

On the cover: QUEEN ISABELLA

An energetic, ambitious and multi-faceted woman, Queen Isabella is pictured here full faced and in shadows with her "favorite Castle" in Segovia. When seventeen, she married, with Church dispensation, her sixteen year old cousin Ferdinand. The marriage created the strong alliance of Queen Isabella of Castile and King Ferdinand of Aragon.

The portrait of Queen Isabella was painted by Constance Del Vecchio Maltese as part of her series titled "Age of Discovery Navigators," commissioned by "Columbus: Countdown 1992" for the Columbus Quincentennial. Each of the 13 paintings in the series reflects the history surrounding the individual depicted and the events of the period.

LEGEND: In the upper left and right are crosses indicating her strong Catholic faith. In the lower left is wooden statue of Queen Isabella. She replaced the corrupt clergy with an educated and devout one. The Coat of Arms is that of Aragon and Castile. To the right is new currency she created. At the bottom right, the Queen is riding on horseback, as she was known to do, to meet and cheer on her troops at the front, in their war against the Moors, in 1482. Isabella died November 26, 1504, two years before the death of Columbus.

QUEEN ISABELLA © 1991 Constance Del Vecchio Maltese "Age of Discovery Navigators"

PUBLICATION III OF A CONTINUING SERIES

Two other Publications have been issued by the Senate Majority Task Force on the Columbus Quincentennial. Volume I is a reprint of the report of the Board of General Managers of the New York State Exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1892, entitled "New York at the World's Columbian Exposition." Volume II, titled "The Legacy of Christopher Columbus: Art and Sculpture Treasures - a Sampling," contains black and white reproductions of art works, ranging from Columbus's time down to the present, depicting Columbus, other navigators of the age, and a variety of aspects connected with the age of discovery.

The Senate Majority Task Force on the Columbus Quincentennial wishes to express sincere appreciation to the editors, authors, artists and writers who all have generously provided their works, copyrights and materials for this project to the people of the State of New York on a pro bono basis.

**HIGHLIGHTS OF THE QUINCENTENNIAL LEGACY:
DOCUMENTS AND ESSAYS ON AMERICA'S BEGINNINGS**

EDITED BY

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QUINCENTENNIAL**

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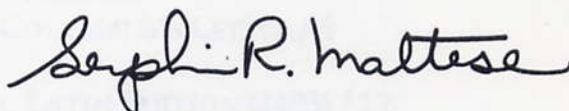
Dear Friend:

As Chairman of the Senate Majority Task Force on the Columbus Quincentenary, I am pleased to present this publication of our 1994 Quincentennial year project. The documents and essays contained here chronicle the very genesis of the discovery of America and our country's earliest beginnings.

I would like to express our appreciation and gratitude to Senate Majority Leader Ralph Marino and to Dr. Anne Paolucci and Dr. Henry Paolucci for their tireless efforts on behalf of the exposition of the Columbus legacy. This is merely the most recent manifestation of a lifetime of dedication, academic and literary pursuits and studies, and we are honored to be able to avail ourselves of just a sampling of the fruits of their intellectual labors of love.

We continue to solicit your assistance and recommendations for future publications and reprints.

Sincerely,



Serphin R. Maltese
Chairman
Senate Majority Task
Force on the
Columbus
Quincentennial

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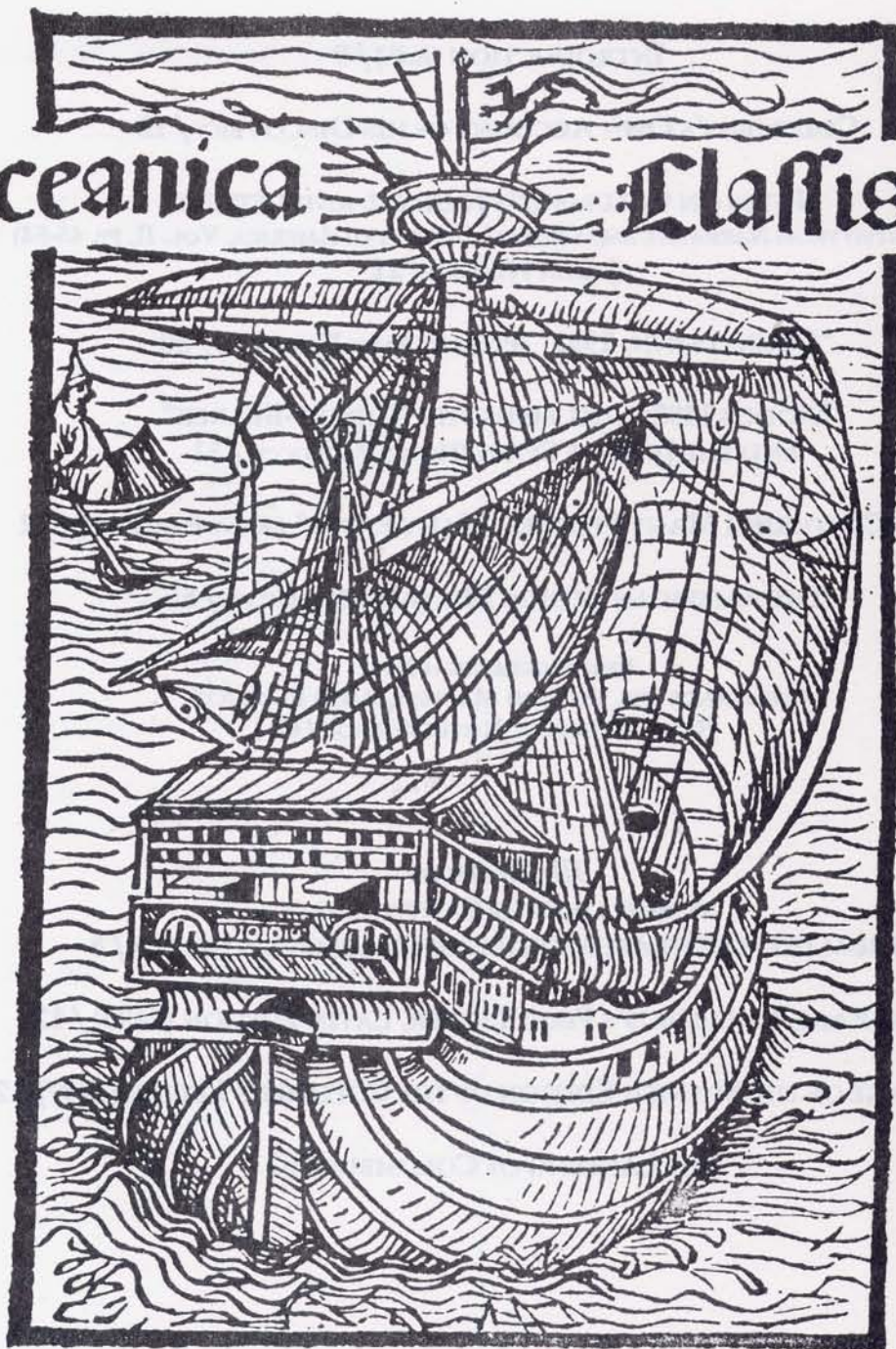
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Oceanica Classis



A ship like the *Santa Maria*; in the illustrated edition of the Columbus letter, 1493.

INTRODUCTION

We have passed the Quincentenary of Columbus's departure from Spain for the "Indies of the East" — which he hoped to reach by sailing West. We commemorate this year the 502 anniversary of his sighting of land in an "other world" on October 12, 1492. We all know the astonishing results. Herbert Baxter Adams, great founder of a distinctly American academic historiography, put it this way in his commemorative address on *Columbus and His Discovery of America*, delivered at Johns Hopkins in 1892:

Columbus thought he had discovered certain islands lying off the eastern coast of Asia not far from Japan [Cipango]. He had no idea he had approached an entirely new continent. "His discovery," says Mr. Winsor, "was a blunder; his blunder was a new world; the new world is his monument." Henri Harrisse, the best American authority on Columbus, takes a liberal view of this historic blunder, which opened the way to the real truth regarding America. Harrisse likens the discovery by Columbus to the first detection of the planet Neptune by Le Verrier, the astronomer who announced that certain irregularities in the motion of Uranus were due to disturbing influences by some unknown body in the heavens. By following his suggestions, skilled observers found a new planet on the first of January 1847, and yet many of Le Verrier's original computations were found to be erroneous. So it was with the geographical computations of Columbus. He had supposed that Japan was only about twenty-five hundred miles distant from the Canaries. . . . If Columbus had known the true distance from the Canary Islands to Japan, probably he would never have dared to attempt a voyage of twelve thousand miles upon unknown seas. The historic blunder which he made was simply an historic necessity, like many other human mistakes in science and philosophy. [85]

But 1492 was also, of course, the year of the "exodus" of the Jews from Spain. That exodus, which was literally an expulsion, started on August 2, 1492, the day before Columbus sailed from Palos in three royal Spanish ships with a crew that numbered about one hundred and twenty. The Jews expelled from Spain headed for some of the major ports of Europe that would welcome them, especially in Italy and the Low Countries. Many also headed for the Near East. Yet we know, in retrospect, that a large percentage of their descendants eventually landed in the same "other world" to the West, where Columbus had made his famous "landfall" after his October 12 sighting.

That "other world" had had a long history, or prehistory, before Columbus's momentous voyages; but there can be no doubt that its literate or written history, in our western sense of the term *history*, began with the year 1493, and particularly with a letter written by Columbus in Spanish, and dated February 15 of that year, with a postscript added on March 4, though it is probable that the letter was actually "posted" some days or weeks later. Again we must quote a passage from Professor Adams on the content and importance of that letter as an historical document of a unique kind. Writing in 1992, Adams observed: "In the Boston Public Library there is the Roman edition of the *editio princeps* of the first letter of Columbus on his return to Spain, announcing the discovery of America. It is reproduced in fac-simile by the heliotype process in the *Bulletin of the Library* for October, 1890. It is the rarest work in American history, of which it is the true beginning." Several exact copies of the same letter were made by Columbus in his own hand, addressed to different persons to assure their arrival; the particular copy mentioned by Adams was addressed to the lord of the Spanish Royal Treasury, Raphael Ssnchez. But, like all the other copies (and as its content clearly reveals), it was in fact intended for the eyes of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella.

Adams quotes at length from that letter, starting with the passage that reads:

Thirty-three days after my departure from Cadiz I reached the Indian Sea, where I discovered many islands, thickly peopled, of which I took possession without resistance in the name of our illustrious Monarch, by public proclamation and with unfurled banners. To the first of these islands, which is called by the Indians Guanahani, I gave the name of the blessed Savior (San Salvador), relying upon whose protection I had reached this as well as the other islands; to each of these I also gave a name.

That letter, truly the "rarest work in American history, of which it is the true beginning," is featured in this 1994 commemorative publication. The English translation is that of R. H. Major, as published in his *Select Letters of Columbus* (London, 1847, Publications of the Hakluyt Society). As printed here, the translation will be illustrated by a reproduction of the first page of the Latin edition of 1493, from the Barlow copy in the Boston Public Library, which is the earliest version that has come down to us. Reproductions of the first pages of the earliest German and Spanish versions are also included, together with facsimiles of the accompanying text in Justin Winsor's notes on Columbus's *Journal* and *Letters* from his *Narrative and Critical History of America* (1884-1889), which supplies precise accounts of the various editions in which the originals of the first

letter have come down to us.

In addition to the translation of that first letter, this 1994 Columbus commemorative publication includes three other essays published here for the first time in their present form. The first is Anne Paolucci's "Five Centuries: Many Peoples, Many Pasts," originally the feature presentation made at the request of then New York City Mayor, David N. Dinkins, at a Symposium of the same title, sponsored by the New York City Quincentennial Commission, and co-sponsored by New York University and the Humanities Council (New York University, July 6, 1992). The second is "Exodus 1492: Columbus the 'Christ-Bearer' and the Jews of Spain," which elaborates on a presentation made by Henry Paolucci at a number of university campuses in the tri-state area during 1993 and 1994. It stresses the parallel and contrast between Columbus's unintentional arrival in the new world and the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, which later resulted in so many of their descendants making their way to the same new world quite intentionally. The third article, Anne Paolucci's "The American Ethnic Mix," is an expanded version of what was originally her concluding "Commentary" at the New York City Quincentennial Commission Symposium. She there takes into account the divergent views of several of the participating panelists, including Ingrid Washinawatok, Development Coordinator of the Native American Council of New York; Enrique Fernandez, Editor of *Mas* magazine; Jeffrey S. Gurock, Professor of Jewish History at Yeshiva University; and Talat Sait Halman, Professor of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures at New York University; as well as some of the statements made by Keynote Speaker, David N. Dinkins.

Epistola Christophori Colom: cuius etas nostra multū debet: de
 Insulis Indię supra Gangem nuper inuentis. Ad quas perquisi-
 rendas octauo antes mense auspicijs et ere inuictissimi Fernan-
 di Hispaniarum Regis missus fuerat: ad Magnificum dñm Ra-
 phaelem Sancti: eiusdem serenissimi Regis Tesaurariū missas:
 quam nobilis ac litteratus vir Aliander de Cosco ab Hispano
 idioma in latinum conuertit: tertio kal's Maij. M. cccc. xliij.
 Pontificatus Alexandri Sexti Anno Primo.

Quoniam susceptę prouintię rem perfectam me cōsecutum
 fuisse gratum tibi fore scio: has constitui exarare: quę re-
 vniuscuiusq; rei in hoc nostro itinere gestę inuentęq; ad-
 monent: Tricesimotertio die postq; Gadibus discessi in mare
 Indicū perueni: vbi plurimas insulas innumeris habitatas bot-
 minibus repperi: quarum omnium pro foelicissimo Rege nostro
 p̄conio celebrato et vexillis extensis contradicente nemine pos-
 sessionem accepi: primęq; earum diuī Saluatoris nomen inpos-
 sui: eius fretus auxilio tam ad hanc: q̄ ad ceteras alias p̄uer-
 nimus. Eam hō Indi Guanabanin vocant. Aliarum etiā vnā
 quantę nouo nomine nuncupauī. Quippe aliā insulam Sanctę
 Marię Conceptionis. aliam Fernandimam. aliam Dylabellam.
 aliam Johanam. et sic de reliquis appellari iussi. Quāprimum
 in eam insulam quā dudum Johanā vocari dixi appulimus: iu-
 rta eius litus occidentem versus aliquantulum processi: tamq̄
 eam magnā nullo reperto fine inueni: et non insulam: sed cons-
 nentem: Chatai prouinciam esse crediderim: nulla tñ videns op-
 pida municipiaue in maritimis sita confinib; p̄ter aliquos vi-
 cos et predia rustica: cum quoq; incolis loqui nequibam. quare si
 mul ac nos videbant surripiebant fugam. Progrediebar ultra:
 existimans aliquā me urbem villasue inuenturum. Deniq; vidēs
 q̄ longe admodum progressis nihil noui emergebat: et bñōi via
 nos ad Septentrionem deferebat: q̄ ipse fugere exorabā: terra
 etenim regnabat bruma: ad Austrumq; erat in voto cōtendere:

COLUMBUS'S OWN ACCOUNT OF HIS DISCOVERY

A letter, addressed to the noble Lord Raphael Sanchez, treasurer of their most invincible majesties, Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Spain, by which Christopher Columbus to whom our age is greatly indebted, treating of the islands of India recently discovered beyond the Ganges, to explore which he had been sent eight months before under the auspices and at the expense of their said majesties:

Knowing that it will afford you pleasure to learn that I have brought my undertaking to a successful termination, I have decided upon writing you this letter to acquaint you of all the events which have occurred in my voyage, and the discoveries that have resulted from it. Thirty-three days after my departure from Cadiz, I reached the Indian sea, where I discovered many islands, thickly peopled, of which I took possession without resistance in the name of our most illustrious Monarch, by public proclamation and with unfurled banners. To the first of these islands, which is called by the Indians Guanahani, I gave the name of the Savior (San Salvador), relying upon whose protection I had reached this as well as the other islands; to each of these I also gave a new name, ordering that one should be called Santa Maria de la Concepcion, another Fernandina, the third Isabella, the fourth Juana, and so with all the rest.

As soon as we arrived at the island named Juana, I proceeded along its coast a short distance westward, and found it to be so large and apparently without termination, that I could not suppose it to be an island, but the continental province of Cathay. Seeing no towns or populous places on the sea coast, however, but only a few detached houses and cottages, with whose inhabitants I was unable to communicate, because they fled as they saw us, I went further on, thinking that in my progress I should certainly find some city or village. At length, after proceeding a great way and finding that nothing new presented itself, and that the line of coast was leading us northwards (which I wished to avoid, because it was winter, and it was my intention to move southwards; and because, moreover, the winds were contrary), I resolved not to attempt any further progress, but rather to turn back and retrace my course to a certain bay I had observed, and from which I afterwards despatched two of our men to ascertain whether there were a king or any cities in that province. These men reconnoitered the country for three

days, and found a most numerous population, and great numbers of houses, though small and built without any regard to order, and with which information they returned to us.

In the meantime I had learned from some Indians whom I had seized that that country was certainly an island; and therefore I sailed towards the east, coasting to the distance of three hundred and twenty-two miles, and brought us to the extremity of it; from this point I saw lying eastwards another island, fifty-four miles distant from Juana, to which I have gave the name of Hispaniola: I went thither, and steered my course eastward as I had done at Juana, even to the distance of five hundred and sixty-four miles along the north coast. This said island is exceedingly fertile, as indeed are all others; it is surrounded with many bays, spacious, very secure, and surpassing any that I have ever seen; numerous large and healthful rivers intersect it, and it also contains many very lofty mountains.

All these islands are very beautiful, and distinguished by a diversity of scenery; they are filled with a great variety of trees of immense height, which I believe to retain their foliage in all seasons; for when I saw them they were as verdant and luxuriant as they usually are in Spain in the month of May — some of them were blossoming, some bearing fruit, and all flourishing in the greatest perfection, according to their respective stages of growth, and the nature and quality of each: yet the islands are not so thickly wooded as to be impassable. The nightingale and various birds were singing in countless numbers, and that in November, the month in which I arrived. There are besides in the same island seven or eight kinds of palm trees, which like all the other trees, herbs, and fruits, considerably surpass ours in height and beauty. The pines also are very handsome, and there are very extensive fields and meadows, a variety of birds, different kinds of honey, and many sorts of metals, but no iron. In the island we named Hispaniola, there are also mountains of very great size and beauty, vast plains, groves, and very fruitful fields, admirably adapted for tillage, pasture, and habitation. The convenience and excellence of the harbours in this island, and the abundance of the rivers, so indispensable to the health of man, surpass anything that would be believed by one who had not seen it. The trees, herbage, and fruits of Hispaniola are very different from those of Juana, and moreover it abounds in various kinds of spices, gold, and other metals.

The inhabitants of both sexes in this island, and in all the others which I have seen, or of which I have received information, go always naked as they were born, with the exception of some women, who use

the covering of a leaf, or small bough, or an apron of cotton which they prepare for that purpose. None of them, as I have already said, are possessed of any iron, neither have they weapons, being unacquainted with and indeed incompetent to use them, not from any deformity of body (for they are well formed), but because they are timid and full of fear. They carry, however, in lieu of arms, canes dried in the sun, on the ends of which they fix heads of dried wood sharpened to a point, and even these they dare not use habitually; for it has often occurred when I have sent two or three of my men to any of the villages to speak with the natives, that they have come in a disorderly troop, and have fled in such haste at the approach of our men that the fathers forsook their children and the children their fathers.

This timidity did not arise from any loss or injury that they had received from us, for, on the contrary, I gave to all I approached whatever articles I had about me, such as cloth and many other things, taking nothing of theirs in return; but they are naturally timid and fearful. As soon, however, as they see that they are safe, and have laid aside all fear, they are very simple and honest, and exceedingly liberal with all they have; none of them refusing anything he may possess when he is asked for it, but on the contrary, inviting us to ask them. They exhibit great love towards all others in preference to themselves; they also give objects of great value for trifles, and content themselves with very little or nothing in return. I, however, forbade that these trifles and articles of no value (such as pieces of dishes, plates, and glass keys and leather straps) should be given them, although if they could obtain them they imagined themselves to be possessed of the most beautiful trinkets in the world. It even happened that a sailor received for a leather strap as much gold as was worth three golden nobles, and for things of more trifling value offered by our men, especially newly coined blancas, or any gold coins, the Indians would give whatever the seller required, as, for instance, an ounce and a half or two ounces of gold, or thirty or forty pounds of cotton, with which commodity they were already acquainted.

Thus they bartered, like idiots, cotton and gold for fragments of bows, glasses, bottles, and jars: which I forbade as being unjust, and myself gave them many beautiful and acceptable articles which I had brought with me, taking nothing from them in return; I did this in order that I might the more easily conciliate them, that they might be led to become Christians, and be inclined to entertain a regard for the king and queen, our princes, and all Spaniards, and that I might induce them to take an interest in seeking out, and collecting and delivering to us such

things as they possessed in abundance, but which we greatly needed.

They practice no kind of idolatry, but have a firm belief that all strength and power, and indeed all good things, are in heaven, and that I had descended from thence with these ships and sailors, and under this impression was I received after they had thrown aside their fears. Nor are they slow or stupid, but of very clear understanding; and those men who have crossed to the neighbouring islands give an admirable description of everything they observed; but they never saw any people clothed, nor any ships like ours.

On my arrival at that sea, I had taken some Indians by force from the first island that I came to, in order that they might learn our language, and communicate to us what they knew respecting the country, which plan succeeded excellently, and was a great advantage to us, for in a short time, either by gestures and signs or by words, we were enabled to understand each other. These men are still traveling with me, and although they have been with us now a long time, they continue to entertain the idea that I have descended from heaven; and on our arrival at any new place they published this, crying out immediately with a loud voice to the other Indians, "Come, come and look upon beings of a celestial race"; upon which both women and men, children and adults, young men and old, when they got rid of the fear they at first entertained, would come out in throngs, crowding the roads to see us, some bringing food, others drink, with astonishing affection and kindness.

Each of these islands has a great number of canoes, built of solid wood, narrow and not unlike our double-banked boats in length and shape, but swifter in their motion: they steer them only by the oar. These canoes are of various sizes, but the greater number are constructed with eighteen banks of oars, and with these they cross to the other islands, which are of countless number, to carry on traffic with the people. I saw some of these canoes that held as many as seventy-eight rowers. In all these islands there is no difference of physiognomy, of manners, or of language, but they all clearly understand each other, a circumstance very propitious for the realization of what I conceive to be the principal wish of our most serene king, namely, the conversion of these people to the holy faith of Christ, to which, indeed, as far as I can judge, they are very favourable and well-disposed.

I said before that I went three hundred and twenty-two miles in a direct line from west to east, along the coast of the island of Juana, judging by which voyage, and the length of the passage, I can assert that it is larger than England and Scotland united; for independent of the said

three hundred and twenty-two miles, there are in the western part of the island, two provinces which I did not visit; one of these is called by the Indians *Avan*, and its inhabitants are born with tails. These provinces extend to one hundred and fifty-three miles in length, as I have learned from the Indians whom I have brought with me, and who are well acquainted with the country. But the extent of *Hispaniola* is greater than all Spain from *Catalonia* to *Fuenterrabia*, which is easily proved, because one of its four sides which I myself coasted in a direct line, from west to east, measures five hundred and forty miles. This island is to be regarded with especial interest, and not to be slighted; for although, as I have said, I took possession of these islands in the name of our invincible king, and the government of them is unreservedly committed to his majesty, yet there was one large town in *Hispaniola* of which especially I took possession, situated in a remarkably favourable spot, and in every way convenient for the purposes of gain and commerce.

To this town I gave the name of *Navidad de Señor*, and ordered a fortress to be built there, which must by this time be completed, in which I left as many men as I thought necessary, with all sorts of arms, and enough provisions for more than a year. I also left them one caravel, and skillful workmen both in shipbuilding and other arts, and engaged the favour and friendship of the king of the island in their behalf, to a degree that would not be believed, for these people are so amiable and friendly that even the king took a pride in calling me his brother. But supposing their feelings should become changed, and they should wish to injure those who have remained in the fortress, they could not do so, for they have no arms, they go naked, and are moreover too cowardly; so that those who hold the said fortress can easily keep the whole island in check, without any pressing danger to themselves, provided they do not transgress the directions and regulations which I have given them.

As far as I have learned, every man throughout these islands is united to but one wife, with the exception of the kings and princes, who are allowed to have twenty: the women seem to work more than the men. I could not clearly understand whether the people possess any private property, for I observed that one man had the charge of distributing various things to the rest, but especially meat and provisions and the like. I did not find, as some of us had expected, any cannibals amongst them, but on the contrary, men of great deference and kindness. Neither are they black, like the Ethiopians, their hair is smooth and straight: for they do not dwell where the rays of the sun strike most vividly — and the sun has intense power there, the distance from the equinoctial line being, it

appears, but six-and-twenty degrees. On the tops of the mountains the cold is very great, but the effect of this upon the Indians is lessened by their being accustomed to the climate and by their frequently indulging in the use of very hot meats and drinks.

Thus, as I have already said, I saw no cannibals [monsters], nor did I hear of any, except in a certain island called Charis, which is the second from Hispaniola on the side towards India, where dwell a people who are considered by the neighbouring islanders as most ferocious: and these feed upon human flesh. The same people have many kinds of canoes, in which they cross to all the surrounding islands and rob and plunder wherever they can; they are not different from the other islanders, except that they wear their hair long, like women, and make use of the bows and javelins of cane, with sharpened spear-points fixed on the thickest end, which I have before described, and therefore they are looked upon as ferocious, and regarded by the other Indians with unbounded fear; but I think no more of them than of the rest. These are the men who form unions with certain women, who dwell alone in the island Matenin, which lies next to Hispaniola on the side towards India; these latter employ themselves in no labour suitable to their own sex, for they use bows and javelins, as I have already described their paramours as doing, and for defensive armour have plates of brass, of which metal they possess great abundance. They assure me that there is another island larger than Hispaniola, whose inhabitants have no hair, and which abounds in gold, more than any of the rest.

I bring with me individuals of this island and of the others that I have seen, who are proofs of the facts which I state. Finally, to compress into few words the entire summary of my voyage and speedy return, and of the advantages derivable therefrom, I promise that with a little assistance afforded me by our most invincible sovereigns, I will procure them as much gold as they need, as great a quantity of spices, of cotton, and mastic (which is only found in Chios), and as many men for the service of the navy as their majesties may require. I promise also rhubarb and other sorts of drugs, which I am persuaded the men whom I have left in the aforesaid fortress have found already and will continue to find; for I myself have tarried nowhere longer than I was compelled to do by the winds except in the city of Navidad, while I provided for the building of the fortress and took the necessary precautions for the perfect security of the men I left there.

Although all I have related may appear to be wonderful and unheard of, yet the results of my voyage would have been more astonishing

if I had had at my disposal such ships as I required. But these great and marvelous results are not to be attributed to any merit of mine, but to the holy Christian faith and to the piety and religion of our sovereigns; for that which the unaided intellect of man could not compass, the spirit of God had granted to human exertions, for God is wont to hear the prayers of his servants who love his precepts even to the performance of apparent impossibilities. Thus it has happened to me in the present instance, who have accomplished a task to which the powers of mortal men have never hitherto attained; for if there have been those who have anywhere written or spoken of these islands, they have done so with doubts and conjectures, and no one has ever asserted that he has seen them, on which account their writings have been looked upon as little else than fables.

Therefore, let the king and queen, our princes, and their happy kingdoms, and all the other provinces of Christendom, render thanks to our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, who has granted us so great a victory and such prosperity. Let processions be made and sacred feasts be held, and the temples be adorned with festive boughs. Let Christ rejoice on earth, as he rejoices in heaven, in the prospect of the salvation of the souls of so many nations hitherto lost. Let us all rejoice, as well on account of the exaltation of our faith as on account of the increase of our temporal prosperity, of which not only Spain but all Christendom will be partakers.

Such are the events which I have briefly described. Farewell.
Off the Azores, 15th of February.

Christopher Columbus,
Admiral of the Fleet of the Ocean.

After writing this, and in waters off Castile, there overtook us a south and south-west wind so great that I was forced to ease the ship. But on this day I turned and ran into the port of Lisbon, encountering weather which was for the time the greatest marvel, for which reason I decided to add these words. In all the Indies to the West, I have always met weather like May. I went there in 33 days and I ought to have made it back in 28, except for the storms that have delayed me for fourteen days, tossing me about this sea. The sailors here all say that there has never been a winter so bad nor so many ships lost.

Lisbon, 4th of March.



No por que se que auréis plazer de la grand
 victoria que nro señor me ha dado en mi viaje
 vos escriuo esta por la q̄l sabeyas como e xp̄
 dias pase alas indias cō la armada que los illa
 strissimos they e reyna nros señores me dieron
 donde yo falle muy muchas y las pobladas con gēte sin
 numero. y de las todas he tomado posesiō por sus altezas
 con p̄gon y vādera real esc̄dida y nō me fue cōtradiçbo.
 Ala primera q̄ yo falle puse nōbre sant saluador a comenio
 racion de su alta magestad. el qual maravillosa mēre todo
 esto andado los indios la llama ḡuanabani. Ala segūda pu
 se nōbre la ysla de s̄ta maria de cōcepçion. ala tercera ferradi
 na. ala quarta la ysabella. Ala quinta la ysla Juana. e asy a
 cada vna nōbre nuevo. Quando yo llegue ala juana segui yo
 la costa della al poniente y la falle tan grāde q̄ pensē q̄ seria
 tierra firme. la p̄vincia de catayo y como no falle asy villas
 y lugares en la costa de la mar saluo pequēnas poblaciones
 con la gēte de las q̄les non podia bauer fabla por q̄ luego
 fuyā todos. andaua yo adelante por el dicho camino penlan
 do de no errar grādes Ciudades o villas y al cabo d̄ mu
 chas leguas visto q̄ no haia inouacion y q̄ la costa me le
 nana al serc̄cion de adōde mi voluntad era contraria por q̄
 el puerto era ya encarnado yo tenia p̄posito de bazer el al
 sustro y tambie el viento me dio adelante determine de no a
 guardar otro tiempo y bolui atras fasta vn señalado puerto
 d̄ adōde enbie dos bōbres por la tierra pa saber si aua rey
 o grādes ciudades andouierō tres tomadas y ballarō infi
 nitas poblaciōes pequēnas y gēte sin numero mas no co
 sa de regim̄to por lo qual se boluierō yo ençidia barra de
 otros puertos q̄ ya tenia tomados como cōtinua mēre esta
 tierra era ysla e asy segui la costa della al ouente cietro y siete
 leguas fasta dōde fuyā fin. del qual cabo vi otra ysla al oue

NOTES ON COLUMBUS'S JOURNAL AND LETTERS

REPRINTED FROM VOL. II, PP. 46-54
NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY OF AMERICA (1884-1889)

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Justin Winsor". The signature is written in black ink and has a decorative flourish at the end.

BY JUSTIN WINSOR

The following pages have been reproduced from Volume II of Justin Winsor's 8-volume cooperative History of what he called "America," in the broadest sense, including all the lands and diverse peoples, native and immigrant, who have inhabited both continents, ranging from pole to pole and ocean to ocean. The work covers the span from prehistoric times to the formation, as sovereign states, of all the major modern New World nations. Each of the volumes of Winsor's work consists of essays by the most eminent scholars of the time and include accompanying illustrations, diagrams, drawings, photographs, as well as a wealth of notes and other supporting materials — a veritable treasure of information and critical assessments about the beginnings and early centuries of our history, all of which deserve the attention of every scholar interested in the history of America and the continents as a whole. A great Columbus scholar of our century, Samuel Eliot Morison, described Winsor's NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY OF AMERICA as "irreplaceable" and candidly admitted that without that massive scholarly accomplishment his own work, which "supplements" it, could never have been written.

NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY OF AMERICA.

NOTES.

A. FIRST VOYAGE. — As regards the first voyage of Columbus there has come down to us a number of accounts, resolvable into two distinct narratives, as originally proceeding from the hand of Columbus himself. — his Journal, which is in part descriptive and in part log, according to the modern understanding of this last term; and his Letters announcing the success and results of his search. The fortunes and bibliographical history of both these sources need to be told:

JOURNAL. — Columbus himself refers to this in his letter to Pope Alexander VI. (1503) as being kept in the style of Cæsar's *Commentaries*; and Irving speaks of it as being penned "from day to day with guileless simplicity." In its original form it has not been found; but we know that Las Casas used it in his *Historia*, and that Ferdinand Columbus must have had it before him while writing what passes for his Life of his father. An abridgment of the Journal in the hand of Las Casas, was discovered by Navarrete, who printed it in the first volume of his *Coleccion* in 1825; it is given in a French version in the Paris edition of the same (vol. ii.), and in Italian in Torre's *Scritti di Colombo*, 1864. Las Casas says of his abstract, that he follows the very words of the Admiral for a while after recording the landfall; and these parts are translated by Mr. Thomas, of the State Department at Washington, in G. A. Fox's paper on "The Landfall" in the *Report of the Coast Survey* for 1880. The whole of the Las Casas text, however, was translated into English, at the instigation of George Ticknor, by Samuel Kettell, and published in Boston as *A Personal Narrative of the First Voyage* in 1827;¹ and it has been given in part, in English, in Becher's *Landfall of Columbus*. The original is thought to have served Herrera in his *Historia General*.²

LETTERS. — We know that on the 12th of February, 1493, about a week before reaching the Azores on his return voyage, and while his ship was laboring in a gale, Columbus prepared an account of his discovery, and incasing the parchment in wax, put it in a barrel, which he threw overboard. That is the last heard of it.

He prepared another account, perhaps duplicate, and protecting it in a similar way, placed it on his poop, to be washed off in case his vessel foundered. We know nothing further of this account, unless it be the same, substantially, with the letters which he wrote just before making a harbor at the Azores. One of these letters, at least, is dated off the Canaries; and it is possible that it was written earlier on the voyage, and post-dated, in expectation of his making the Canaries; and when he found himself by stress of weather at the Azores, he neglected to change the place. The original of neither of these letters is known.

One of them was dated Feb. 15, 1493, with a postscript dated March 4 (or 14, copies vary, and the original is of course not to be reached; 4 would seem to be correct), and is written in Spanish, and addressed to the "Escribano de Racion," Luis de Santangel, who, as Treasurer of Aragon, had advanced money for the voyage. Columbus calls this a second letter; by which he may mean that the one cast overboard was the first, or that another, addressed to Sanchez (later to be mentioned), preceded it. There was at Simancas, in 1818, an early manuscript copy of this letter, which Navarrete printed in his *Coleccion*, and Kettell translated into English in his book (p. 253) already referred to.³

In 1852 the Baron Pietro Custodi left his collection of books to the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan; and among them was found a printed edition of this Santangel letter, never before known, and still remaining unique. It is of small quarto, four leaves, in semi-gothic type, bearing the date of 1493,⁴ and was, as Harris and Lenox think, printed in Spain. — Major suggests Barcelona, but Gayangos thinks Lisbon. It was first reprinted at Milan in 1863, with a fac-simile, and edited by Cesare Correnti, in a volume, containing other letters of Columbus, entitled, *Lettere autografe edite ed inedite di Cristoforo Colombo*.⁵ From this reprint Harris copied it, and gave an English translation in his *Notes on Columbus*, p. 89, drawing attention to the error of Correnti in making it appear on his titlepage that the letter was addressed to "Saxis,"⁶ and testifying that, by collation, he

¹ Cf. *North American Review*, nos. 53 and 55.

² Cf. portions in German in *Das Ausland*, 1867, p. 1.

³ It is in Italian in Torre's *Scritti di Colombo*.

⁴ Brunet, *Supplément*, col. 277.

⁵ It appeared in the series *Biblioteca rara* of G. Daelli.

⁶ Cf. *Historical Magazine*, September, 1864.

had found but slight variation from the Navarrete text. Mr. R. H. Major also prints the Ambrosian text in his *Select Letters of Columbus*, with an English version appended, and judges the Cosco version could not have been made from it. Other English translations may be found in Becher's *Landfall of Columbus*, p. 291, and in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida*, 2d series, ii. 145.

In 1866 a fac-simile edition (150 copies) of the Ambrosian copy was issued at Milan, edited by Gerolamo d'Adda, under the title of *Lettera in lingua Spagnuola diretta da Cristoforo Colombo a Luis de Santangel*.¹ Mr. James Lenox, of New York, had already described it, with a fac-simile of the beginning and end, in the *Historical Magazine* (vol. viii. p. 289, September, 1864, April, 1865); and this paper was issued separately (100 copies) as a supplement to the Lenox edition of Scyllacius. HARRISSE² indicates that there was once a version of this Santangel letter in the Catalan tongue, preserved in the Colombina Library at Seville.

A few years ago Bergenroth found at Simancas a letter of Columbus, dated at the Canaries, Feb. 15, 1493, with a postscript at Lisbon, March 14, addressed to a friend, giving still another early text, but adding nothing material to our previous knowledge. A full abstract is given in the *Calendar of State Papers relating to England and Spain*, p. 43.

A third Spanish text of a manuscript of the sixteenth century, said to have been found in the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca, was made known by Varnhagen, the Minister of Brazil to Portugal, who printed it at Valencia in 1858 as *Primera epistola del Almirante Don Christóbal Colon*, including an account "de una nueva copia de original manuscrito." The editor assumed the name of Volafan, and printed one hundred copies, of which sixty were destroyed in Brazil.³

This letter is addressed to Gabriel Sanchez, and dated "sobre la isla de Sa. Maria, 18 de Febrero;" and is without the postscript of the letters of Feb. 15. It is almost a verbatim repetition of the Simancas text. A reprint of the Cosco text makes a part of the volume; and it is the opinion of Varnhagen and HARRISSE that the Volafan text is the original from which Cosco translated, as mentioned later.

Perhaps still another Spanish text is preserved and incorporated, as Muñoz believed, by the Cura de los Palacios, Andrés Bernaldez, in his *Historia de los reyes católicos* (chap. cxviii). This book covers the period 1488-1513; has thirteen chapters on Columbus, who had been the guest of Bernaldez after his return from his second voyage, in 1496, and by whom Columbus is called "mercador de libros de estampa." The manuscript of Bernaldez's book long remained unprinted in the Royal Library at Madrid. Irving used a manuscript copy which belonged to Obadiah Rich.⁴ Prescott's copy of the manuscript is in Harvard College Library.⁵ Humboldt⁶ used it in manuscript. It was at last printed at Granada in 1856, in two volumes, under the editing of Miguel Lafuente y Alcántara.⁷ It remains, of course, possible that Bernaldez may have incorporated a printed Spanish text, instead of the original or any early manuscript, though Columbus is known to have placed papers in his hands.

The text longest known to modern students is the poor Latin rendering of Cosco, already referred to. While but one edition of the original Spanish text appeared presumably in Spain (and none of Vespucci and Magellan), this Latin text, or translations of it, appeared in various editions and forms in Italy, France, and Germany, which HARRISSE remarks⁸ as indicating the greater popular impression which

¹ HARRISSE, *Bibl. Amer. Vet. Additions*, p. vi., calls this reproduction extremely correct.

² *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, p. xii.

³ *Ticknor Catalogue*, p. 387; Stevens, *Hist. Coll.*, vol. i. no. 1,380; Sabin, iv. 277; Leclerc, no. 132. It was noticed by Don Pascual de Gayangos in *La America*, April 13, 1867. Cf. another of Varnhagen's publications, *Carta de Cristóbal Colon enviada de Lisboa á Barcelona en Marzo de 1493*, published at Vienna in 1869. It has a collation of texts and annotations (Leclerc, no. 131). A portion of the edition was issued with the additional imprint, "Paris, Tross, 1870." Of the 120 copies of this book, 60 were put in the trade. Major, referring to these several Spanish texts, says: "I have carefully collated the three documents, and the result is a certain conclusion that neither one nor the other is a correct transcript of the original letter,"—all having errors which could not have been in the original. Major also translates the views on this point of Varnhagen, and enforces his own opinion that the Spanish and Latin texts are derived from different though similar documents. Varnhagen held the two texts were different forms of one letter. HARRISSE dissents from this opinion in *Bibl. Amer. Vet. Additions*, p. vi.

⁴ Cf. Irving's *Columbus*, app. xxix.

⁵ Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, revised edition, ii. 108; Sabin, vol. ii. no. 4,918; HARRISSE, *Notes on Columbus*, no. 7, who reprints the parts in question, with a translation.

⁶ *Cosmos*, English translation, ii. 641.

⁷ *Ticknor Catalogue*, p. 32.

⁸ He points out how the standard *Chronicles and Annals* (Ferreboeu, 1521; Regnault, 1532; Galliot du Pré, 1549; Fabian, 1516, 1533, 1542, etc.), down to the middle of the sixteenth century, utterly ignored the acts of Columbus, Cortes, and Magellan (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.* p. ii).

the discovery of America made beyond Spain than within the kingdom; and the monthly delivery of letters from Germany to Portugal and the Atlantic islands, at this time, placed these parts of Europe in prompter connection than we are apt to imagine.¹ News of the discovery was, it would seem, borne to Italy by the two Genoese ambassadors, Marchesi and Grimaldi, who are known to have left Spain a few days after the return of Columbus.² The Spanish text of this letter, addressed by Columbus to Gabriel or Raphael Sanchez, or Sanxis, as the name of the Crown treasurer is variously given, would seem to have fallen into the hands of one Aliander de Cosco, who turned it into Latin, completing his work on the 29th of April. HARRISSE points out the error of Navarrete and Varnhagen in placing this completion on the 25th, and supposes the version was made in Spain. Tidings of the discovery must have reached Rome before this version could have got there; for the first Papal Bull concerning the event is dated May 3. Whatever the case, the first publication, in print, of the news was made in Rome in this Cosco version, and four editions of it were printed in that city in 1493. There is much disagreement among bibliographers as to the order of issue of the early editions. Their peculiarities, and the preference of several bibliographers as to such order, is indicated in the following enumeration, the student being referred for full titles to the authorities which are cited:—

- I. *Epistola Christofori Colom* [1493]. Small quarto, four leaves (one blank), gothic, 33 lines to a page. Addressed to Sanchis. Cosco is called Leander. Ferdinand and Isabella both named in the title. The printer is thought to be Planck, from similarity of type to work known to be his.

Major calls this the *editio princeps*, and gives elaborate reasons for his opinion (*Select Letters of Columbus*, p. cxvi). J. R. Bartlett, in the *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, vol. i. no. 5, also puts it first; so does Ternaux. Varnhagen calls it the second edition. It is put the third in order by Brunet (vol. ii. col. 164) and Lenox (*Scyllacius*, p. xlv), and fourth by HARRISSE (*Notes on Columbus*, p. 121; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 4).

There are copies in the Lenox, Carter-Brown, and Huth (*Catalogue*, i. 336) libraries; in the Grenville (*Bibl. Gren.*, p. 158) and King's Collections in the British Museum; in the Royal Library at Munich; in the Collection of the Duc d'Aumale at Twickenham; and in the Commercial Library at Hamburg.³ The copy cited by HARRISSE was sold in the Court Collection (no. 72) at Paris in 1884.

¹ Murr, *Histoire diplomatique de Behaim*, p. 123.

² They are mentioned in Senarega's "De rebus Genuensibus," printed in Muratori's *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, xxiv. 534. Cf. HARRISSE, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 41.

³ HARRISSE says that when Tross, of Paris, advertised a copy at a high price in 1865, there were seven bidders for it at once. Quaritch advertised a copy in June, 1871. It was priced in London in 1872 at £140.

⁴ This view is controverted in *The Bookworm*, 1868, p. 9. Cf. 1867, p. 103. The ships are said to be galleys, while Columbus sailed in caravels.

- II. *Epistola Christofori Colom, impressit Rome, Eucharius Argentens [Silber], anno dñi MCCCCXCIII*. Small quarto, three printed leaves, gothic type, 40 lines to the page. Addressed to Sanches. Cosco is called Leander. Ferdinand and Isabella both named.

Major, who makes this the second edition, says that its deviations from No. I. are all on the side of ignorance. Varnhagen calls it the *editio princeps*. Bartlett (*Carter-Brown Catalogue*, no. 6) puts it second. Lenox (*Scyllacius*, p. xlv) calls it the fourth edition. It is no. 3 of HARRISSE (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 3; *Notes on Columbus*, p. 121). Graesse errs in saying the words "Indie supra Gangem" are omitted in the title.

There are copies in the Lenox, Carter-Brown, Huth (*Catalogue*, i. 336), and Grenville (*Bibl. Gren.*, p. 158) Libraries. It has been recently priced at 5,000 francs. Cf. *Murphy Catalogue*, 629.

- III. *Epistola Christofori Colom*. Small quarto, four leaves, 34 lines, gothic type. Addressed to Sanxis. Cosco is called Aliander. Ferdinand only named.

This is Major's third edition. It is the *editio princeps* of HARRISSE, who presumes it to be printed by Stephanus Planck at Rome (*Notes on Columbus*, p. 117; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, vol. i.); and he enters upon a close examination to establish its priority. It is Lenox's second edition (*Scyllacius*, p. xliii). Bartlett places it third.

There are copies in the Barlow (formerly the Aspinwall copy) Library in New York; in the General Collection and Grenville Library of the British Museum; and in the Royal Library at Munich. In 1875 Mr. S. L. M. Barlow printed (50 copies) a fac-simile of his copy, with a Preface, in which he joins in considering this the first edition with HARRISSE, who (*Notes on Columbus*, p. 101) gives a careful reprint of it.

- IV *De insulis inventis*, etc. Small octavo, ten leaves, 26 and 27 lines, gothic type. The leaf before the title has the Spanish arms on the recto. There are eight woodcuts, one of which is a repetition. Addressed to Sanxis. Cosco is called Aliander. Ferdinand only named. The words "Indie supra Gangem" are omitted in the title.

This is Major's fourth edition. Lenox makes it the *editio princeps* (as does Brunet), and gives fac-similes of the woodcuts in his *Scyllacius*, p. xxxvi. Bossi supposed the cuts to have been a part of the original manuscript, and designed by Columbus.⁴ HARRISSE calls it the second in order, and thinks Johannes Besicken may have been the printer (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, 2), though it is usually ascribed to Planck, of Rome. It bears the arms of Granada; but there was no press at that time in that city, so far as known, though Brunet seems to imply it was printed there.

The only perfect copy known is one formerly the Libri copy, now in the Lenox Library, which has ten leaves. The Grenville copy (*Bibl. Gren.*, p. 158), and the one which Bossi saw in the Brera at Milan, now lost, had only nine leaves.

Hain (*Repertorium*, no. 5,491) describes a copy which seems to lack the first and tenth leaves; and it was proba-

Epistola Christophori Colom: cuius etas nostra multū debet: de
Insulis Indię supra Gangem nuper inuentis. Ad quas perquisi-
rendas octauo antea mense auspicijs et pre inuictissimi Fernan-
di Hispaniarum Regis missus fuerat: ad Magnificum dñm Ra-
phaelem Sanxis: eiusdem serenissimi Regis Tesaurariū missas
quam nobilis ac litteratus vir Aliander de Cosco ab Hispano
ideomate in latinum conuertit: tertio kal's Maij. M. cccc. xcij.
Pontificatus Alexandri Sexti Anno primo.

Quoniam susceptę prouintię rem perfectam me cōsecutum
fuisse gratum tibi fore scio: has constitui exarare: quę re-
uolucululq; rei in hoc nostro itinere gestę inuentęq; ad-
monent: Tricesimotertio die postq; Gadibus discessi in mare
Indicū perueni: vbi plurimas insulas innumeris habitatas bot-
minibus repperi: quarum omnium pro foelicissimo Rege nostro
preconio celebrato et vexillis extensis contradicente nemine pos-
sessionem accepi: primęq; earum diui Saluatoris nomen impo-
sui: eius fretus auxilio tam ad hanc: q̄ ad cęteras alias perue-
nimus. Eam ho Indi Guanabanin vocant. Aliarum etiā vnam
quanc; nouo nomine nuncupauit. Quippe aliā insulam Sanctę
Marię Conceptionis. aliam Fernandiam. aliam Dpsabellam.
aliam Johanam. et sic de reliquis appellari iussi. Quampimum
In eam insulam quā dudum Johanā vocari dici appulimus: iu-
stra eius litus occidentem versus aliquantulum processi: tamq;
eam magnā nullo reperto sine inueni: et non insulam: sed conf-
nentem: Chatal prouinciam esse crediderim: nulla tñ videns op-
pida municipiaue in maritimis lita confinib; p̄ter aliquos vi-
cos et predia rustica: cum quor; incolis loqui nequibam. quare si-
mul ac nos videbant surripiebant fugam. Progrediebar vltra:
existimans aliquā me urbem villasue inuenturum. Deniq; vidēs
q̄ longe admodum progressis nihil noui emergebat: et hmoi via
nos ad Septentrionem deferebat: q̄ ipse fugere exorabā: terra
etenim regnabat bruma: ad Austrumq; erat in voto cōtenderes

COLUMBUS' LETTER NO. III.

bly this copy (Royal Library, Munich) which was followed
by Pilinski in his Paris fac-simile (20 copies in 1858), which
does not reproduce these leaves, though it is stated by
some that the defective British Museum copy was his
guide. Bartlett seems in error in calling this fac-simile a
copy of the Libri-Lenox copy.¹

V. *Epistola de insulis de nouo repertis*, etc. Small
quarto, four leaves, gothic, 39 lines; woodcut on
verso of first leaf. Printed by Guy Marchand in
Paris, about 1494. Addressed to Sanxis. Cosco is
called Aliander. Ferdinand only named.

This is Lenox's (*Scyllacius*, p. xlv.), Major's, and
Harrisse's fifth (*Notes on Columbus*, p. 122; *Bibl. Amer.*
Vet., p. 5) edition.

The Ternaux copy, now in the Carter-Brown Library,
was for some time supposed to be the only copy known;
but Harrisse says the text reprinted by Rosny in Paris, in
1865, as from a copy in the National Library at Paris, cor-
responds to this. This reprint (125 copies) is entitled,
*Lettre de Christophe Colomb sur la découverte du nou-
veau monde. Publiée d'après la rarissime version Lat-
ine conservée à la Bibliothèque Impériale. Traduite en
Français, commentée [etc.] par Lucien de Rosny.* Paris:

¹ But compare his *Cooke Catalogue*, no. 575; also, *Pinart-Bourbourg Catalogue*, p. 249.



REVERSE OF TITLE OF NOS. V. AND VI.

J. Gay, 1865. 44 pages octavo. This edition was published under the auspices of the "Comité d'Archéologie Américaine."¹

VI. *Epistola de insulis noviter repertis*, etc. Small quarto, four leaves, gothic, 39 lines; woodcut on verso of first leaf. Guiot Marchant, of Paris, printer. Addressed to Sanxis. Cosco is called Aliander. Ferdinand only named.

This is Major's sixth edition; HARRISSE (*Notes on Columbus*, p. 122; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 6) and LENOX (*Scyllacius*, p. xlvi) also place it sixth. There are facsimiles of the engraved title in HARRISSE, LENOX, and STEVENS'S *American Bibliographer*, p. 66.

There are copies in the Carter-Brown, Bodleian (Douce), and University of Göttingen libraries; one is also shown in the *Murphy Catalogue*, no. 630.

John Harris, Sen., made a fac-simile edition of five copies, one of which is in the British Museum.

VII. *Epistola Christophori Colom*, etc. Small quarto, four leaves, gothic, 38 lines. Addressed to Sanxis. Th. Martens is thought to be the printer.

This edition has only recently been made known. Cf. Brunet, *Supplément*, col. 276. The only copy known is in the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels.

The text of all these editions scarcely varies, except in the use of contracted letters. Lenox's collation was reprinted, without the cuts, in the *Historical Magazine*, February, 1861. Other bibliographical accounts will be found in Graesse, *Trésor*; *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, i. 158; Sabin, *Dictionary*, iv. 274; and by J. H. Hessels in the *Bibliophile Belge*, vol. vi. The cuts are also in part reproduced in some editions of Irving's *Life of Columbus*, and in the *Vita*, by Bossi.²

In 1494 this Cosco-Sanchez text was appended to a drama on the capture of Granada, which was printed at Basle, beginning *In laudem Serenissimi Ferdinandi*, and ascribed to Carolus Veradus. The "De insulis nuper inventis" is found at the thirtieth leaf (*Bibl.*

¹ M. de Rosny was born in 1810, and died in 1871. M. Geslin published a paper on his works in the *Actes de la Société d'Ethnologie*, vii. 115. A paper by Rosny on the "Lettre de Christoph Colomb," with his version, is found in the *Revue Orientale et Américaine*, Paris, 1876, p. 81.

² The earliest English version of this letter followed some one edition of the Cosco-Sanchez text, and appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1816, and was reprinted in the *Analectic Magazine*, ix. 513. A translation was also appended by Kettell to his edition of the *Personal Narrative*. There is another in the *Historical Magazine*, April, 1865, ix. 114.

Amer. Vet., no. 15; Lenox's *Scyllacius*, p. xlvi; Major, no. 7; *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, no. 13). There are copies in the Carter-Brown, Harvard College, and Lenox libraries.¹

By October, in the year of the first appearance (1493) of the Cosco-Sanchez text, it had been turned into *ottava rima* by Guiliano Dati, a popular poet, to be sung about the streets, as is supposed; and two editions of this verse are now known. The earliest is in quarto, black letter, two columns, and was printed in Florence, and called *Questa e la Hystoria . . . extracte duna Epistola Christofano Colombo*. It was in four leaves, of coarse type and paper; but the second and third leaves are lacking in the unique copy, now in the British Museum, which was procured in 1858 from the Costabile sale in Paris.²

The other edition, dated one day later (Oct. 26, 1493), printed also at Florence, and called *La Lettera dell'isole*, etc., is in Roman type, quarto, four leaves, two columns, with a woodcut title representing Ferdinand on the European, and Columbus on the New World shore of the ocean.³ The copy in the British Museum was bought for 1,700 francs at the Libri sale in Paris; and the only other copy known is in the Trivulgio Library at Milan.

In 1497 a German translation, or adaptation, from Cosco's Latin was printed by Bartlomesz Küsker at Strasburg, with the title *Eyn schön hübsch lesen von etlichen inszlen die do in kurtzen syden funden synd durch dē künig von hispania, vnd sagt vō grossen wunderlichen dingen die in dē selbē inszlen synd*. It is a black-letter quarto of seven leaves, with one blank, the woodcut of the

title being repeated on the verso of the seventh leaf.⁴ There are copies in the Lenox (Libri copy) and Carter-Brown libraries; in the Grenville and Huth collections; and in the library at Munich.

Epistola de insulis noui terre reperiis Inuestita per dno In campo gallardi.



COLUMBUS' LETTER NO. VI.

The text of the Cosco-Sanchez letter, usually quoted by the early writers, is contained in the *Bellum Christianorum Principum* of Robertus Monarchus, printed at Basle in 1533.⁵

¹ It was priced by Rich in 1844 at £6 6s.; and by Robert Clarke, of Cincinnati, in 1876, at \$200. There was a copy in the J. J. Cooke sale (1883), vol. iii. no. 574, and another in the Murphy sale, no. 2,602.

² Sabin, vol. v. no. 18,656; Major, p. xc, where the poem is reprinted, as also in HARRISSE'S *Notes on Columbus*, p. 186; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 8, p. 461. This first edition has sixty-seven octaves; the second, sixty-eight. Stevens's *Hist. Coll.*, vol. i. no. 129, shows a fac-simile of the imperfect first edition.


³ *Notes on Columbus*, p. 185; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 9; *Additions*, no. 3; Lenox's *Scyllacius*, p. lii. The last stanza is not in the other edition, and there are other revisions. A fac-simile of the cut on the title of this Oct. 26, 1493, edition is annexed. Other fac-similes are given by Lenox, and Ruge in his *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 247. This edition was reprinted at Bologna, 1873, edited by Gustavo Uzielli, as no. 136 of *Scelta di curiosità letterarie inedite*, and a reprint of Cosco's Latin text was included.

⁴ Lenox's *Scyllacius*, p. lv, with fac-similes of the cuts; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 19; *Notes on Columbus*, p. 123; Huth, i. 337. The elder Harris made a tracing of this edition, and Stevens had six copies printed from stone; and of these, copies are noted in the C. Fiske-Harris *Catalogue*, no. 553; Murphy, no. 632; Brinley, no. 14; Stevens's (1870) *Catalogue*, no. 459; and *Hist. Coll.*, vol. i. nos. 130, 131. The text was reprinted in the *Rheinisches Archiv*, xv. 17. It was also included in *Ein schöne neue Zeitung*, printed at Augsburg about 1522, of which there are copies in the Lenox and Carter-Brown libraries. *Scyllacius*, p. lvi; Brunet, *Supplément*, col. 277; HARRISSE, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 115. The latest enumeration of these various editions is in the *Studi biog. e bibliog. della Soc. Geog. Ital.*, 2d edition, Rome, 1882, p. 191, which describes some of the rare copies.

⁵ HARRISSE, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 175; *Carter-Brown*, no. 105; Lenox, *Scyllacius*, p. lviii; Stevens, *Hist. Coll.*, vol. i. no. 163, and *Bibl. Geog.*, no. 2,383; Muller (1872), no. 387; J. J. Cooke, no. 2,183; O'Callaghan, no. 1,836. The letter is on pages 116-121 of the *Bellum*, etc. The next earliest reprint is in Andreas Schott's *Hispania illustrata*, Frankfurt, 1603-1608, vol. ii. (Sabin, vol. viii. no. 32,005; Muller, 1877, no. 2,914; Stevens, 1870, no. 1,845). Of the later reproductions in other languages than English, mention may be made of those in Amati's *Ricerche Storico-Critico-Scientifiche*, 1828-1830; Bossi's *Vita di Colombo*, 1818; Urano's edition of Bossi, Paris, 1824 and 1825; the Spanish rendering of a collated Latin text made by the royal librarian Gon-



CUT IN THE GERMAN TRANSLATION OF THE FIRST LETTER OF COLUMBUS (TITLE).


Er hauptman der schiffung des mōrs Cristofetus col
 lon von hispania schribt dem künig von hispania vō
 den inslen des lands India vff dem fluß gangen ge
 nant. der do flüßet am mitten durch das lande india
 in das indisch mdr. Die er nēlichen erfunden hat. vñ
 die zū finden geschickt ist mit hilff vñ groser schiffung. Vnd
 ouch etlich vorsagung vō den inslen. Des großmechtigsten
 künigs Fernādo genant von hispania ¶ Nach dem vñnd ich
 gefaren bin von dem gestadt des landes von hispania. das man
 nennet Colūnas hercules. oder von end der welt. bin ich gefa
 ren in drey vñnd dreyßig tagen in das indisch mdr. Do hab ich ge
 funden vil inslen mit onzalber volcks wōhafftig. Die hab ich
 all ingenōmen mit vff geworffnem baner vnser mechtigsten
 künigs. Vnd nyeman hat sich gewidert noch darwider gestelt
 in keinerley weg. ¶ Die erst die ich gefundē hab/ habe ich ge
 heissen diu saluatoris. Das ist zū tuetsch des götlichen behal
 ters vñ selig makers. zū einer gedechtniß syner wunderlichez
 hohen maestat die mir dar zū geholffen hat. vñ die von India
 heissent sie gwanahyn. ¶ Die ander hab ich geheissen vnß fro
 wen enpfengniß. ¶ Vñ die dreyt hab ich geheissen fernandinā
 nach des künigs namen. Die vierde hab ich geheissen die hub
 sche insel. ¶ Die fünffte iohānam. vñ hab al so einer peglich
 en yren namen gegeben. Vnd als bald ich kam in die insel ioh
 hannam also genant do für ich an dem gestade hinuff gegen oc
 cident wert; da fand ich die insel lang vñnd kein ende dar an.
 Das ich gedacht es wer ein gantz land. vñ wer die prouintz zū
 Cathai genant. Do sahe ich ouch keine stert noch schlösser am
 gestade des mōres. on etliche buren hüser fürst vñnd gestedel
 vñnd des selben gleichen. Vnd mit den selben ynwonern mocht
 a ij

GERMAN TRANSLATION OF THE FIRST LETTER OF COLUMBUS (TEXT).

COUNTDOWN: 1992

You ask what I felt?
My tracks are epic, I'm told,
But, really, I stumbled into fame.
Shores are simply a need,
A lure, a claim.

You ask what I want?
Oceans closing behind me,
Wind singing before me
Filling canvas with promise.
On land I grow dizzy,
My shadow on the ground tells me
I have yet to keep my bargain

You ask what I dream?
A map that proves me right,
The heavens chartered,
Another ocean sea to the moon,
New storms to be outraced,
I long for grace of waters
Softly folded over sleep.

Who else dares (you ask?)
Ah, many sought new lands
Sifted through so many sands
Back to the sea!
Even Ulysses sailed

The length of Venus
And measured his will
 against the sky
Every star fixed to his
 purpose, his orbit.

Touching land is daily bread.
What matters is definition
Of the event—
Giving birth is only the first
Dim sighting of earth.

Land scattered before me
Each time I tried; I battered
My way through a wall
Of islands strung out
 to wear me down—
Indians were there to greet me
(As Indians are there in India),
Unthinking, unknowing;
I thought out their life,
Ours too, and all to come—
Surely that's worth something?

Well, we know the rest.
So: Let me ask you this:
Is reaching Ithaca really best?

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**EXODUS 1492:
COLUMBUS THE "CHRIST-BEARER"
AND THE JEWS OF SPAIN**

BY HENRY PAOLUCCI

The year 1492 looms large in the life of Christopher Columbus, of course. It also looms large in the history of the islands and continents of the western hemisphere which the landing of Columbus in the New World opened up for European explorations and settlements in the decades that followed.

Yet the year had also a large religious dimension. Each of the three great monotheistic religions that have come to Europe out of the Middle or Near East, or Asia Minor — the religions of Judaism, Islam, and Christianity — mark it as an important date on their historic calendars. For the oldest of the three, Judaism, it was the year of their final expulsion from Spain. Jews had flourished in the Iberian peninsula for centuries, first under the Muslims, from their earliest invasions, among whom they developed as the leading Jewish center of the Diaspora. Then, when the Muslim rulers began to expel them (from all of Granada in 1066, for instance), they began to take effective root in the emergent Spanish Christian principalities. But, as more and more Muslim principalities fell, repressions began (c. 1391) also in the Christian kingdoms, repressions that culminated in the year 1492.

That same year marked, of course, the fall of the last great Muslim kingdom of Spain: that same Granada from which all the Jews had been expelled by the Muslims in 1066. The fall of Granada in 1492 to Ferdinand and Isabella, Columbus's patrons, finally transformed all of Spain into an effectively united national kingdom, on a par with England and France as well as neighboring Portugal. Those four national kingdoms, thereafter, led the way in exploration of the oceans, putting an end to the importance of the great Italian ports and of the many Germanic cities of Northern Europe that were linked with Italian commerce during the previous centuries. Before long, the Dutch — the peoples of the so-called Netherlands, or Low Countries — also formed a national state for themselves (though not a national monarchy), and they became, after the Spanish, Portuguese, French, and English, the fifth great European trans-oceanic maritime power.

For the Muslims, there followed an almost total retreat from Europe, even from southern Italy and Sicily, where they were driven out

by the same Norsemen, or Normans (as they came to be called in France) who conquered England in 1066 (bringing Jews into England for the first time), and who also invaded what we now again call Russia (named after the Norman "Rus"), at about the same time.

The third monotheistic religion with an important stake in the year 1492 was, needless to say, Christianity. Columbus very early made clear that, behind his plan to find a shorter, less costly, route to the riches of the Far East by sailing directly west from the Azores, was a grand religious-imperial design. He was Genoese, and his friends in Spain, as in Portugal while he lived there, always included Genoese merchants and bankers. He knew that what everyone wanted from maritime daring was, first of all, profit; and he offered that with his so-called "Great Design" to reach the East by sailing West. He claimed, however, that gaining such profits would be for him, ultimately, only a means. That was why he insisted that, if he succeeded, he should be given political power to direct and control all that was done. That was necessary, he insisted, in order to insure that the wealth and power thus attained would be used for his higher goal, which was to unite all mankind in peace in a Judeo-Christian world state, fulfilling the vision of the Pope who first crowned a Germanic king as Holy Roman Emperor in 800 A.D. That had also been the vision of Dante in his treatise *On World Government (De Monarchia)* written around 1300, when the national kingdoms, led by France, had openly defied the idea of a World Christian Empire by declaring themselves to be sovereign on their own.

Columbus believed that, with the wealth resulting from his voyages, Spain could have power enough to resume the labors of Charlemagne, extending Christendom politically all around the world, with the full blessings of the Vicar of Christ, the apostolic successor of St. Peter in Rome.

Before Columbus sailed in 1492, his religious-imperial purpose had been played down. King Ferdinand had only reluctantly backed him in order not to have Columbus sail for Portugal, or France, or even England, instead. But then, when he came back, with undeniable proofs of where he had been, it struck everyone as a virtual miracle. And it was an altogether religious, a thoroughly Christian reception that was accorded Columbus when he presented himself to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain in Barcelona to give his personal account of the first of his voyages to the West.

In his famous *Life of Christopher Columbus*, Washington Irving draws on the words of an eye-witness to describe the scene. His witness

is the Spanish Dominican, Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474-1566), first priest to be ordained in the New World (1510). Las Casas, also known as the "Apostle to the Indians," is one of our chief sources on Columbus. But for centuries, the Spanish government suppressed his writings. Las Casas had made himself an embarrassment for the Spaniards, with his constant preaching against the "atrocious cruelties" inflicted on the natives by the Spanish, and even more, with his public pleading for royal redress. Spain's enemies took him up, first the Flemings and Dutch, then the French and English, to wage a propaganda war. As a result, the Spanish didn't much care to publicize his writings, which thus remained virtually hidden for centuries. But, by the time of Washington Irving, that had changed. Irving had Las Casas's eye-witness account before him. Las Casas believed that, had the Spanish government not tied his hands, Columbus would have done everything right in the New World, for Christ's sake. Here is Irving's paraphrase of Las Casas's account of the reception in Barcelona:

As Columbus approached, the sovereigns rose, as if receiving a person of the highest rank. Bending his knee, he offered to kiss their hands; but there was some hesitation on their part to permit this act of homage. Raising him in the most gracious manner, they ordered him to seat himself in their presence At their request he now gave an account of the most striking events of his voyage

When he had finished, the sovereigns sank on their knees, and raising their clasped hands to heaven, their eyes filled with tears of joy, and gratitude, poured forth thanks and praises to God for so great a providence . . . ; a deep and solemn enthusiasm pervaded that splendid assembly, and prevented all common acclamations of triumph. The anthem *Te Deum Laudamus*, chanted by the choir of the royal chapel . . . rose in full body of sacred harmony, "so that," says the venerable Las Casas, "it seemed as if in that hour they communicated with celestial delights." [I. 327-328]

Irving at this point reminds us of the sacred vow Columbus had made when he first petitioned the King and Queen of Spain to support him and also "see to it that all the projects of this, my enterprise, should be spent on the conquest of Jerusalem" from the Muslims. It was a vow that Columbus tied to the meaning of his Christian name, *Christopher*, which is half Greek and half Latin, and means "Christ-Bearer." In his famous and somewhat mysterious signature in the shape of a triangle, the name appears at the bottom written half in Greek and half in Roman characters, the whole of which looks like this:

. S .
 . S . A . S .
 X M Y
 XpoFERENS

Our sources on the life of Columbus make clear that from the beginning he had dedicated his mission of discovery — the search for a westward approach to the riches of the East — to a task which he felt had been providentially laid upon him in his Christian name. Columbus identified himself with the ancient St. Christopher, convert and martyr of the third century, evidently a native of Syria. The major encyclopedias all represent him as a man of

prodigious height and strength. As penance for having been a servant of the devil, he devoted himself to the task of carrying pilgrims across a river where there was no bridge. Christ came to the river one day in the form of a child and asked to be carried over, but his weight grew heavier and heavier till his bearer was nearly broken down in the midst of the stream. When they reached the shore, "Marvel not," said the child, "for with me thou hast borne the sins of the world." Christopher is usually represented as bearing the infant Christ and leaning upon a great staff.

Statues were early raised for St. Christopher and the representations of him in mosaics and paintings became world famous. Shortly before Columbus's time, Sano di Pietro (1406-1486) included a representation of "San Cristobal — Patron de los Viajeros," patron-saint of voyagers, in one of his canvases. It is noteworthy that, at the top of the famous Map of the New World of 1500 dedicated to him by Juan de la Casa, Columbus is represented symbolically in the guise of the ancient Saint, "carrying Christ across the oceans." Irving alludes to that in completing his account of the Barcelona reception. He writes:

While his mind was teeming with glorious anticipations, his pious scheme for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulcher was not forgotten. It has been shown that he suggested it to the Spanish sovereigns at the time of first making his propositions, holding it forth as the great object to be effected by the profits of his discoveries . . . [His vow in this regard] was recorded in one of his letters to the sovereigns, to which he refers, but which is no longer extant . . . He often alludes to it . . . in his writings, and he refers to it expressly in a letter to Pope Alexander VI, written in 1502 . . . It is essential to a full com-

prehension of the character and motives of Columbus that this visionary project should be borne in recollection . . . it shows how much his mind . . . was filled with those devout and heroic schemes which in the time of the crusades had inflamed the thoughts and directed the enterprises of the bravest warriors and the most illustrious princes. [I. 328-329]

The religious dimension of the Columbus voyages has, unfortunately, been played down — largely because of the charges that the Spanish conquistadors behaved with unchristian cruelty toward the natives of the Americas and were followed in such cruelty by the Portuguese, English, French, and the rest who came later. A case has been made that Columbus was not the religious-minded man Las Casas made him out to be; that his professed religious ends were advanced only to influence a pious queen; that he was a hypocrite, an evil, greedy man, who failed to restrain his men as he should and could have, and became instead an enslaver and exploiter. Ironically, at present, the only Columbus scholars who uniformly ascribe to him a profound religious motive are those who give him a secret Jewish identity. Although it is only indirectly related to our topic, we want to say a word about the idea, since it is certainly in the air around us, as well as in Spain, where it originated.

Columbus a Spanish Jew?

The question about whether Columbus was himself a Jew wasn't at all seriously raised before the 400th anniversary. In these matters, there is little chance that popular opinion can be seriously influenced by scholarship. Right now, after the quincentenary commemorations, scholarship seems to favor the evidence for a Genoese, Roman Catholic Columbus; and the best known scholar insisting on that is Paolo Emilio Taviani, whose five volumes on Columbus have all been very recently issued or re-issued in English translation.

Taviani breaks down the question into two sub-questions: (1) Was Columbus secretly a Jew pretending to be a Catholic to avoid persecution wherever he chanced to be, whether in Genoa or Portugal, or Spain, or wherever he sailed in the service of "Inquisitional" Spain? And (2) had he perhaps really set out in 1492 to find a New World Zion for his fellow Jews then being forced out of Spain? Taviani traces the "development" of positive answers to both questions during the last century, introducing the names of Garcia de la Riega (1892), Jacob Wasserman (1929), Salvador de Madariaga (1939), and Simon Wiesenthal (1972); and he might have added the names of Henry Vignaud (1913), Vincente

Blasco Ibañez (1929), and Maurice David (1933), to provide greater continuity.

A few points need to be stressed. It was Garcia de la Riega who "produced" documents to prove that Columbus, or Colón, was "a Spaniard — a Gallego — of the province of Galicia and a Jew." [17] In his book titled *Colón Español?*, Garcia de la Riega argued that, when Columbus was but a child, his parents, as persecuted Jews, had fled to Genoa where, for safety's sake, they professed themselves to be Catholics and raised their children as Catholics. The supporters of the Galician/Jewish theory, Taviani several times observes, "point to certain characteristics of Columbus himself: his profile with the aquiline nose, notes he made in books of the Old Testament, his mystical, almost fanatical zeal, his interest in gold and in money — all, in their view, indications of a Jewish background." But such characteristics "are as much Genoese," says Taviani (himself Genoese), as Jewish: "Fanaticism is an aspect of stubbornness, and the Genoese are notoriously obstinate. As for gold and money in general, if we are to go by popular prejudice alone, one might as well argue that Columbus was a Scotchman!"

Focusing on the particular form given to the claim by Wassermann in his *Christopher Columbus, Don Quixote of the Sea* (London: 1930) and Madariaga, with whom Morison had a running-battle on the subject, Taviani notes that Madariaga, taking up Wassermann's *Don Quixote* parallel, had indeed portrayed Columbus as the Quixotic "type of man who believes stubbornly in his own fancies." Taviani dismisses that lengthy Madariaga portrayal as "an entertaining novel about a make-believe Columbus, a corsair of Jewish blood, who accidentally discovered the Americas," concluding that it "has nothing to do with the Columbus who found the New World."

But let us turn to our own Samuel Eliot Morison on this subject. Morison, unlike Irving, wrote his great biography of 1942 to celebrate Columbus as a daring seaman, virtually ignoring what he did on land. That's why he called his biography *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*. He assumed that Columbus was what he said he was: a native of Genoa, and a faithful Catholic determined to evangelize the entire world, known and unknown. He also assumed that Columbus's purpose as a seaman was indeed to reach the Far East more quickly and more cheaply by sailing West. And he criticized all who argued that Columbus really had secret purposes, aims he hid. In his view, that was how the idea of his being really a Jew or a descendent of converted Jews originated. If he's hiding something, why not the possibility that he is a Jew, especially since Jews

were then being expelled from Spain, certainly not getting government grants to finance transatlantic voyages!

Morison: Was Columbus a Jew?

At any rate, Morison busied himself several times in his long career to refute the claim, introduced by Henry Vignaud shortly after 1900, that Columbus hadn't really set out to reach the Indies by sailing west, that his purpose had been simply to find himself an island or two, way out in the Atlantic, to exploit for profit, or perhaps even to serve as a haven for Jews expelled from Spain. Against that idea, so contrary to his view of Columbus, Morison correctly insisted that the witness of Columbus himself, through his son and Las Casas, confirmed by the earliest historians from Peter Martyr to the first official Spanish chronicler Oviedo and his Portuguese counterpart João de Barros, is unambiguous: his elaborately worked-out plan had been from the beginning to reach the lands visited by Marco Polo. And then Morison adds: "The whole gamut of historians from 1600 to 1892 — Benzoni, Herrera, Muñoz, Von Humboldt, Washington Irving, Henry Harrisse, Justin Winsor, Cesare de Lollis — agree that Columbus was looking for some portion of 'The Indies' such as Japan or China, or both, and hit America by chance."

As Morison saw it, Vignaud needed to discredit Columbus's statements about himself to make his case against the Indies as the goal. And once Columbus's statements about himself are discredited, it's a short step to denying that he was really Genoese, or Italian, or Christian. And so we get the claims that Columbus was nothing that he claimed to be. And then the choice becomes: was he a liar for good reasons, or just a plain liar, lying for bad reasons? In the introduction to the 1962 edition of his one-volume *Admiral of the Ocean Sea: A Life of Christopher Columbus*, Morison had mentioned the "running quarrel" that had been going on between him and Madariaga since 1942, when Madariaga's *Christopher Columbus* first appeared — the "whole object of which," as Morison put it, "was to prove the Discoverer to have been a Catalan Jew." Morison had published a "somewhat mordant" rebuttal in *The American Historical Review*, in which he "had particular fun with some of Señor Madariaga's 'evidence,' notably the fact of my hero's beating to windward along the Hispaniola coast proving him to be a 'wandering Jew'." In good humor, Morison added that Madariaga "got back" at him in the 1949 edition of his book by warning his readers "to disregard Morison as a mere 'yachtsman'." Morison then noted that important scholars since then,

particularly among the Spanish, have marshaled evidence leaving "no doubt of Columbus's Genoese origins."

But for a fair measure of the distance between Morison's attitude on the subject and Taviani's one has only to glance at the pages in Morison's biography where he considered the coincidence of the date of the first voyage and that of the final "Exodus" of the Jews from Spain. With respect to Columbus's Journal entry for September 22 [23], 1492, where he says that not since the days of the Exodus of the Jews from Egypt had the sea given such a useful "sign" as it gave to him and his crew on that day, Morison said most emphatically that he thought it "ridiculous to read in this passage a secret admission of Jewish blood, or an ambition to provide a new home for a persecuted race." [206] But when he wrote of why Columbus sailed from Palos instead of from Cadiz, and of why he sailed on August 3, instead of August 2, the day assigned for the departure of all the Jews from Cadiz, we get strong reminders that Morison is completing his text for publication in 1942. That year was the 450th anniversary of Columbus's first voyage and thus also of the Jewish Exodus from Spain. Morison first brings up the chronological coincidence of dates in a striking way — to explain why Columbus sailed from Palos rather than Cadiz. He writes:

Why Palos? Seville or Cadiz, the principal ports of Andalusia, would seem to have been the logical places to prepare an important expedition; but Cadiz was out as a port of departure for Columbus, because it had been designated as the embarking place for the Jews who were being forced into exile; 8000 families are said to have sailed from there in the summer of 1492. [109]

Later in his account, Morison returns to the subject, noting that Columbus "did not once mention in his writings a tragic movement that was under way at the time of his preparations, one which must in some measure have hampered his efforts and delayed his departure." Morison reminds us that the "fateful decree giving the Jews four months to accept baptism or leave the country" was signed on March 30, 1492, just a month before Ferdinand and Isabella made their agreement to support Columbus; and he adds:

As Columbus journeyed from Granada to Palos he must have been witness to heart-rending scenes similar to those which modern fanaticism has revived in the Europe of today. Swarms of refugees, who had sold for a trifle property accumulated over years of toil, crowded the roads that led seaward, on foot and leading donkeys and carts piled high with such household goods as could be transported. Rabbis read the sacred scrolls and others played the

traditional chants on pipe and tabor to keep their spirits up; but it was a melancholy procession at best Camping where they could find room or crowded aboard vessels that the richer Jews chartered, they forlornly awaited the order to leave; finally the word came from the Sovereigns that every Jew-bearing ship must leave port on August 2, 1492, the day before Columbus set sail from Palos. Perhaps that is why he waited till the following day Sixty years later an old man deposed in Guatamala that he had been gromet on a ship of the great migration that dropped down the Rio Saltés on the same tide with the Columbian fleet; and by a curious coincidence, when his ship was sailing back to Northern Spain after discharging her cargo of human misery in the Levant, she spoke [accosted] the Pinta returning from the great discovery, and heard the news that in due time would give fresh life to this persecuted race. [148-149]

Obviously, that last statement echoes the claim of many scholars — including Simon Wiesenthal in our own time — who ascribe to Columbus a Zionist mission, pursued in behalf of the Jewish people, either because he was himself a Jew or because, despite the ambitions for glory and wealth, Christ's justice and mercy worked through him. If he was not secretly a Jew, perhaps it could be said that divine providence had made him an instrument for attaining ends he did not himself grasp. Las Casa believed that that might well be so; and after his three subsequent, failed voyages, Columbus humbly reached the same conclusion. All of that seems to be echoed in what Columbus is said to have done on his way to Palos for his first transatlantic venture into the unknown — no doubt after having been spiritually chastened by the sorrowful events witnessed on his way. Morison writes:

Tradition designates a fountain near the Church of St. George at Palos, connected by a Roman aqueduct with a spring of sweet water in the hills, where the water casks of the fleet were filled. Last thing of all, every man and boy had to confess his sins, receive absolution, and make his communion. Columbus, after making his confession (writes the first historian of the Indies), "received the very holy sacrament of the Eucharist on the very day that he entered upon the sea; and in the name of Jesus ordered the sails to be set and left the harbor of Palos for the river Saltés and the Ocean Sea with three equipped caravels, giving the commencement to the First Voyage and Discovery of the Indies." [149]

I should mention that, as a Harvard professor of history, Morison considered himself a disciple of the great Henry Adams, grandson and great grandson of the Adams Presidents. In the passage just

quoted, he seems to be echoing what Adams wrote in his classic book on the building of the great medieval cathedrals of France, which he called *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*. Although he was not himself religious, Adams had a strong appreciation of the power that inspired the building of such cathedrals; and Morison echoes his ideas in his account of Columbus's religious inspiration for his first voyage.

Exodus/Discovery: The Link of Medieval Christian Penitence and Love

Henry Adams had noted that such traditions of inspirational-penitence were part of the actual records kept of the building of the great medieval cathedrals, and especially those dedicated to Our Lady (*Notre Dame*) Mother of God. In his great book on *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*, at any rate, he cited at length the sources on what was required of the masses of people who sought to contribute a stone or whatever to the building; they had first to make themselves pure of heart in the profoundest Christian sense. Great multitudes, Adams wrote, drew their burdens of heavy stone and other things needed to build the mighty cathedral of Chartres. They dragged in silence. When they halted on the road, nothing was heard "but the confession of sins"; then, with priests exhorting "their hearts to peace," the bearers of stone "forget all hatred . . . debts are remitted. . . ." Then Adams added:

But if any one is so far advanced in evil as to be unwilling to pardon an offender, or if he rejects the counsel of the priest who has piously advised him, his offering is instantly thrown from the wagon as impure, and he himself ignominiously and shamefully excluded from the society of the holy. There one sees the priest who presided over each chariot exhort every one to penitence, to confession of faults, to the resolution of better life! There one sees old people, young people, little children, calling on the Lord with a suppliant voice, and uttering to Him, from the depth of the heart, sobs and sighs with words of glory and praise!

For Henry Adams, *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* are witness to the Virgin as a building force, one which he contrasts with the building force of the Dynamo, in his time. It wasn't always so with churches and cathedrals. "Most persons of a deeply religious nature will tell you emphatically," he acknowledges, "that nine churches out of ten actually were dead-born, after the thirteenth century, and that church architecture became a pure matter of mechanism and mathematics; but that is a question for you to decide when you come to it; and the pleasure consists not in seeing the death, but in feeling the life." [107-108]

Morison echoed all of that in his account of Columbus's visit to the Church of St. George, near Palos. It is true that Columbus never fulfilled his vow to lead, or at least to provision, a crusade to Jerusalem to liberate the Holy Sepulcher. But for many peoples of all ethnic and religious origins, he had indeed opened up "another world" and a "new world" — Columbus's own *otro mundo* in his Letter on the Third Voyage and Peter Martyr's famous reference in his letter of 1493 to *Colonus ille Novi Orbis repertor* (that famous Columbus the discoverer of a New World) — which has long since been hailed as the "New Jerusalem" for all exiles, whether by choice or constraint. To that extent, he fulfilled his vow. Yet, Columbus would certainly have said with St. Paul that, in doing such a deed, it was not he who lived to do it, but Christ in him: *non ego, vivit vero in me Christus*.

Genoa, Portugal, Spain, and of course, the islands and continental shores of the world of the West — soon destined to become a "brave new world" for the Europeans — all have legitimate claims on Columbus. Geographically, ethnically, politically, he certainly "belongs" in some measure to all of them. But spiritually, who can doubt that he belongs to Christ, whose dying words he made his own. And here, once again, we must cite our great American historian and biographer of Columbus, Samuel Eliot Morison, who was himself an admiral. Drawing on the most authoritative sources, he thus represents the death of Columbus, the Christ-Bearer:

It was a poor enough deathbed for the Admiral of the Ocean Sea and Viceroy and Governor of the Islands and Mainlands therein: but no pomp or circumstance could help him now. A priest was summoned, a Mass said, and everyone in his little circle of friends and relatives received the sacrament. The viaticum was administered to the dying Admiral; and after the concluding prayer of this last office, remembering the last words of his Lord and Savior, to whose suffering he sometimes ventured to compare his own, Columbus was heard to say *in manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum*.

"And having said this, he gave up the ghost." [669]

Columbus had repeated on a grand scale the experience of St. Christopher. On his shoulders, the Christ-child grew heavier and heavier, becoming Christ-Crucified for the new as well as the old world. The commandment was still that of *Matthew 16.24*: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross"

*The Spanish Jewish Exodus: To Europe and
the Middle East, First, but Finally to America*

Historians writing about the Jews in late medieval and renaissance Europe remind us that the final Jewish exodus from Spain completed in Columbus's time, before 1500, had been preceded by nation-wide expulsions from France before 1400 and from England before 1300. But, for Spain, there had been a very important much earlier precedent. We all know the importance of the date 1066 in English history. But it was also an important date for the Jews of the Moslem Spanish kingdom of Granada centuries before it surrendered itself to their Catholic Highnesses Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain.

For the Jews of Granada, 1066 marked the end of an age — extending back a century and a half to 900 — which had indeed been the "golden age of Spanish Jewry" under the Moslems. Moslem Spain had broken up into many principalities. But, as Cecil Roth, the great English historian of the Jews, has said, that break up gave talented Jews "exceptional opportunities" to rise to top offices in many governments; or, as he puts it: "in more than one" of those principalities, "Jewish advisers rose to the highest position at court."

The "outstanding instance" proved to be Granada, where Samuel ibn Nagsela (993-1063) became grand vizier to the king. Cecil Roth characterizes him as "the Beau Ideal of the Spanish Jew — poet, stylist, jurist, talmudist and munificent patron of learning." [223] His successor, his own son, fell short of the ideal; as Roth says, his "less tactful exercise of power resulted in a popular riot, as the result of which he lost his life and the Jews were expelled from the kingdom of Granada as a whole (1066)."

At first, it was confined to Granada. But then it spread; by 1146, Jews in all of Moslem Spain were either forced to become Moslems or suffer expulsion. To remain in Spain as Jews they had to turn to the politically emergent Christian communities. There were still centers of Jewish life, here and there, among the Moslem parts; but, as Roth writes: "the most numerous, most influential and most productive portion of the Jewish people was henceforth associated with European life [as distinct from North African and Middle Eastern] and with the Christian world." [224]

A direct consequence of all of that was the building up of Jewish influence not only in Christian Spain but also, after 1066, in Christian England, where the Jews entered for the first time, as Jews, with the armies of William of Normandy, known as the Conqueror. F. W. Maitland, the greatest historian of English law, begins the section on the Jews in his *History of English Law* to the time of Edward I with these words:

The Jew came to England in the wake of the Norman Conqueror. That no Israelites had ever dwelt in this country before the year 1066 we dare not say; but if so, they have left no traces of their presence that are of any importance to us [as historians of law]. They were brought hither from Normandy, brought hither as the king's dependents and (the word will hardly be too strong) the king's serfs. In the first half of the twelfth century their condition was thus described by the author of the *Leges Edwardi* in a passage which suggests that among the regalia to which the Norman barons aspired was the privilege of keeping Jews of their own: — "It is to be known that all the Jews wheresoever they be in the realm are under the liege wardship and protection of the king; nor may any of them without the king's license subject himself to any rich man, for the Jews and all that they have are the king's and should any one detain them or their chattels, the king may demand them as his own."

Maitland explains the main ideas involved: (1) The Jew "with all that he has belongs to the king"; and (2) such "servility is a relative servility; in relation to all men save the king the Jew is free." Needless to say, after *Magna Carta*, the Norman barons will eliminate the kingly privilege.

Jews flourished in feudal Europe under Christian rulers; but, as the nobility pressed its claims of right against kings, the special relationship with kings became a cause of resentment. To hold their own, Jews had to pass from merchant-status to money lender; in which status they were taxed, more and more, and accordingly had to earn more and more in money-lending. The more the Church-dominated Christian governments legislated against Christian usury, forcing all Christians, where they could, out of the business, the more the Jews were taxed, and the more they had to charge in money-lending. In the 1270s and 1280s, the anti-usury laws were enforced in England against the Jews. The king tried to spare them; but they could live only if they lent; and the alternative to their continuing to lend, secretly, was their total expulsion from England in 1290. Roth says that their total number was something between sixteen and four thousand.

The same thing happened in France, which had a more flourishing Jewish life. Expulsion occurred after 1306. It wasn't thorough; but, in fact, it lasted until the French Revolution.

Italy, except for the great trading republics, began to receive exiled Jews after 1275; colonies began to flourish in Ancona, Ferrara, Padua, Mantua, Verona, etc., and eventually also Venice. In those early days, only England and France, as Roth points out, were "sufficiently centralized for an anti-Jewish policy to be carried out consistently and univer-

sally." [233] In decentralized Germany and Italy, if one city or principality excluded Jews, a rival neighbor might find it advantageous to accept Jews. That remained true also in divided Spain until it was reduced to unity in the days of Columbus, under Ferdinand and Isabella.

Roth notes that, after the Jewish expulsions from Moslem Spain, mentioned earlier, "Aragon and Catalonia probably contained . . . the densest Jewish settlement in Europe." [234] Jews flourished in Christian Spain: "even at its worst, the condition of the Jews in Spain was better than in any other part of Europe in the Middle Ages." [234]

But then began the struggle for Spanish national unity. In those days, Spain continued to be the European place where non-Christian faiths were strongest. The rulers and their chief nobles, often for diverse reasons, called for doing in Spain what had already been done in England, with few Jews, and in France with more. But, in Spain, the Jewish population was large and flourishing, economically and culturally. The court used Jewish public servants freely. Jews in the king's service came to be identified, as Roth says, with "royal rapacity." [235] Because the Jews were numerous and exceptionally prosperous, "a phenomenon followed," as Cecil Roth puts it, "which was unique in the history of the Jews." He makes the point that, because they were best off in Spain, the Jews, there, were least willing to give it all up. In his own words:

For the first and only time [in Jewish history] their morale broke. Very large numbers of persons, seeing no hope for the future, and their convictions undermined by the syncretizing tendencies characteristic of the Hispano-Jewish intelligentsia, saved their lives by submitting to baptism. Their number was reinforced by a constant procession of fresh neophytes who went over to Catholicism under a more or less distant menace of violence, or out of sheer despair, in the following years.

Cecil Roth, with great candor, draws the social picture. The baptized, converted Jews, he says, mostly continued in their "former occupations, especially as taxgatherers." The main trouble was that "their numbers were too great to make speedy assimilation possible." Many of them, competing as Christians for high places, succeeded as never before. But they were suspected, Roth says, "and in many cases with good reason — of scant interest in their new religion, and a secret loyalty to the old one." Prejudice against them became racial; being Christian couldn't counter that. The numbers made it all a serious "problem," says Roth — "a very real one from the point of view of the Church." And that problem brought on the inevitable result. But it took almost a century. [236]

Abrabanel

The leader of the Spanish Jews in 1492 was Don Isaac Abrabanel (1437-1508/9), a "Jewish statesman and Bible commentator" who is linked with the discovery of America by the fact that he provided "almost the first financial assistance" of a substantial kind that Columbus was able to secure from private sources. According to Max I. Dimont in *Jews, God, and History*, a story keeps "cropping up" in the annals of the Jews in Spain that links Abrabanel with the notorious Spanish inquisitor Torquemada. Abrabanel, who had come to Spain from Portugal, had risen to the post of finance minister at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella during the fateful years when that royal couple were under increasing pressure to follow the example of England and France and expel the Jews from their realm. As the Jewish annalists tell it, Abrabanel, who had a "penchant for making vast fortunes," apparently "offered the royal couple such a fantastic sum of gold" that they wavered and were on the verge of rescinding the "contemplated expulsion of the Jews."

It was at that moment — so the Jewish annalists write — that Torquemada, who had been "listening behind the door," impatiently "burst into the room." Raising a crucifix high over his head, he cried out: "Behold the Savior whom the wicked Judas sold for thirty pieces of silver." And to intimidate the royal couple, he reportedly added: "If you approve this deed, sell him for a great sum!" Cowed by Torquemada — so the account cited by Max Dimont continues — Ferdinand and Isabella "signed the order for the expulsion of the Jews in the same year and month that Columbus received his orders to undertake the voyage that led to the discovery of America." [222-223]

Whatever the truth of Abrabanel's alleged encounter with Torquemada, there is no doubt about his having led some 10,000 Jews from Spain into a far more hospitable Italy during the closing decade of the fifteenth century. In his article titled "Jews and World Philosophy," contributed to Louis Finkelstein's *The Jews: Their History, Culture, and Religion*, Alexander Altman identifies Abrabanel as the "last great Spanish-Jewish thinker"; and he tells of his having become employed in Italy first "in the service of the king of Naples" and then as chief "counselor to the doge of Venice." His son, Judah Abrabanel (Leone Ebreo, 1460-1521), later became a leading figure among the Platonists of Renaissance Florence, with his highly influential dialogues about Platonic love (*Dialoghi d'amore*).

For at least a half century, the Spanish Jews who came to Italy in several waves, directly and indirectly, after 1492, made up in some

measure for the ruin brought on by the Spanish and French armies that invaded Italy during that same period. The Jewish "neighborhoods" — not always *ghettos*, as in Venice — established (or expanded) in those days served with their industriousness to slow down the process of decline. In time, however, the Protestant Reformation and the consequent Catholic reaction or Counterreformation brought on a reversal of the process. Genoa expelled the Jews in 1550, and most of the central Papal States had done the same by 1569; but, thereafter, the mercantile Protestant states of northern Europe and England, as well as mercantile France, began to admit Jews once more, whereas the economically backward Catholic countries like Spain and post-Reformation Italy, "having no economic need for them," as Dimont puts it, "did not readmit" the Jews "until modern times." [229-230]

*America's Ideal Columbus: Heroic
Forefather of the Founding Fathers*

Meanwhile, in the New World, the five great maritime powers of Europe — the Portuguese, Spanish, French, English, and Dutch — explored and settled, and then struggled for leadership. First, Portugal and Spain divided the non-European world between them, with the Pope's blessing; but soon the English with their Cabots, and the French with their Verrazano, etc., were after them, as were the Dutch. Centuries of struggle finally pitted France against England, and, by 1763, the English had won.

At first it looked like an Anglo-American triumph with the "spirit of Columbus" as one of the chief spoils of victory for an Anglo-American empire. But then came the American Revolution, with thirteen independent so-called United States of America. That was when Columbus, personified as Columbia, acquired his permanent American significance.

To make the thirteen really one, a new Constitution was drawn up and more or less reluctantly ratified by all the independent states. What it would mean wasn't to be completely decided until the time of Lincoln and the Civil War. But back in 1787-1789, for the champions of national unity led by Washington and Hamilton, it meant a single center of national political power. A national capital district was selected, apart from the states, and it was called the "District of Columbia." The capital city to be built there was called the "City of Washington." In the course of the decades, the two have become one in geographical extent, so that today, Columbus and George Washington are inextricably linked not

only in the District of Columbia, but all across the country. As Kirpatrick Sale has aptly said in his book, *Conquest of Paradise*:

In the United States, Columbus is honored with more place names of all kinds — cities, counties, towns, rivers, colleges, parks, streets and all the rest — than any other figure of American history save Washington, and with more monuments and statues than have been erected to any other secular hero in the world. More than any other nation, the United States bears the honor, and the weight, of the Columbian achievement. More than any other nation, it is in a position to appreciate in the fullest its multiple, its quite consequential, meanings. [5]

For the Jews, what has the American Columbian legacy meant? For the United States, Columbus as Columbia came to represent all that ultimately distinguished the New World religiously, culturally, and politically from the old: no king, no aristocracy, and no established priesthood. When the Jews returned to England legally, during the rule of Cromwell, no laws were past to admit them, and none to protect them. And, as Roth points out, when the British monarchy was restored, there were no laws relating to Jews to be repealed. All that Jews had to do to be socially accepted was to look and act English. In England there were strong traditions opposing such acceptance. But, in the English colonies of America, the idea of social equality was established as the law without legislation. And it has remained so, potentially for all, and not least of all for the Jews.

That was not what Columbus *Christo-ferens* had envisioned. He had envisioned an imperial Christendom, a Christ's Kingdom that was of this world. But that goal, which had driven him to try and try and try again in vain to make it directly to the far east, was not to be; and in the end, on his death-bed, Columbus accepted the fact. Christ's kingdom is not of this world; in this world, those who believe in an earthly kingdom of their own remain free to struggle, and also to give up the struggle, as we have lately seen in the old Soviet Union. But elsewhere, the struggle goes on — not, however, in the name of Columbus!

Appendix 1: Italy's Price

Elsewhere in these pages, it has been noted that exactly sixteen years to the day after Columbus's death on May 20, 1506, the armies of Spain which had entered Italy on the heels of the Jews had attacked and sacked Genoa. Of that event we have a vivid account provided by the great Italian historian and statesman Francesco Guicciardini (1483-1540). His mas-

terful *Storia d'Italia* (*History of Italy*) covers the years 1490-1534, during which renaissance Italy was brought to ruin not only by the armies of the emergent French and Spanish national monarchies but, even more, by the maritime aggrandizement of Portugal, Spain, and England, as well as France, at the expense of the once great ports of Genoa and Venice. Italian navigators like Columbus, Vespucci, Verrazzano, and the Cabots contributed greatly to that aggrandizement, and thus to the commercial debasement of Italy. True to his historian's perspective, Guicciardini therefore justifies his rather glowing account of Columbus's navigational triumph by locating it in the story of renaissance Italy's decline and fall.

In his remarkable pages on Columbus, the distinguished Florentine historian begins by reminding his readers that, before the great age of modern exploration, the globe of the earth had long been well-enough "mapped" in the abstract. Ancient Greek astronomers and geographers had long since projected upon the surface of the earth the great circles of the celestial bodies whose motions determine the changing measures of our nights and days, our months, and our years, as well as the great terrestrial zones that we distinguish as arctic, temperate, and torrid. All through ancient and medieval times, however, practical experience of the globe was limited to temperate Europe, Asia, and northern Africa, which came to be known as the "inhabited quarter" (*quarta habitabilis*) of the earth, previously called in Greek the *oekoumena*. It was assumed that, of the remaining three-quarters of the earth, the arctic or polar zones were too cold for regular habitation and the torrid zones too hot, while the unexplored remaining temperate zones were deemed to be landless wastes. Guicciardini notes, too, that during Christian times, many assumed that the gospel of "Christ crucified" had already been preached to "all mankind" and that it was therefore looked upon as a waste of time, or perhaps something worse, to "explore" uninhabited parts of the earth when there was still so much necessary work to do in the inhabited quarter.

The Church had already abandoned that view by the time Columbus sailed. Still, the old geographic assumptions first began to be disproved empirically, Guicciardini correctly notes, by the Portuguese navigators who, before Columbus, explored much of the north and south Atlantic, venturing into the arctic and sailing through the torrid zones. Columbus's proposal to reach the far east by sailing west, Guicciardini insists, proved in the end to be most revolutionary in its consequences. But, credit for bringing global exploration to near completion belongs to two later Portuguese navigators: Vasco da Gama (1469-1524) and Fernão

de Margalhães (1480-1521), better known by the Spanish version of his name, Magellan. Da Gama, in the years 1497-1498, had rounded the southern tip of Africa, sailing from west to east to reach India. That journey proved to be an absolute triumph for Vasco. He was appointed viceroy of India, where he died in glory; and he was later celebrated as Portugal's national hero in Camoëns's great epic, *The Lusiads*.

Magellan proved to be less fortunate. Like Columbus, he had left Portugal to sail in the service of Spain. He sought a westward passage through the islands and continents of the world opened to European navigation by Columbus; and, during the years 1519-1521, he made his way around the southern tip of the South American continent, entered the vast Pacific and arrived at the Philippines, which he discovered. He died in battle on one of the Pacific islands, and it was left to a Spanish captain to reach India, load his ships with spices, and return to Spain by circling south Africa from east to west, thereby completing the first circumnavigation of the earth in 1522.

Guicciardini dwells on the commercial consequences for Venice and Genoa of all those navigational feats. He supplies painful reminders of the fact that the cross that Columbus carried as self-proclaimed "Christ-Bearer" proved to be a heavy cross indeed for his native Italy in his own time (even as it was to become a cross for later Italian immigrants). At any rate, he personally persevered to the end. Surely he saw his burden as a cross of promise as well as pain. That is how the imaginative vision of art must perceive him. Yet even if art continues to miss the precise mark, one can hardly doubt that Columbus has indeed received his due in the spirit that even now animates all the peoples whose passage to the Americas he continues to make possible.

*Appendix 2: Justin Winsor on the
"Alleged Jewish Migration" (Vol. I, pp. 115-116)*

"The identification of the native Americans with the stock of the lost tribes of Israel very soon became a favorite theory with the early Spanish priests settled in America. Las Casas and Duran adopted it, while Torquemada and Acosta rejected it. André Thevet, of mendacious memory, did not help the theory by espousing it. It was approved by J. F. Lumius's *De extremo Dei Judicio et Indorum vocatione, libri iii* (Venice and Antwerp, 1569); and a century later the belief attracted new attention in the *Origen de los Americanos de Manasseh Ben Israel*, published in Amsterdam in 1650. There are editions of Manasseh Ben Israel (1650) with annotations by Robert Ingram, at Colchester, Eng., 1792; and by Santiago

Perez Junquera, at Madrid, 1881. Theoph. Spizelius' *Elevatio relationis Monteziniana de repertis in America tributis Israeliticis* (Basle, 1661) is a criticism (Leclerc, 547; Field, 1473). One Montesinos had professed to have found a colony of Jews in Peru, and had satisfied Manasseh Ben Israel of his truthfulness.

"It was in the same year (1650) that the question received the first public discussion in English in Thomas Thorowgood's *Jewes in America, or, Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race. With the removall of some contrary reasonings, and earnest desires for effectuall endeavours to make them Christian* (London, 1650)

"Thorowgood was answered by Sir Hamon L'Estrange in *Americans no Jewes, or Improbabilities that the Americans are of that race* (London, 1652). The views of Thorowgood found sympathy with the Apostle Eliot of Massachusetts; and when Thorowgood replied to L'Estrange he joined with it an essay by Eliot, and the joint work was entitled *Jewes in America, or probabilities that those Indians are Judaical, made more probable by some additional to the former conjectures: an accurate discourse is premised of Mr. John Eliot (who preached the gospel to the natives in their own language) touching their origination, and his Vindication of the planters* (London, 1660). What seems to have been a sort of supplement, covering, however, in part, the same ground, appeared in *Vindiciae Judaecorum, or a true account of the Jews, being more accurately illustrated than heretofore*, which includes what is called "The learned conjectures of Rev. Mr. John Eliot" (32 pp). Some of the leading New England divines, like Mayhew and Mather, espoused the cause with similar faith. (Cotton Mather, *Magnalia*, iii, part 2, tells how Eliot traced his resemblances to the Jews in the New England Indians.) Roger Williams also was of the same opinion. William Penn is said to have held the same views. The belief may be said to have been general, and had not died out in New England when Samuel Sewall, in 1697, published his *Phaenomena quaedam Apocalyptica ad aspectum Novi Orbis Configurata*.

"After the middle of the last century, we begin to find new signs of the belief. Charles Beatty, in his *Journal of a two months' tour with a view of promoting religion among the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania* (1768), finds traces of the lost tribes among the Delawares, and repeats a story of the Indians long ago selling the same sacred book to the whites with which the missionaries in the end aimed to make them acquainted. Gerard de Brahm and Richard Peters, both familiar with Southern Indians, found grounds for accepting the belief.

"The most elaborate statement drawn from this region is that of

James Adair, who for forty years had been a trader among the Southern Indians. [See his *History of the American Indians* (1775).] His arguments are given in Kingsborough 1830-48, viii, Bancroft, v. 91, epitomizes them. Adair's book appeared in a German translation at Breslau (1792).]

"Jonathan Edwards pointed out in the Hebrew some analogies to the native speech. (See his *Observations on the Language of the Muh-hekaneew Indians, in which . . . some instances of analogy between that and the Hebrew are pointed out*, 1788.) Charles Crawford in 1799 undertook the proof in his *Essay upon the propagation of the Gospel*, in which there are facts to prove that many of the Indians in America are descended from the Ten Tribes (1799; 2nd ed., 1901). In 1816 Elias Boudinot, a man eminent in his day, contributed further arguments in *A Star in the West, or an attempt to discover the long lost Ten Tribes of Israel*. Ethan Smith based his advocacy largely on the linguistic elements in his *View of the Hebrews, or the tribe of Israel in America* (1825). A few years later an Englishman, Israel Worsley, worked over the material gathered by Boudinot and Smith, and added something for his *View of the Amer. Indians, shewing them to be the descendants of the Ten Tribes of Israel* (1828). A prominent American Jew, M. M. Noah, published in 1837 an address on the subject which hardly added to the weight of testimony: *Discourse on the evidences of the Amer. Indians being the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel*. It is reprinted in Maryatt's *Diary in America*, vol. ii. J. B. Finlay (1840), a mulatto missionary among the Wyandots, was satisfied with the Hebrew traces which he observed in that tribe. George Catlin, working also among the Western Indians, while he could not go to the length of believing in the lost tribes, was struck with the many analogies which he saw (1841; cf. *SR*, 1885, ii: 532).

"The most elaborate of all expositions of the belief was made by Lord Kingsborough in his *Mexican Antiquities* (1830-48), mainly in vol. vii. Mrs. Barbara Anne Simon in her *Hope of Israel*, 1829, advocated the theory on biblical grounds; but later she made the most of Kingsborough's amassment of points in her *Ten Tribes of Israel historically identified with the aborigines of the Western Hemisphere* (1836). Since this book there has been no pressing of the question with any claims to consideration."

"FIVE CENTURIES: MANY PEOPLES, MANY PASTS"

*[Presentation made on July 6, 1992, at a Symposium sponsored by the
New York City Columbus Quincentennial Commission and the
Humanities Council of NYU]*

BY ANNE PAOLUCCI

This Quincentenary of the encounter of two worlds — one of the great dramatic reversals of history — is indeed a most fitting occasion for assessing the cultural impact of Columbus's historic voyage on the original inhabitants of this hemisphere as well as on those who came to North America during the next five centuries.

The vectors which put into motion the great age of exploration and discovery were many and often conflicting ones. Spain was desperately seeking an easier route to the wealth of the spice trade of the east. Like the other European nations, it was also very much in need of colonial expansion. Having finally won a long and expensive war against the Moors, Spain was ready to flex its muscles, as England did a short while later with the defeat of the Spanish Armada. In Columbus's time, Spain was ready to assert its national solidarity through economic expansion, colonies, and homogenous development of its people, not only in Spain itself but also in a global crusade to bring Christianity to the rest of the world. In its effort to define its national identity, Spain expelled those Jews who would not convert to Christianity, and the initial effort to find a shorter route to India grew into a global crusade. The past is a complex picture of personal and national intentions against a changing historical scenario, the full implications of which have yet to be fully assessed.

That past also includes the history of the indigenous peoples of the islands and of the American continents. It took some 400 years to complete a scientific definition of the geography of the Americas from the Bering Sea in the North to Terra del Fuego in the South; and we are still now trying to complete the task of defining with scientific accuracy the ethnic identities and cultural diversities of the major native inhabitants of this part of the world, North, South, and Central.

And even though we know a great deal about Columbus and the nations of Europe that made his voyage possible, our studies go back little more than 150 years, when the original sources in Spain, Portugal, Genoa, and the Spanish colonies in America, etc. were first carefully

gathered, collated, studied, and critically published. Harvard University took the lead in the 1880s, followed by the Italian government, with its famous critical collection (*Raccolta*) of those mostly Spanish sources that appeared in the 1890s.

The critical task continues, but the really important work is the one we focus on today: the impact of the Columbus voyage not only on the native populations and their descendants but also on the immigrants who have joined them, wave after wave, first from the great transoceanic maritime powers — the English, French, and Dutch, as well as the pioneering Portuguese and Spanish — but then also from the rest of Europe and Asia, as well as the African continent, from which so many blacks were brought here.

The great vision of Spain and Columbus failed, as we know, as did all the other aspirations to global rule and a united world under one set of laws and one religious belief. The new world opened by Columbus had a very different destiny. It proved in fact to be a haven for immigrants from all parts of Europe and the world, men and women who did not want to be homogenized in their lands of origins much less in a world where universal homogenization — political, religious, and cultural — was the only prescribed way of life. Such are the ironies of history.

Let me say a few words here about our own national American contribution to the many pasts of the Columbus story. The Harvard initiative to bring critical materials together in a large way is reflected in our time in the work of Samuel Eliot Morison, the most famous of our Columbus scholars. In 1971, when he was over 80 and completing his greatest work, *The European Discovery of America*, Morison honored his mentor, the great scholar-librarian of Harvard, Justin Winsor, who lived a century earlier. Morison referred to Winsor's 8-volume collaborative work called *Narrative and Critical History of America* (1884-1889) as "an irreplaceable work" that he, Morison, hoped at best only to "supplement." The first five volumes of Winsor's work contained in fact the most thorough critical-biographical account of the entire age of New World discovery. No one in this century, Morison noted, "has followed Winsor in attempting to cover the entire field" and the result, in his view, was a serious decline in Columbus scholarship.

These volumes of Winsor's massive work cover American history from "Aboriginal America" (VOL. I), through the centuries of exploration and settlement of the Spanish (VOL. II), the English (VOL. III), and the French, Portuguese and Dutch (VOL. IV), followed by an account of

the struggle between the French and English for dominance in North America — a struggle that ended with English victory in 1763 on the eve of the American Revolution (VOL. V). In each of those first five volumes the emphasis is on the national identities of the diverse peoples that explored and settled and struggled; so that in the end we have indeed a multi-national history of the Americas before our United States assumed its separate independent status, with Christopher Columbus identified as its mythic inspiration, already a semi-legendary forefather of our founding fathers. It was in recognition of Columbus's symbolic importance that the Federal District of Columbia was named for him over 200 years ago, even as the nation's Federal Capital City was named for George Washington, the founding-father par excellence.

It is indeed in the spirit of Justin Winsor's great historical account that we should review the past in this quincentenary year of the coming of Europe to the New World. The history of conquest is part of that past, as is also the history of the adjustments over the last 500 years, adjustments that have brought many people together in a difficult multicultural environment still in flux, still to be defined and analyzed properly. There is no other country in the world like ours, where so many different nationalities have congregated, each with its own special characteristics and national values, each struggling to maintain its familiar identity while reaching out into an unfamiliar larger family. Certainly no other city is like New York with its shifting populations, its new demographic profiles, its constant struggle to make place and way for newer populations who have sought and still seek our now crowded shores.

Encounter is a continuing process for all the peoples of this great city and nation and continent. We celebrate the first encounter as the beginning of a society and a way of life that could never have been foreseen by Columbus himself or any of his peers. We are the heirs of that encounter, whatever the mixed intentions and the difficult resultants that brought it about. To linger on a single point or moment in that history is to lose sight of the reality of our present, which is the return to our roots as a nation built on the ambitions, desires, hopes, and often contradictory impulses of those who made possible the initial encounter and thus what has emerged from it: our multiethnic society.

The reversals of history, often ironic as we have seen, are also the basis for a continuing oscillation of paradoxical forces aiming toward identity. We cannot abstract a moment in history and judge it in absolute terms. From the contradictory impulses which formed our own history,

we must recognize the makings of a new national self-consciousness, a struggle toward identity which is always a painful oscillation between escape and return: *escape* from the limits of what we were into the potential of a larger arena in order to *return* to our roots within a broader pattern and a more comprehensive meaning.

THE AMERICAN ETHNIC MIX

[From the concluding "Commentary" of the author at the New York City Columbus Quincentennial Symposium on "Five Centuries: Many Peoples, Many Pasts," held at New York University, July 6, 1992.]

BY ANNE PAOLUCCI

Back in 1890, the leading American historian of early Spanish and Portuguese exploits in the new world, Justin Winsor of Harvard, dedicated his major scholarly work on the subject to Francis Parkman, who was then the leading American "historian of France and England in North America." Winsor's dedicatory letter read in part:

You and I have not followed the maritime people of western Europe in planting and defending their flags on the American shores without observing the strange fortunes of the Italians, in that they have provided pioneers for those Atlantic nations without having once secured in the New World a foothold for themselves.

When Venice gave her Cabot to England and Florence bestowed Verrazzano upon France, these explorers established the territorial claims of their respective and foster motherlands, leading to those contrasts and conflicts which it has been your fortune to illustrate as no one else has.

When Genoa gave Columbus to Spain and Florence accredited her Vespucci to Portugal, these adjacent powers, whom the Bull of Demarcation would have kept asunder in the new hemisphere, established their rival races in middle and southern America, neighboring as in the Old World: but their contrasts and conflicts have never had so worthy a historian as you have been for those of the north.

I quote Winsor's words at length as a reminder of how serious scholars used to approach the subject of the "encounters" of the western European nations with one another — as well as with native populations — in the "new world" starting in 1492. Take the island of Hispaniola, on which the Dominican Republic and Haiti are located. Columbus had claimed it for Spain in 1492, establishing a settlement on its northeastern coast. Before his return to the island in 1493, his Spanish settlement had completely vanished. He started a second settlement, but he was soon replaced as governor; and it was under his successors that African blacks were brought in as slaves to take the place of the dwindling numbers of native workers. After that, native Haitians vied with

French and Spanish forces for control of the island, with England intervening to prevent any one of them from gaining total victory. After France withdrew and England gave up its role to the United States, Spain too wearied of the struggle. It is absurd to try to establish, in our day, how much of present conditions in Haiti or the Dominican Republic is directly traceable to Columbus's early "exploits in this hemisphere."

Moreover, candid histories of England, France, and Spain, as well as Portugal and the Netherlands, will show that their so-called native lands were subject to invasions and conquests hardly less dire in their effects than their own conquests of other peoples around the world. So-called Celtic England (or Britain) was conquered by Julius Caesar in 55 B.C., and Roman rule over most of the island lasted from the 1st to the 4th century A.D. When the Roman military occupation ended after 410 A.D., Germanic Angles, Saxons, and Jutes moved in from the continent. Next came Danish Vikings. And finally, in 1066, came the Normans, who had previously come from Norway into northern France, where they took up the language and culture which they brought with them to England. Norman-French rule of England, one must remember, was never overthrown, though the Norman rulers eventually took up the language and name of their subjects, making sure that, in all important matters essential to law enforcement and war, words of Franco-Latin origin preponderated over Anglo-Germanic words by a percentage of 90 to 10.

We are all mixed peoples; and all of us have known, as peoples, the humiliations of unconditional surrender and of life under the rule of conquering armies, though fewer have known the exultations of conquest on a large scale. In World War II, most of Europe was forced to submit to the conquering armies of Hitler and his Axis partners. But in the end, the Nazi-fascists were thoroughly crushed. There was no treaty setting up a German equivalent of the French Vichy government after France's total defeat in 1940. And as for victors and vanquished in what the Japanese call the Pacific War, we'll be reading a lot about the ironies of developments, then and now, as the fiftieth anniversary of the bombing of Pearl Harbor approaches.

The old world — it can hardly be denied — is the old world yet. The nations of our hemisphere, including those of our prehistoric native Americans, as well as those founded by Europeans among the natives, have all had histories not quite yet as complex as the histories of the lands of Europe whose ships started to cross the Atlantic in 1492. Our New World nations of many tongues are all, overwhelmingly, lands of immigrants. Descendants of the native populations are destined to be-

come an increasingly cherished minority. But we must not be tempted to deny that the immigrant is the typical American — the immigrant of whom Columbus himself proved, in his own lifetime, to be the prototype. That is why, for all its Quincentenary programs, "Columbus: Countdown 1992" had from the beginning proudly adopted the motto or maxim: "To promote the multi-ethnic legacy of Christopher Columbus, the First Immigrant to the New World."

As an immigrant myself, I understand the dialectic of *escape and return*, the need to maintain one's individuality and ethnic identity while striving at the same time to become part of a larger whole, part of a mainstream in which all groups have a voice. Columbus suffered that difficult process of transition. His life was a series of ironic reversals. By the time he died, he was virtually forgotten.

Having said all this, I cannot help wondering what today's critics of Columbus have in mind, and what their motives are, when they accuse him of genocide, slavery, cruelty, greed, bigotry, egoism, etc. etc. Is he and the others who followed in his wake to be tried and sentenced for "crimes" that were not on the books in his day? Is it fair to direct specifically against Columbus attacks that are really aimed at "Western civilization," at pollution of the environment, at the costs of astro-exploration and other scientific-technological efforts to expand existing horizons? Thomas More's great work, *Utopia*, is about America and its inhabitants. Must we, from now on, read that most interesting book as a biased European-centered work? How much are we going to pile up on Columbus, the Genoese who went to Portugal and learned the art of sailing and then moved to Spain, where he waited for seven years to get his grant money for a project that seemed wild and impossible? Have we nothing to learn from him in such a context?

Is it really fair to accuse a man of heinous crimes for doing what was in keeping with the morality, the hopes, the values of his time? Were the native populations simply victims of the Europeans? The Aztecs, we know, were in the habit of killing prisoners, and once slaughtered 20,000. The Caribs, after whom the Caribbean is named, were the most feared tribe in the area, and destroyed countless other tribes in their assertion of power. As for slavery, let us not forget that it was a way of life with our founding fathers, and is still going on today in many lands.

Christianity may indeed have been simply a European phenomenon; but the Church *did* have a mission and that mission until quite recently was taken very seriously. Unless history is a tale told by an idiot, what happened in Columbus's time must be judged according to the

standards and values of that time.

Can we honestly judge the past according to present standards and values or impose those values on others who do not share our concerns? Can history really be turned back? Is the multi-ethnic society — the great legacy of Columbus — really a terrible mistake to be erased from the annals of history? Surely it is time we all took to heart once more the ancient legacy of Greek tragedy on the meaning of personal freedom. As a sightless Oedipus eventually saw, to be really free means to assume responsibility not only for all we have ourselves done, but also for all that we have suffered to be done to us by others.

As Herbert Baxter Adams summed it up over a hundred years ago: "The great contribution which Columbus made to human knowledge was that he demonstrated the existence of lands in the west, beyond the Atlantic Ocean, and thus 'linked forever the two worlds'." In that, however, he had been anticipated by the greatest of Italian poets, Dante, whose Ulysses in Canto XXVI of his *Inferno* owes far less to Homer than it owes to the Columbian "spirit of discovery," which was already in the air throughout Italy around 1300 A.D. Dante's representation of the hero of Homer's *Ulysses* has triggered other great poetry (Tennyson's marvelous "Ulysses," for instance) and much provocatively imaginative thinking around the world.

Ulysses, you remember, returned after twenty years away from home, having destroyed the Trojans through his clever plotting and having won the long war for the Greeks. But he couldn't stay put; the sea called. And so, according to Dante, the old Homeric hero rallies his faithful comrades and ventures boldly, like Columbus, beyond the limits of the known world, beyond the pillars of Hercules (as the strait of Gibraltar was known in those days), the opening into the vast Atlantic. To spur on his crew, Dante's Ulysses says with epic grandeur much of what Columbus would actually say under similar circumstances almost two centuries later, first in recruiting his men, and then, out at sea, in keeping them on track when they were ready to mutiny out of fear and despair. Dante puts these unforgettable words into the mouth of his Ulysses:

'O brothers, who through a hundred thousand perils have reached the West, do not choose to deny to this brief vigil of the senses that remain to us the experience, in the sun's track, of the unpeopled world . . . You were not born to live as brutes, but to follow virtue and knowledge.' [And then, addressing Dante directly, Ulysses as narrator continues:] I made my companions so eager for the journey with those brief words that I could hardly have held

them back.

The Italian for that central phrase is classic: *Fatti non foste per viver come bruti, ma per seguir virtute e conoscenza.*

Columbus changed the course of history: not too many men or women have been accorded such a mission. He died in the knowledge that he had done his best; and, although undermined in that mission, although forgotten for a time and betrayed in many ways, he died a true Christian death, in humble surroundings with a humble heart.

Let me conclude with the reminder that October 12 has unhappily gained almost universal acceptance as somehow an "Italian-American" holiday, as a consequence of which many Italian-American organizations have made it almost a point of honor to treat criticism of Columbus's exploits in this hemisphere as ethnic slurs — which they are indeed often intended to be. The attitude of such groups is unfortunate, however, because Italy, as a nation, has really had precious little to do with the conquest, exploitation, and colonial development of the American islands and continents beyond supplying millions of immigrants through the centuries, even as, in the early decades of explorations, its independent cities supplied most of the leading navigators, not only for Portugal and Spain, but also for England and France. As a nation, Italy came into its own very late: 1861. Columbus, Cabot, Vespucci, Verrazano and others were in effect exiles from the city states which were the political base of the peninsula in that age. They were forced for economic and other reasons to leave their native soil and seek their fortunes elsewhere. But, as I have stressed often in recent years when addressing these topics, Italy can certainly claim these great and daring navigators as part of its contribution to the European modern legacy, as the source of that glorious period in history which reshaped the world and scattered the treasures of the Greco-Roman tradition throughout Europe and beyond: the Renaissance. It was Italy that gave the Renaissance to Europe, and it was the Renaissance that should claim Columbus and his peers. That connection should always be made, and proudly.

BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

CONSTANCE DEL VECCHIO MALTESE, ANNE PAOLUCCI,
HENRY PAOLUCCI, JUSTIN WINSOR

CONSTANCE DEL VECCHIO MALTESE has had a long and diverse experience as a commercial art editor and illustrator of children's books and other specialized publications for such companies as Johnson & Johnson, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Random House, King Features, and The New York Stock Exchange. Several years ago she turned to a new kind of inspiration. The result was the 13-portrait series, "Age of Discovery Navigators" — a kind of Renaissance picture story, in which important details and events are integrated into each portrait. That series won the artist the "Special Recognition in the Arts and Humanities" award (1989) of "Columbus: Countdown 1992," as well as the "Citation of Honor" from Queens Borough President Claire Schulman, the "Outstanding Achievement in the Arts Award" from the Americans of Italian Heritage, and the Italian Charities of America's "Age of Discovery Artist Award" (among others). The series, shown in its entirety for the first time in our State Capitol in Albany under the auspices of the New York Conference of Italian American Legislators, was the central focus of the Age of Exploration exhibit for over two years at the Intrepid Museum in New York (1991-1993).

A second result of that same inspiration is Maltese's "American Women" series, in which she uses the same dynamic technique. Six cornerstone paintings in this new group have been completed to-date, including one of astronaut Dr. Ellen Schulman Baker (depicted with Amelia Earhart, Aviatrice), unveiled earlier this year at Queens Borough Hall, in celebration of "Women's History" month, and another of Dr. Anne Paolucci, where milestones of her multi-faceted career are arrayed around the impressive dual major images.

Constance Del Vecchio Maltese attended the Parson's School of Design — where she held an art scholarship — the School of Art and Design, and the Art Student's League of New York. Currently a member of the prestigious Society of Illustrators, and the Queensborough Community College Art Gallery Committee, she also serves as Vice President of the Board of Directors of the Queens Council on the Arts.

Her earlier work includes portraits of former President Ronald Reagan, then Vice President George Bush, Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, June and Richard Grayson, Judge Robert J. Hanophy, Jack Kemp, Dr. Joyce Brothers, Congresswoman Susan Molinari, TV's Ed Newman, William R. Rusher, and Dr. "Ruth" Westheimer.

ANNE PAOLUCCI is the founder and president of Council on National Literatures, a non-profit educational foundation that promotes multi-comparative literary studies; she also edits its two international series: *Review of National Literatures* and *CNL/World Report*. She was Chairperson of the English Department of St. John's University for 12 years and is currently Director of the Doctor of Arts Degree Program in English at St. John's. The University honored

her recently with its "Outstanding Faculty Achievement Award."

In 1986, she was appointed by President Reagan to a 6-year term on the National Council on the Humanities (NEH), where she continued to serve — beyond her term — into 1994. She is President of The Pirandello Society of America and a prolific writer not only on Pirandello, but also on the works of Dante, Machiavelli, Shakespeare, dramatic theory, Edward Albee, Theater of the Absurd, and Renaissance drama; she is also an award-winning poet and playwright, having published three books of poetry, two of short stories, and most recently a collection of three short plays.

Dr. Paolucci is a graduate of Barnard College (B.A.) and Columbia University (M.A. and Ph.D.). She spent a year in Italy as a Fulbright Scholar, and later returned as Fulbright Lecturer in American Drama at the University of Naples. In 1979 she was a guest of The Humanities Research Centre of The Australian National University for several months. She has won many awards, including Canada's first Gold Medal for the Columbus Quincentenary, the City-Wide Italian Heritage and Culture Month Award, the first national Elena Cornaro Award of OSIA (1993), and many other honors and recognitions. She recently was awarded the title of "Commendatore" Order of Merit bestowed by the Republic of Italy.

HENRY PAOLUCCI is a graduate of City College (B.S.) and Columbia University (M.A. and Ph.D.). He was Eleanora Duse Fellow from Columbia at the University of Florence for a year, and later a Fulbright Scholar at the University of Rome. He has taught comparative literature, history, and political science at Iona College, The City College and Brooklyn College (CUNY), and at St. John's University, where he is now Professor Emeritus in Government and Politics and History. He also serves as President of The Walter Bagehot Research Council on National Sovereignty.

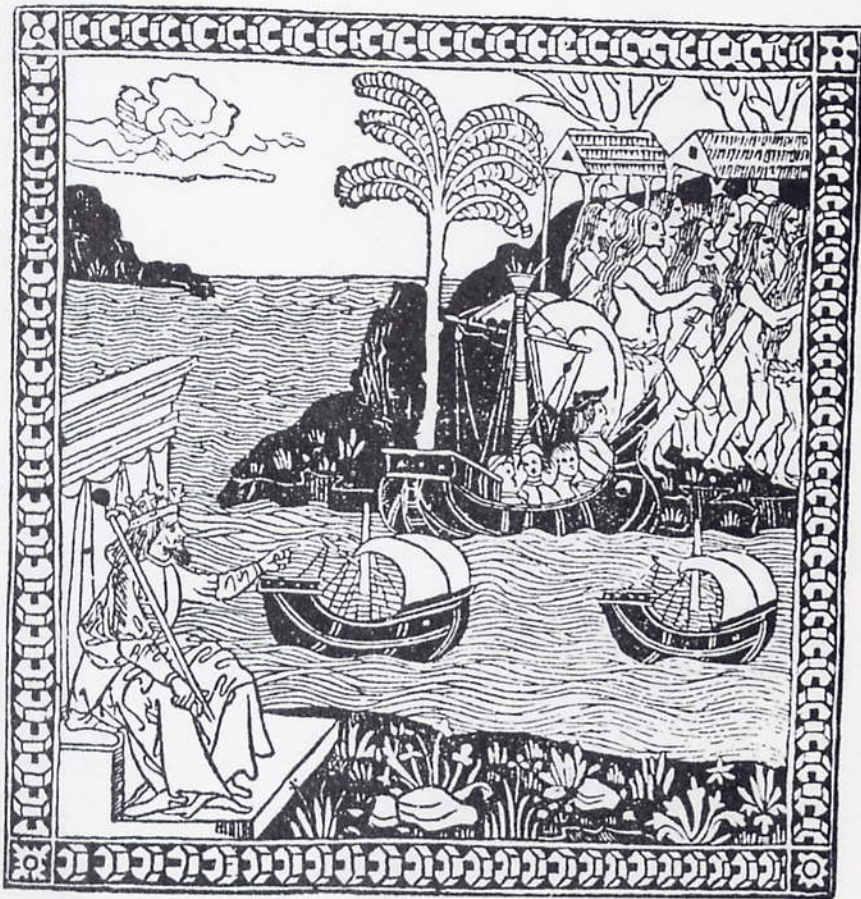
In 1964, he ran as the New York State Conservative Party's candidate for the U.S. Senate, and has long been the senior Vice-Chairman of that party.

Professor Paolucci's books include *War, Peace, and the Presidency* (1968), *Brief History of Political Thought and Statecraft* (1979), *Kissinger's War: 1957-1975* (1980), and *Iran, Israel, and the United States* (1991). He has been a frequent contributor to the "Op Ed" Page of the *New York Times* and has often appeared in *National Review*, the Italian political magazine *Il Borghese* (Rome), and *Review of National Literatures*.

JUSTIN WINSOR [1831-1897], the great historian-librarian of Harvard University during the latter part of the last century, was the founder of the American Library Association and co-founder of the American Historical Association. His massive 8-volume (each ca. 600 pages) *Narrative and Critical History of America*, has been called an "irreplaceable work" by the more recent American scholar of the age of discovery, Samuel Eliot Morison.

Winsor brought together the most eminent historians, archaeologists, anthropologists, art and linguistic specialists of his day to produce, over several years, the volumes that were to become the cornerstone of the early history of

America — North, Central, and South. His detailed and scrupulous account of every aspect of the known cultures and races of our diverse inhabitants, native and immigrant — their languages and dialects, their habits, their artifacts and their writings — remains the most important work of its kind.



THE LANDING OF COLUMBUS.