida by Ponce de Leon having been accomplished, not in 1512, but in 1513, is correct.

Page 160, line 35, *read*: direct for Florida.

Page 181, line 16, *add*: In 1508, four ships sailed from Rouen for the fisheries of Newfoundland, viz.: *La Bonne Aventure*, under the command of Jacques de Rafosse, *La Sibille*, *Le Michel*, and *La Marie de Bonnes Nouvelles*, commanded by Jean Dieulois. (GOSSELIN, *Documents authentiques pour l'histoire de la marine normande*, p. 12.)

Page 183, line 34, *read*: the Cut of Canso.

Page 191, line 9, *read*: canal of Bahama.

Page 216, line 35, *read*: those.

Page 223, line 12, *add*: "Mestre joão verazano que vae descobrir o catayo não he partido ate a feitura desta carta segundo a nova que tenho, asi por não tez tempo como por outras duvidas que me diserão que avia antrelle e a gente que leva e se he da maneira que nes outras cartas escrevo a vos alteza que presumo, não no foy certo nem o leixo auida de presumir cm quanto não partir. O doutor mestre Diogo de gouvea vae agora a rruaõ onde saberá todo o mais certo que se de disto largamente segundo lhe encomendei." (Kindly copied at our request from the original in the Torre do tombo, by Mr. Luciano Cordeiro.)

Page 232, line 35, *strike out*: Speaks as an eye-witness.

Page 248, line 7, *strike out*: with a single exception.

Page 248, line 31, *read*: in 1523.

Page 249, line 23, *strike out*: 1512 rather than in.

Page 251, line 4, *read*: 1526.

Page 258, line 10, *add*: Such a prohibition could not have depended on arbitrary interdicts. In those days the Kings of Spain made known all their orders by written laws or ordinances. We possess the collection of all the decrees and regulations concerning such matters, issued in the first half of the sixteenth century (*Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, No. 247). If there had been a law making it a crime to obtain, or to disclose maps of the newly discovered regions, we should certainly find its text in one, at least, of the numerous *Recopilaciones de leyes* still extant. On the contrary, there is no trace in legal or other official documents of such an interdiction.

Page 286, line 22, *read*: Orientalis.

Page 297, note 3, *add*: GRANDIDIER, *Histoire de la géographie de Madagascar*, p. 38.

Page 309, note 8, *read*: Böcking.

Page 311, line 35, *read*: eighty.

Page 312, line 25, *strike out*: 1520.

Page 312, line 27, *read*: *Uslegung*.

Page 344, line 1, *read*: Giovanni Cretico.

- Page 351, line 4, note 68, instead of authority, *read*: authenticity.
- Page 356, line 8, instead of account, *read*: settlement.
- Page 366, line 3, *read*: mentions.
- Page 368, line 18, *strike out*: or may have been.
- Page 368, line 33, *strike out*: cursory.
- Page 368, line 37, *read*: countryman.
- Page 370, line 14, *read*: Tristam.
- Page 373, line 12, *read*: sui generis.
- Page 374, line 16, *add*: *Furna*, cove; *Fondura*, anchorage.
- Page 376, line 6, *read*: PRUDENTIA, IMPERANTE.
- Page 376, line 8, instead of ward, *read*: disciple; instead of Father: stay.
- Page 376, line 22, instead of grandson, *read*: brother.
- Page 376, line 23, *read*: grand uncle.
- Page 378, line 23, *read*: Paolo.
- Page 384, line 17, *read*: *per*.
- Page 397, line 23, *read*: postscript or postscriptum.
- Page 414, line 9, note 6, *read*: potable.
- Page 415, note 24, *strike out* from Here to word, and *read*: *Vacia baryles* or *barriles*, The River of empty casks.
- Page 426, line 8, *separate* "Cabo frio" from "da Rame."
- Page 449, line 6, *read*: the issue of 1508 of the Ptolemy originally published at Rome in 1507.
- Page 453, line 2, *read*: Lago de loro.
- Page 456, *add* to note 196: Navarrete omits that portion of the testimony, which is in the original MS. of the *Probanza*.
- Page 459, line 11, instead of Uraba, *read*: Honduras.
- Page 459, note 206, *add*: "La grande baye de la Nativité, c'est à dire le golfe de Honduras dans son ensemble."
- Page 473, line 3, *strike out*: imitating or.
- Page 482, line 14, *read*: assume.
- Page 482, note 277, *add*: see facsimile of that map, *supra* p. 312.
- Page 485, line 13, *add*: which we sum up as follows:
- Page 486, line 11, *add*: then they saw the land on the other side.
- Page 486, line 16, *read*: leagues, and rounded the Cape, they steered.
- Page 486, line 22, *strike out*: retraced their course and.
- Page 486, line 23, *read*: to the other side, that is.
- Page 503, line 37, *read*: St. Paul's islands.
- Page 504, line 16, *read*: westward.
- Page 504, line 17, *read*: easterly.
- Page 507, line 15, *read*: Vale, at the sign of the Golden Hand.
- Page 512, line 23, *read*: in 1540 and 1541.
- Page 525, line 20, *strike out*: not.
- Page 525, last line, *read*: pars est Asiæ.
- Page 530, note 443, *add*: Higuera is said to be, not a fig, but the fruit of the *Crescentia cujete*, or of the *Crescentia cucurbitina* (OVIEDO, IV., 600). HERRERA, however (Decad. IV., 154), calls it "Cucurbita," or squash. The fig tree is not indigenous in America.
- Page 532, note 476, let the note read: "Ponta de lobos marinos:—The Point of sea wolves," that is, of seals.
- Page 553, line 27, *read*: Davila.
- Page 557, line 28, *read*: may authorise the opinion.
- Page 584, note 650, last line, *read*: more recent date.
- Page 664, line 5, *strike out*: Pedro DE LEDESMA.
- Page 665, line 5, *read*: October 12th, 1492.
- Page 667, line 28, *add*: Pedro DE LEDESMA.
- Page 712, line 10, *read*: Vianello.
- Page 741, second column, line 9, *read*: 1498.
- Page 754, line 22, instead of "many volumes," *read*: first series, 1864—1884, 42 vols.
- Page 759, second column, line 26, *read*: Blanco. In the Pacific.

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