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the caves, for all the world the same as numberless caves in process of formation on many a rocky shore at the present day.

A vast number of streams have their source on the mountain, and carve its flanks into picturesque ravines. The bulk of this water eventually finds its way to the Nile, but not directly so. The streams on the south and south-east run into the Nzoia river, and so into the Nyanza; those rising on the south-west and west sides run direct into the Nile, probably in the neighbourhood of Lake Gitanzige; while those on the north-west and north eventually reach the Nile by way of the big chain of lakes, which are supposed to debouch into Lake Kioga.

But to the east and north-east we get streams belonging to an entirely different system. I refer to the Turkwel river and others which unite and flow away to Lake Rudolf. One of these streams, named the Shwam, is notable, inasmuch as it rises in the centre of the crater of the mountain, and it has carved a deep gorge through the crater wall, which presents a very striking appearance from the plains to the east.\*

Curiously enough, none of the tribes on or surrounding the mountain have any knowledge of the popular name for the mountain (Elgon), and I believe this to have been derived in some confused manner from the name of the tribe on the south side, the El Gonyi. The Wa-Kitosh call the mountain Masawa; the Wa Lako Masawa Tukul; and the tribes on the west side use the name Ruteka. Masawa is the name that is most widely known.†

Having now made a complete circuit of the mountain, we returned to Mumia's, after a pleasant journey of about a month's duration.

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## THE SUPPOSED DISCOVERY OF SOUTH AMERICA BEFORE 1448, AND THE CRITICAL METHODS OF THE HISTORIANS OF GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERY.

By J. BATALHA-REIS.

IN an extensive memoir † Sig. Carlo Errera studied anew the nautical map of 1448 by Andrea Bianco, and discussed the interpretation given by Mr. Yule Oldham, since 1894, § to a portion of it.

I take this opportunity of presenting the most important ideas of the Italian historian, to call the attention of the historians of geography to some neglected

\* The Shwam is Mr. Gedge's Angelel, called Suam in its lower courses.—E. G. R.

† The mountain is also known as Masawa (Marsawa) on Lake Victoria, where Mr. H. M. Stanley heard the name in 1875. Mr. J. Thomson calls Ketosh *Masawa*, and the mountain *Elgon*; Emin Pasha heard of a tribe Wa-Sawe (Wa-Savei?).—E. G. R.

‡ "Della Carta di Andrea Bianco del 1418 e di una supposta scoperta del Brasile nel 1447," *Memorie della Società Geografica italiana*, V. Parte 1<sup>a</sup>. pp. 202-225 (Roma, 1895).

§ 'British Association, etc., Oxford,' p. 715 (London, 1894); Royal Geographical Society, November, 1894; *Geographical Journal*, March, 1895, pp. 221-239.

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reasons and documents, as well as to some generally employed, but, in my opinion, incorrect methods of criticism, which not only concern the particular subject now under discussion, but many other points in the history of discovery.\*

Biancho's map of 1448, and both Mr. Yule Oldham and Sig. Carlo Errera's "Memoirs," raise many important and complex questions of geographical history. I merely propose now to study one of the special problems offered by that map, and interpreted by Mr. Yule Oldham with so much originality.

## I.

At the lower left corner of an irregular piece of vellum an extensive land is represented, some 100 or 200 miles, if we consider the scale of the map (300 kilometres according to Sig. Errera, 400 according to Mr. Yule Oldham), south-west of Capes Verde and Roxo,† which are drawn at the southern extremity of the coast of Africa, where the latter suddenly turns sharply eastwards. This is the most original feature of the 1448 map.

The land represented on the left corner shows a promontory, as an angle turned north-east, the two sides of which (one east to west, the other north to south) are supposed to continue beyond the map, evidently showing Biancho's intention to represent a land larger than what the asymmetrical or torn-off corner of the parchment could have afforded space for.

On this land a legend, in two lines, has been subjected to various interpretations. Mr. Yule Oldham reads it, ‡ "ixola § otinticha xe || longa a ponente 1500 mia," ¶ and translates, "Authentic island is distant 1500 miles to the west."

In only one point does Sig. C. Errera differ from Mr. Yule Oldham's reading and interpretation: where the latter reads 1500 miles, the former sees 500, the first supposed figure being, in Sig. Errera's opinion (and, as he says, in the opinion of P. Ceriani, curator of the Ambrosian Library at Milan), only one of two brackets. All other authors who have discussed the subject read "1500 miles."

I must declare that I do not know the original manuscript of Biancho's map, but only Prof. Fischer's\*\* and Mr. Yule Oldham's facsimiles, which, being photographic, cannot have the features of the original essentially altered. In both I believe to have distinctly seen, by the help of powerful lenses, the figures 1500 with all the peculiarities of mediæval Gothic writing. After the two cyphers of the number 500, there is not exactly a figure, or even a well-defined line, corresponding to the supposed first bracket, but only a black spot connecting the lower part of the second cypher with the dark stained edge of the parchment. From that

\* In the study and discussion of questions related to the history of geographical discovery, the Portuguese documents are, as a rule, the most neglected of all. Of these many were long ago collected in various publications which it would be very useful to bring to the knowledge of the students of geographical history in a comprehensive review. A new and more correct collection of some of them was recently published ('*Alguns Documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo acerca das Navegações e Conquistas portuguezas publicados por ordem do governo. de S. M. F. ao celebrar-se a Comemoração quadricentenaria do Descobrimento da America.*' Lisboa, 1892), to which I shall hereafter often refer.

† See facsimile, *Geographical Journal*, March, 1895, p. 224.

‡ *Geographical Journal*, March, 1895, p. 226.

§ *Izole* for *isole*: J. Leardus on his 1448 map (Venice).

|| "Questo si xe lo amaistramento," A. Biancho, 'Atlante' (1436), fl. i.

¶ *Mia* for *millia* or *miglia*: Fra Mauro, map of 1459 (Venice).

\*\* 'Sammlung mittelalterlicher Welt- und See-Karten italienischen Ursprungs' (Venedig, 1886).

black spot the ink seems to have spread upwards. The supposed second bracket thus looks entirely an accidental stroke, like many others to be seen all over old maps.

The word *otinticha* is, as a matter of fact, still now pronounced (and perhaps written) under this form in Venice.\*

By *otinticha*, or "authentic island," Andrea Bianco seems to have, in fact, meant an island which had been undoubtedly seen by somebody, and on which undoubtedly somebody had landed.

Although considering that the word *longa* is more frequently used, in old and new Venetian, to mean *lunga*, "long," therefore expressing how large the *authentic island* was, still Sig. Errera assents to its being often used for *lontana*, or "distant," † from Europe or Africa, in the case under discussion, and more probably from the nearest point in the latter continent—Cape Verde. This distance should be, according to Mr. Yule Oldham's reading (and, as I showed, to my own), 1500 miles (500 miles to Sig. Errera's); but it is only 100 or 200 miles in the scale of the map.

Now, in the relative position occupied by the *authentic island* (south-west of Cape Verde), and with the relative dimensions, no doubt intentionally sketched by Bianco, there is no extensive land at 100 or 200 miles from Cape Verde or any other part of the African coast.

The authentic island is on the furthest corner of the map (south-west of Cape Verde) that was available, marked as extensively extending along the edge of the parchment, but only shown by a strip wide enough to be seen and to admit of a legend being written on it. The *new island*, in the existence of which Bianco believed, was evidently not supposed to exist to the north or west of Europe or Africa, where the parchment would have afforded plenty of room for its location, but distinctly to the south-west of Cape Verde. Whether referring to the breadth or extension of the *new island*, or to its distance from any given point on the map, such a legend would have been superfluous, had circumstances allowed the newly discovered land to be located in its proper place. No other land on the map shows any verbal or numerical explanation as to dimensions or distances. Of the *new island* one circumstance had above all to be represented, namely, its relative position to other lands, comprising (a) its orientation, (b) distances from them, and (c) its dimensions. The parchment being too small, only the orientation could have been graphically shown. Of the other two circumstances, one could more easily be known, which was, in any case, precisely the most urgent for explorers to know, and the most necessary to correct the otherwise obvious but misleading reading of the map:—this was the real *distance* at which the *new island* had been seen, although represented at 100 or 200 miles from Cape Verde. Were the *dimensions* of the island known, they could only have been written as a secondary indication. Moreover, the person who saw, or pretended to have seen, the *authentic island* could not have sailed, observed, surveyed 1500 miles of coast, but could have roughly estimated 1500 miles distance from the nearest point on the known continent of Africa.

Do the 1500 miles mean the "extension" of the *new island*? Then the island is correctly located on the map, at 100 or 200 miles from Cape Verde, and, as I have said already, there is no important land due south-west at that distance. If the 1500 miles cannot refer to "extension," they must refer to "distance." And

\* "*Otinticha*, say our popular classes, . . . means 'true,' 'genuine'" (Giuseppe Boerio 'Dizionario del Dialecto Veneziano,' 2 ed. (1856), p. 459 (Venezia)).

† Also *lonzi* and *lunga*.

there was, and there is, land, with the essential features sketched by Bianco, about 1500 miles, or a *long distance* \* south-west from Cape Verde.†

The most important objection Signor C. Errera presents to this part of Mr. Yule Oldham's solution of the problem is that, if the 1500 (or 500) miles mean the distance of the *new island* from Cape Verde, that distance is due to the *ponente*,—that is to say, to the west,—while the *otinticha* is distinctly located to the south-west. But if the Italians called the west *ponente*, they called west-north-west, *ponente maestro*, the west-south-west *ponente libeccio*; and, in a general and summary way, *ponente* would have been used—as a generic name—for all the west, from north to south, principally in a note hastily written on a map made on imperfect parchment, and therefore only considered as a provisional sketch.‡

If we consider, on Bianco's map, the sketch of the *new island*, we see clearly that his intention was to represent an extension of land larger, at least, from east to west, than twice the east-to-west width of the area occupied by the whole Cape Verde archipelago.

The essential points established are, therefore, in my opinion, that in 1448 Andrea Bianco believed:—

- (a) That somebody had certainly seen an island, and perhaps landed on it;
- (b) That this island was, at least, wider from west to east than the distance say, between Cape Verde and the Arguin bank near the African coast;
- (c) That this island was south-west of Cape Verde;
- (d) At a great distance from it—in any case greater than 100 or 200 miles, and probably at about 1500 miles;
- (e) Shaped like an angle, the vertex of which pointed to the north-east—to the Cape Verde—and with sides east-west and north-south respectively.

If, then, it is proved that any land exists agreeing with the essential conditions stated, it will be, in my opinion, much more rational to suppose, that in 1448, or previously, somebody had actually seen the land represented on the map, than to admit that, by a mere chance, invention and reality have so entirely coincided in *relative position, shape, and dimensions*.

The problem thus presented, its solution merely consists in ascertaining whether some land exists—*island or continent*—in agreement with the conditions mentioned.

There exists, in fact, a land:—

- (a) Larger from east to west than the distance between Cape Verde and the Arguin bank;
- (b) South-west of Cape Verde;
- (c) At 1520 miles from it;
- (d) In the shape of an angle having its vertex to the north-east—that is to say, to Cape Verde.

This land is the north-east promontory of South America.

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\* Yule Oldham, *Geographical Journal*, March, 1895, pp. 227, 228.

† The word *authentic* and the mention of the number of miles (whether these refer to the new land's extension or to the distance from Africa), being information not to be found on any other land represented on the map, are facts which mutually corroborate each other.

‡ There are thousands of analogous instances. I find one on opening the book I happen to have at hand: Ramusio ('Discorso sopra la terra ferma dell' Indie occidentali,' etc., iii. f. 417, ed. 1565), describing the coast of Labrador, speaks of a "Capo del gado, which is in 54°, from where the coast runs 200 leagues (*per ponente*), to the west, up to a great river called San Lorenzo." Now, the mouth of the river San Lorenzo is south of 54°, and south-west of the cape under 54°.

According to what I have previously established, the problem thus seems to be entirely solved. This is Mr. Yule Oldham's opinion. His originality consists in having suggested the only solution to this problem which gives satisfaction to all its essential requirements.

To this solution, after what has been adduced against Mr. Yule Oldham's arguments, there are, apparently, some circumstantial difficulties, principally derived from the fact of the historians who discussed the subject having forgotten, to a great extent, Portuguese authorities and documents, as well as from the generally illogical methods employed by geographers in discussing historical problems.

## II.

If really any land south-west of Cape Verde were known before 1448, how can we account, says Sig. C. Errera, for "the silence of all sources [of information] . . . for the ignorance of the Portuguese government itself?" "It is certain," the Italian historian continues, "that the Portuguese of the fifteenth century entirely lacked knowledge of any land to the south-west, nor is there the slightest trace of such a knowledge." "None of the cartographers of the second half of the fifteenth century," Sig. C. Errera assures us, "represents the mysterious land of Bianco."\*

On this point Sig. C. Errera's argument is typical of one of the unconscious erroneous processes of criticism so common among those who discuss the historical problems of geographical discovery. These historians speak as if all the maps that were drawn, and all the documents that were written in the world, existed in unaltered condition, systematically classified and kept in public archives. To ascertain that a supposed geographical discovery was not registered on any map, if all maps were in existence, and all the existing maps were known, would undoubtedly have been a very important argument indeed, very different from that which, under the limitation of actual circumstances, Sig. Errera, or any historian, is authorized to employ. As things really are, Sig. Errera should, I think, have prudently limited himself to speak of the cartographers he knows, or of whom information has reached him. What follows will show that the process employed by historians, being wrong, is therefore dangerous.

When, in 1500, Master João, "Bachiller in Arts and Medecine, Physician and Cosmographer to D. Manuel of Portugal," writes to the king, in his letter of May 1,† about the land just found, in what to-day is called South America, by the fleet of Pedro Alvarez Cabral, on board of which he was, Master João says that *those lands might the king see represented on the mappamundi which Pero Vaz Bisagudo had*, with the only difference, he adds, that the said mappamundi does not mention if the land was inhabited or not, while he, Master João, could certify it (Brazil) to be very well peopled.‡ Master João remarks, besides, to the King of Portugal (no doubt for him to well distinguish the map from others on

\* *Loc. cit.*, p. 219.

† But begun April 28: "Yesterday, Monday, April 27."

‡ This document was published (by Varnhagen) in 1843: 'Revista trimestral do Instituto historico e geographico do Brazil,' v. p. 342 (Rio de Janeiro); and again in F. A. de Varnhagen's 'Historia geral do Brazil,' i. pp. 423, 424 (Madrid, 1854). The original manuscript is in Arch. nac. Torre do Tombo, 'Corpo Chronologico,' parte 3, Maço 2, doc. No. 2. It was recently published in the 'Memorias da Commissão Portugueza. Centenario da Descoberta da America' (facsimile), pp. 61-63 (1892) (very incorrectly); and in 'Alguns Docum. do Arch.,' pp. 122, 123 (Lisbon, 1892). This last is the only correct transcription.

which, probably, more lands were represented on the Atlantic), that the *said mappamundi* was old (ancient, *antigo*)\* and had "the Mine"—a *Mina*, or São Jorge da *Mina*, on the north coast of the present Gulf of Guinea (the locality, on English maps and books, so unaccountably called "Elmina"). As the Portuguese reached this point in 1469, Sig. Errera may see clearly that, in opposition to his categorical assertion, *there really existed cartographers* who, in or before the middle of the fifteenth century, represented on their maps a land occupying a place on the coast of Brazil so exactly, or so approximately, that such a cosmographer as Master João considered it to be the very same country on which, in 1500, he landed.

In that same letter Master João tells D. Manuel how he and the pilots of Cabral's fleet ascertained the latitude of the land discovered, which they found to be 17° south. This circumstance (added to the remark that the map to be seen in Portugal was old) proves that, in his reference to the mappamundi in possession of the Bisagudo,† Master João did not mean any of the lands already found, more to the north, by Columbus or his companions and followers.

Having remarked that the new land discovered by Cabral was represented on the map of the Bisagudo, Master João directly adds, that at first (in fact, for five days) ‡ the said land was supposed to be an island,§ or four islands together, which may have meant that the land was represented as an island on the mappamundi quoted, and that they themselves at first thought it to be one—this, at all events, proving, once more, that continents may be taken for islands, even after four days' exploration along their coasts, and, therefore, that the north-east point of South America might also have been taken for an *authentic island*.||

But if it is an absolutely proved fact that, on a map of the fifteenth century, there was land represented to the south-west of Cape Verde, and if we assume that the knowledge of it might have influenced the direction taken by the expedition of

\* This map existed in Portugal at least since March, 1500, when Cabral sailed. The designation of old (*antigo*) given to it by Master João proves that it could not be more recent than the middle of the fifteenth century.

† Pero Vaz da Cunha, nicknamed "the Bisagudo," who was sent in 1488, by D. João II. of Portugal, to build a fortress in the Senegal. Ruy de Pina, 'Chronica de . . . D. João II.,' cap. xxxii.; "Collecção de Livros ineditos de Historia Portugueza," ii. pp. 93, 94 (Lisboa, 1792); Garcia de Rezende, 'Vida . . . de . . . D. João II.,' cap. lxxviii. (1545); João de Barros, 'Da Asia,' Decada I. liv. iii. cap. viii. ff. 32-38 v. (1552); Faria e Sousa, 'Asia Portugueza. Memoria de todas las Armadas,' iii. p. 530 (Lisboa, 1675). Peter Osbeck, *alias* Perkin Warbeck, the supposed Duke of York who rebelled against Henry VII. of England, was in Portugal as page of the Bisagudo (Garcia de Rezende), *Miscellanea*, 1545.

‡ From April 21 to 27. Pero Vaz de Caminha, 'Carta a Elrey D. Manuel,' 1 Maio, 1500, Arch. nac. Torre do Tombo, Gaveta 8, maço 2, No. 8; 'Alguns Doc. Arch.' (1892), pp. 108-121.

§ In the map of Sebastian Munster of 1544, the whole north-east of South America is called *America, sive Insula Brasilis*. I must remind my readers that when Columbus first sighted, in 1492, the South American continent, he considered it as two islands, and called them *Isla Santa* and *Isla de Gracia*.

|| On the determination of distances by the fifteenth and beginning of sixteenth century navigators, it is interesting to see Master João telling, in the letter to D. Manuel, how often the differences between the pilots—who reckoned by the nautical chart—and he himself—who observed with the astrolabe—were greater than 150 leagues. In a very important document (1529) for the intelligence of XVth and early XVth century cartography, the Duke of Bragança shows how, in every ship going to India, all pilots and cosmographers had different reckonings of distances, sometimes as wide apart as 300 leagues. (Torre do Tombo, Gaveta 18, Maço 5, No. 3; 'Alguns Docum.' 1892, p. 493.

1500, why did the Kings of Portugal not ascertain its truth before? It is precisely what they tried to do in 1498, but could not do then, or could not have done before, as I shall show later on.

Looking for the authentic island on maps made between 1448 and 1500, Mr. Yule Oldham thought he had found it on Behaim's globe of 1492. There appears land (which fulfils the essential conditions of the problem raised by Bianco's map of 1448) represented by an island with an extensive coast-line south-west of Cape Verde. Were the island represented by Behaim located on a modern map, it would occupy, in fact, part of the coast of South America. Given the coincidence between cartographical drawing and geographical reality, Mr. Yule Oldham thought it more rational to suppose that Behaim's island answered to some, at the time, reported information, more or less indefinite, and at present totally unknown, but essentially analogous to that which had guided Bianco in 1448, than to resort to the always ready and easy hazard explanation.

The objection opposed by Sig. C. Errera to this point is worthy of a special comment as typically representative of an historical method extensively employed. Sig. Errera does not dispute the island represented by Behaim having all the essential qualities of Bianco's *authentic island*. He thinks, notwithstanding, that nothing in common exists between the two, since in Behaim's opinion the island of his globe is St. Brandon island. From which it may be inferred that any island, even undoubtedly existent, to which St. Brandon's name might be given (or probably any other of the names to which legendary circumstances have been attached) would become for Sig. Errera a fabulous island. If, instead of having written near the doubtful island the story telling how St. Brandon arrived there in the year 565, Behaim had written this, or any other equivalent legend, near one of the *authentic* Azores, Canary, or Cape Verde islands, Sig. Errera would have doubted its existence. Or if, on the contrary, Behaim had attached neither inscription nor name to the island south-west of Cape Verde, Sig. Errera would have no reason for not accepting it as Bianco's authentic island.

As it is, Sig. Errera affirms, without any other explicit reason, that "St. Brandon's island has really nothing"—absolutely nothing, he emphatically insists—"to do with Bianco's island." But this is precisely *quod est demonstrandum*.

Other geographers\* thought that, as Bianco saw on maps between 1436 and 1448, the at that time well-known Azores, on the place where cartographers used to draw the Antillia, he had to move the latter southwards (in fact, as far south as the south-west of Cape Verde) rather than accept—what, for my part, I think would be the most natural thing to do—the supposed Antillia and the real Azores as one and the same thing.

Those who employ this argument unconsciously start from the idea that the islands represented on maps were themselves labelled in nature, or had, in nature, their names written on them. Old maps represented an island (no matter under what names) "on the very part of the ocean" on which a real island was one day found and colonized. Would it not be rational, then (in fact, the only rational thing), to suppose that the newly discovered island was the one represented of old? How could Bianco have felt sure that one of the undoubtedly discovered Azores was not the island previously called Antillia, if they both occupied the very same part of the ocean, on his or any other older map? How could the progress of discovery compel Bianco to move the Antillia southwards, as if the name "Azores," or any other given by the Portuguese, could have proved that none of those islands had been previously supposed to exist under the name of Antillia, or as if they had

\* *Geographical Journal*, March, 1895, pp. 234, 235.

their names irremediably pasted, or engraved, or sculptured by nature upon them? One of the geographers who opposed Mr. Oldham said that the latter "surely would not maintain that the islands of Antillia or the Seven Cities existed in reality."\*

These words show to the full the curious confusion which dominates so many of the historians who have worked out these geographical subjects. As it appears to me perfectly clear that fantastic legends, of which the Atlantic islands have been the object, are one thing, and the real existence of those islands quite another; it is one thing to believe that St. Brandon landed on an Atlantic island in the year 565, or that Christiaus, escaping from Spain in the year 711, established themselves on this or any other island (which presents no impossibility in its essential elements, but may not have sufficient historical corroboration), and another to believe in the existence of those islands; above all, it is one thing to believe in the decidedly marvellous circumstances which are said to have accompanied or followed these supposed discoveries, and quite another thing to believe that there were already in existence, in the Atlantic Ocean, during the sixth and eighth centuries, islands, some of which at least the Greeks, the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians knew, and the Arabs and more recent nations, in fact, re-discovered there.

Why might Mr. Yule Oldham not believe in the real existence of lands which received the names of Antillia or the Seven Cities, without at the same time feeling bound to believe in the stories told about them?

It was supposed that islands existed on the Atlantic to the west of the coasts of Europe and Africa, long before they undoubtedly began to be frequented or colonized. Now, it so happened that islands were, in fact, found in the Atlantic. Can we doubt their existence? †

For many geographers names seem to be in themselves powerful enough to nullify the existence of the lands to which they are applied, and as soon as they suppose that the *authentic island* of 1448's map might be some land, the old and vague knowledge of which had been represented by the name and legend of St. Brandon or Antillia, they directly decline to believe in its existence, speaking of *changes of places* on the map, as if they were equivalent to *changes of names* in islands—two things, however, entirely different.

Andrea Bianco helped Fra Mauro in the drawing of the well-known map made between 1457 and 1470; ‡ still the *authentic island* is not represented on it. But the Azores, § the occupation of which by the Portuguese Fra Mauro and Bianco could not have been ignorant of at that time, are not represented either. Fra Mauro's map is a systematic representation of the world which entirely obeys theoretical views, essentially the same as those which determined the construction of the ninth map of Bianco's 1436 Atlas. Fra Mauro knew, no doubt, that between the west and east borders of his *œkuménon* there was a vast sea with, at least, islands, but the existence of the latter had no importance for the conception and delineation of his systematic world. He therefore did not include the Azores or the *authentic island*, which his contributor had represented in 1448, as he did not include, in other places, many other islands, explicitly declaring that he had not room for them. ||

\* *Geographical Journal*, March, 1895, pp. 235, 236.

† *Ibid.*, p. 234.

‡ 'Bibliotheca Marciana,' Venice.

§ Facsimile, Santarem, Atlas.

|| "In questo mar [China] sono molte isole le quale non meto per non havere luogo" (Fra Mauro). See facsimile in Santarem, Atlas.

## III.

Another great objection to the identification of the *authentic island* with the north-east angle of South America is, for Signor C. Errera, "absolutely invincible" ("assolutamente insuperabile"),\* that is, the silence of all Portuguese historians on such a discovery.

Let us now see in what limits this objection must be confined.

It is a fact that the known Portuguese historians do not present any clear reference to land discovered during the fifteenth century, 1500 miles to the south-west of Cape Verde, if we except what, about the map of Pero Vaz da Cunha, the Bachiller João, says in his letter to King D. Manuel (year 1500). But by numerous documents, and by the confession of historians themselves, we know that they did not register or relate all the voyages or all the discoveries undoubtedly accomplished in their time.

Who were, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Portuguese historians?

Almost all the writers who dealt with any long period of Portuguese history were official chroniclers, charged with the solemn commemoration of the deeds of the princes, and those done under their orders or auspices. The expeditions they mention are merely official expeditions. Their narratives are essentially panegyric. The chronicles of discovery were written by royal command in order to commemorate what, having been only ordered by kings or princes, chroniclers almost always courteously proved to have been actually achieved by kings and princes themselves, each individual king or prince being at the same time shown as the first of all, and the initiator of everything. This is the style naturally imposed by the court on courtiers: such were Gomes Eanes de Azurara, Duarte Pacheco Pereira, João de Barros, and Fernão Lopes de Castanheda.

Antonio Galvão was not an official chronicler. He therefore mentions in his book other expeditions than the Portuguese, as well as some private voyages, less celebrated, and never written of before, which therefore, in course of time, naturally became doubtful, or would already be so, shortly after they were accomplished.

Many even official unsuccessful attempts were, no doubt, omitted by the chroniclers, zealous guardians of the splendour of infallible princes: Azurara mentions that two galleys were said to have passed Cape Bojador without ever returning, even before the first expeditions of the *Infante* D. Henrique, but he adds that he could not believe it; † and when he has to tell the death of Gonçalo de Cintra, he thinks it necessary to excuse himself for such an extraordinary and unbecoming description, by explaining that it would be an ugly thing not to mention the unfortunate as well as the fortunate occurrences, taking the trouble to quote Cicero to prove that one of the duties of the historian is to write the truth. ‡

Gomes Eanes de Azurara (writing from 1453 to 1460) clearly shows which were the limits and exclusive object of his work, intended to relate the remarkable deeds achieved during the discovery and conquest of Guinea (according to the geographical meaning of this name at the beginning of the fifteenth century), § by order of the *Infante* D. Henrique, as he (Azurara) was directed to do by King D. Afonso V. of Portugal in 1452. || With other events not related to this special

\* *Loc. cit.*, p. 223.

† 'Chronica do Descobrimento e Conquista da Guiné' (Paris, 1841), p. 45.

‡ *Idem.*, p. 140.

§ "Aqui se Começa a cronica na qual som scriptos todollos feitos notavees que se passaram na conquista de Guinee," etc.—first words of the Paris manuscript after the letter to the king (1452).

|| 'Chronica do Descob. . . de Guiné,' facsimile, fl. i., v. (1841). Santarem, *Introd.*, p. vii; Damião de Goes, 'Chronica . . . do Principe D. João,' cap. vi. ff. 3 v-5 (1567).

object, even if they had taken place in the *Infante's* time, Azurara does not concern himself. For all that refers to acts of the *Infante's* life, or done by others under his instructions, or promoted by him, but not immediately connected with Guinea, Azurara directs the reader to the general chronicles of Portugal.\* He only speaks of the Canary and Madeira archipelagos, apologizing for doing so.† He says himself that he "leaves many things in silence, in order not to divert his . . . writing from what he had promised."‡ The existence of expeditions previous to 1418 is only known from other writers or by documents which Gomes Eanes does not mention. Thus, for instance, nothing is to be found in the 'Chronicle of the Discovery of Guinea,' on the Atlantic explorations under D. João de Castro, in 1415.§ or Gonçalo Velho Cabral in 1416, 1431, and 1432 (1427 or 1437?).|| And it is João de Barros himself who says that "the Portuguese had in those times discovered more lands than those we find in Gomes Eanes d'Azurara."¶

It can not, therefore, be said that Azurara "presented . . . a full statement of all the Portuguese expeditions which had been fitted out up to 1448."\*\*

This was the opinion of J. Ferdinand Denis,†† the discoverer of Azurara's manuscript, and has been often repeated since the chronicle was published in 1841,‡‡ but evidently by persons who had not read it or had not completely mastered the subject.

In 1505 King D. Manuel charged Duarte Pacheco Pereira with the detailed study of the coasts of Africa, only in general reconnoitred, in the first discovery, north of the Islet da Cruz, where Bartholomeu Dias had stopped. Although Pacheco enlarged the king's first plan, still he merely refers, in the book he wrote,§§ to Africa,||| and, besides Africa, only to other regions in so far as they could give

\* Azurara, 'Chronica do Descob.,' etc., p. 3.

† Idem., cap. lxxxiii.

‡ Idem., p. 33.

§ Diogo Gomes de Cintra, 'De Prima inventione Guineæ. De Insulis et Peregrinationibus lusitanorum.' Manuscript in the Königliches Hof- und Staats-Bibliothek, München. Cod. Chart. No. 583, ff. 270-283 (Cat. 1858), published by Dr. Schmeller, 'Ueber Valentim Fernandes Alemão,' etc., München [1847], pp. 18, 19. Diogo Gomes is one of the most important and neglected authorities. H. Major ('Life of Prince Henry,' pp. 64, 65, ed. 1868) feels doubtful about some of his statements, as he found him, he says, inaccurate. But the expression of such doubts disappears in the second edition of 1877, p. 53. See 'Arch. dos Açores,' xii. pp. 450-452; or E. do Canto, 'Centenario do Infante D. Henrique (Ponta Delgada, 1894), pp. 3-5.

|| Gabriel de Valsequa, map of 1439; Martin Behaim, Globe (Nürnberg, 1492); Fructuoso, 'Saudades da Terra,' liv. iii. cap. 12. Manuscript: 'Arch. des Açores,' iv., p. 195.

¶ 'Da Asia,' Dec. i. liv. ii. cap. ii., f. 23 (1552).

\*\* Herr Ravenstein, *Geographical Journal*, March, 1895, p. 234.

†† "In fact, it (the 'Chronica da Conquista da Guiné') is a complete history of the primitive discoveries of D. Henrique" ('Chroniques Chevaleresques de l'Espagne et du Portugal,' ii. p. 43: 1839).

‡‡ 'Revue de Bibliographie analytique,' ii. p. 563 (Paris, 1841).

§§ 'Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis' (written between 1505-1520). Manuscript of the end of the sixteenth century. Evora. Bibliotheca, Cod. <sup>cxv.</sup> 1-3. Published by Sr. Raphael de Azevedo Basto (Lisboa, 1892). This work, for three centuries almost unknown, deserves a special study, which, of course, I cannot now carry out.

||| "It will be enough for us if, omitting all other developments, we only write of those who tell of their navigation to Ethiopia" (Duarte Pacheco, *loc. cit.*, Prologo, p. 1.

knowledge of the road to India. To this an introduction is added, with the "brief mention of some of the great circles [of the sphere] . . . and the relative quantities of land and water in the world." It is in this preliminary part that, when quoting "Vicente Istorial,"\* he says that in the thirteenth century "the existence of a fourth part of the world, beyond the ocean, was already known." To show how careful he was in avoiding dealing with any other lands outside those of his programme, it suffices to say that he does not mention at all the expedition which, under the command of Cabral, reached South America in 1500, and in which, very probably, he (Pacheco) was. It is, however, in this work that is incidentally to be found the following important reference:—

Duarte Pacheco Pereira tells how, in 1498, and therefore immediately after Vasco da Gama's departure on the India voyage (July, 1497), King D. Manuel of Portugal "ordered an expedition to be sent to discover the western parts beyond the width of the ocean sea, where such a great *terra firma*, with so many and large adjacent islands, is to be found. . . ." †

The last part of this sentence clearly points to the lands found by Christopher Columbus, this fact precisely strengthening the supposition that the voyage projected by D. Manuel was not to be sent to the objective of the two first (1492 and 1495) trans-Atlantic Spanish explorations, but to the south of them. That voyage did not take place, it seems. The only male son of Fernando and Izabel of Spain having died, their eldest daughter, wife of D. Manuel of Portugal, became heiress to the crown of that kingdom. In April of that very same year, 1498, the King and Queen of Portugal were solemnly sworn at Toledo as successors of the Castilian queen. But in 1498 D. Manuel's wife died, ‡ and in the following year of 1499 Vasco da Gama arrived from India. In 1500, however, a fleet, commanded by Pedro Alvarez Cabral, was destined, in all probability, not only to follow up the results of Gama's discoveries, but to try the exploration entrusted two years before to Duarte Pacheco.

Let us now sum up some of the facts I have carefully collected and discussed:—

(a) A map made in 1448 represented an extensive land south-west of Cape Verde, similar in shape to the north-east corner of South America;

(b) There was in Portugal a map, older perhaps, but certainly not more recent, than the middle of the fifteenth century, with an Atlantic land represented south-west of Cape Verde;

(c) In 1498 King D. Manuel plans to send an expedition commanded by Duarte Pacheco Pereira, which was to cross the Atlantic very probably to the south-west of Portugal;

(d) In 1500 the same king, having been prevented from doing it before, sends in fact a fleet, which—without being carried away by any storm, as I shall prove in another place,—arrives at a land (South America) which the cosmographers and pilots recognize as being the same which they had seen marked on the old map (b) which existed in Portugal.

Of João de Barros we only have the work he named 'Asia' (begun in 1535, and

\* Fr. Vincentius Belvacensis, 'Speculum Historiale' (Strasbourg, 1473), lib. ii. cap. lxxvii. (Pacheco says, *cap. cento e satenta sete*). This is, no doubt, the edition mentioned through a typographical mistake by Sr. Basto as the 1743 edition (notes to Pacheco's 'Esmeraldo').

† 'Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis,' lib. i. cap. ii. p. 7.

‡ Damiães de Goes, 'Chronica do . . . Rei D. Manuel Primeira parte,' cap. xxix. ff. 18, 19; cap. xxvi.—xxxii. ff. 22-26 (1566): Jeronymo Osorio, 'De rebus Emmanuelis,' lib. i. ff. 26-30 (1571, Olysippone).

partially published in 1552). By the word "Africa" the Portuguese then meant, almost exclusively, the north part of this continent, specially the so-called kingdoms of Marroco and Fez, or the "Algharves beyond the Sea." The rest they dealt with in their books under the name of "Asia," not exactly as a section of the latter, but as the road to it.\*

Barros speaks of Cabral's voyage to South America because it was an incident of the official expedition to India, adding, "In a fourth part, . . . which . . . is called Santa Cruz, . . . we shall make more particular mention of this arrival of Pedr' Alvares." †

Nothing, therefore, could have been concluded from Barros's silence on any discovery to the west of Europe or Guinea. But it is the very same Barros who declares that, "Of many who were in the explorations, navigations, and commerce, we cannot give any news, as they did not come where men are made able in honour and name, which place is the king's house; for which omission, therefore, we must be pardoned; moreover, it is true that writers cannot make very particular mention of persons, as writers who much look for them brake History's nerve." ‡ Again, in another place he says: "The islands of São Thomé, Anno Bom, and Principe were also discovered by King D. Affonso's [V.] order, as well as other places and islands, of which we do not particularly write, as we do not find neither when, nor by which captains, they were discovered; but we know, by the public voice, that more things were discovered during this king's time, § than what we have written." ||

I have already showed how Antonio Galvão was more independent in writing his work. But nothing leads me to suppose that he knew all the events that had taken place previous to his time. It is safer to build history on what authors tell than on their silence. One passage of Galvão has been quoted as referring to the discovery of Bianco's *authentic island*. Mr. J. Westlake ¶ very sensibly observed that "Galvão's story . . . may or may not refer to the same event," which does not, in any way, alter the probabilities of the case. Still it is convenient to correct the quotations taken, not from the original text of this Portuguese historian, but from its translation. After having spoken of a voyage which took place in 1447, but without affirming it to be of the same year, Galvão says of the next voyage he mentions, "It is, moreover, told that in the mean time a Portuguese ship, coming out the Straits of Gibraltar, was carried westwards by a storm much further than what was contemplated, and arrived at an island where there were 7 cities and people who spoke our language. . . . The master of the ship is said to have brought some sand, which was sold to a jeweller in Lisbon, from which a good quantity of gold was obtained. This having been known by the *Infante* D. Pedro, who then governed, he had it written in the royal Archives (*Casa do Tombo*)." \*\*

\* Manuel de Faria e Sousa, 'Europa, Asia y Africa Portuguesa,' 7 vols. (1678-1681).

† 'Da Asia,' liv. v. cap. ii. f. 56.

‡ Idem., Dec. i. liv. v. cap. x. f. 66. This phrase, revealing the method followed by one of the best official chroniclers who ever existed in any country, should be attentively considered by the modern student, who often unconsciously judges the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by the light of nineteenth-century customs.

§ D. Affonso V., precisely the king who reigned from 1438 to 1481.

|| 'Da Asia,' Dec. i. liv. ii. cap. ii. f. 22 v.

¶ *Geographical Journal*, April, 1895, p. 391.

\*\* 'Tratado que compos o nobre e notavel capitão Antonio Galvão dos diversos e desvayrados caminhos por onde nos tempos passados a Pimenta e especearia veyo da India ás nossas partes e assi de todos os Descobrimentos antigos e modernos feitos até á era de 1550,' etc. (Lisboa, 1563), ff. 19 v., 20.

From this literal version, the known and adopted English translation widely differs.

The English translation was published by Hakluyt,\* but he is not responsible for it. He says himself, in his *Epistle* to Sir Robert Cecil, that "some honest and well-affected merchant" of England did it. I hope his honesty was greater than his acquaintance with the Portuguese language. In 1862 the Hakluyt Society again published the same translation, this time accompanied by the Portuguese text,† with which, evidently, it was not compared, as it would otherwise have been discovered that, in more than one point, the translation goes as far as to say the contrary of the original.

It is again misled by Hakluyt's translation that Mr. Yule Oldham says, "Galvão goes on to state that he is inclined to believe that the island thus found was Nova Spagna—that is, in the West Indies."‡

Now, Galvão says precisely the contrary, as shown in the following translation from the 1563 text: "And some pretend that these lands and islands, which the Portuguese touched, are those now called Antilhas and New Spain, and advance many reasons to this purpose, which I do not mention because I do not wish to make myself responsible for them, as people used to say of every land they did not know that it was the New Spain."§

Sig. Errera || also knows, I am afraid, a second-hand Galvão. He says that neither Mr. H. Harrisse ¶ nor Herr Kretschmer \*\* knew Galvão's quoted passage. Both, in fact, quote, on the supposed 1447 voyage, the later work of G. Horn, †† who, however, himself quotes Purchas drawn from Galvão (whom he calls "Gavalum").

#### IV.

To those who consider the silence of historians as a sufficient reason to improve the reality of voyages and explorations only brought to light by scattered documents, it may be convenient to recall some facts.

No Portuguese historian refers to the expeditions sent by D. Afonso IV. of Portugal (from before 1336 to 1341), to make discoveries on the Atlantic. As late as the middle of the seventeenth century, Baronio published some Bulls referring to

\* Antonio Galvano, 'The discoveries of the world from their first original unto the year . . . 1555,' corrected, quoted, and published by R. Hakluyt. Londini, 1601.

† Antonio Galvano, 'Discoveries of the World,' etc., reprint, edited by Vice-Admiral Bethune (Hakluyt Society, London, 1862). Although the editor says he has corrected "some omissions and made additions, . . . comparing Hakluyt's version with the original," he modestly admits a "slight and superficial knowledge of the Portuguese language," having charged with the collation of the texts Count de Lavradio, "the gentlemen of the Portuguese Legation," and "Chevalier Santos," who evidently did nothing. The first Portuguese edition of Galvão is extremely rare, but exists in the British Museum (C. 32, a). The second of 1731 is also very rare. I happen, however, to have two copies of it.

‡ *Geographical Journal*, March, 1895, p. 229.

§ 'Tratado que compos . . . Antonio Galvão,' etc., f. 20, 1563; p. 24 (1731).

|| *Loc. cit.*, p. 218, note.

¶ 'The Discovery of North America' (London, 1892), p. 656.

\*\* 'Die Entdeckung Amerikas' (Berlin, 1892), p. 198.

†† G. Horn, 'De Originibus Americanis. De Originibus Gentium Americanarum,' lib. i. cap. ii. p. 7 (Haga, 1652). Still, Mr. Harrisse often quotes the two rare Portuguese editions of Galvão as well as the English translation of 1601.

them, and a letter of D. Afonso IV.\* In 1827 Ciampi discovered, in the Bibliotheca Magliabeciana of Florence,† and among Boccaccio's manuscripts, some documents proving that one of those expeditions landed on the Canary Islands in 1341.

No Portuguese historian speaks of a navigator called Machico, after whom, probably, a whole district of the island of Madeira was named. As recently as 1894 a unique document revealed for the first time the existence, in 1379, of a Portuguese sailor of that name.‡

Ruy de Pina and Garcia de Rezende, who are the contemporary and fundamental historians of the period between 1481 and 1495 (D. João II.), do not mention in their chronicles§ the name of Bartholomeu Dias, nor the voyage of 1486, which was the most decisive of all, the first in which the Cape of Good Hope was reached and passed, opening at last the sea route to India.

At the end of 1491, or beginning of 1492, D. João II. of Portugal sent Pedro de Barcellos and João Fernandes Lavrador to discover lands to the north-west of Europe, the latter's name being, no doubt, the authentic origin of the name of part of North America. They persevered in those explorations up to 1495; and only as recently as 1894 two documents were discovered mentioning them.||

The travels of Dr. Martim (or Martinho) Lopes Sulterius through Europe and Asia, up to the Arctic Sea, Lapland, Norway, and Iceland, in the last part of the fifteenth century are not mentioned by contemporary historians. Some of the documents proving them were only recently published and made known.¶

I have shown how dangerous it is to draw conclusions from the silence of historians. I must now prove the same of the absence of documents.

Often, now, hypercritical historians cancel the assertions of a chronicler, or of a very probable tradition, for want of corroborative documents. "How could that have happened," they exclaim, "without having been mentioned in any contemporary document?" forgetting that, in so doing, they unconsciously start from the false principle, alleged by Sig. Errera, as I already pointed out in connection with maps, that all documents are still in existence, are well known, have been read, interpreted, and classified.

It is absolutely certain that from 1431 to 1449 seven of the Azores islands were found and occupied by the Portuguese; and still there is no document clearly showing how and when each one of those islands was discovered.

Even after the mention of the Lavrador's name on many maps of the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the reference, apparently decisive, on the map of the Wolfenbuttel Library, the existence of any person of that name was doubtful.

\* Odorico Raynoldo, 'Annales ecclesiastici,' vi. pp. 359-366 (Luca, 1750).

† Sebastian Ciampi, 'Monumenti d'un Manoscritto autographo di Messer Gio. Boccaccio da Cetaldo' (Firenze, 1827).

‡ J. I. de Brito Rebello, 'Machico. Centenario do Infante D. Henrique,' Homenagem do Diario de Noticias, 1894.

§ Ruy de Pina, 'Chronica de . . . D. João II., Coll. de Livros ined., de Historia Portugueza,' ii. pp. 1-204 (Lisboa, 1792); Garcia de Rezende, 'Lyvro das obras de G.,' etc. (Lisboa, 1545).

|| Ernesto do Canto, 'Quem deu o nome ao Labrador?' (Ponta Delgada, 1894); and 'Arch. dos Açores,' xii. pp. 353-371, 529, 530. The existence of both Machico and Lavrador is only brought to our knowledge by documents of an entirely private character.

¶ Arch. nac. Torre do Tombo, 'Corpo Chronologico,' part i. maço 3, No. 39, published in 'Alguns Doc. Arch.,' 1892, pp. 123-124; Dr. Sousa Viterbo, 'Medicos da Familia Real Portugueza,' *Journal da Sociedade das Sciencias Medicas* (Lisboa, 1893), pp. 64-68; Stephen Morse, 'Portugal' (London, 1891), pp. 166, 167.

The loss of the unique document, for such a long time buried in private archives, would be sufficient for Sig. C. Errera and other historians to maintain that, had a man ever seen the land called after him, we should most certainly have the description of his travels and the mention of his name in the documents and histories of the period.\*

Azurara's original manuscript and copies of the chronicle of the discovery and conquest of Guinea, were already lost at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and it has only been thoroughly read and used by the students of the nineteenth century.

The original manuscript of Duarte Pacheco Pereira's 'Esmeraldo de situ orbis,' is even now unknown. The loss of the only sixteenth-century copy extant would represent the total annihilation of the single notice we possess on the interesting official project of exploration towards the south-west in 1498, and historians of geography would then feel themselves authorized to declare, with their characteristic assurance, that such a project had never been conceived.

In reference to the period of Bianco's 1448 map, Ruy de Pina, who succeeded Azurara as official chronicler, and completed or re-wrote D. Affonso V.'s chronicle, says, "King D. Affonso's memoirs . . . by neglect or want of writers, were not less forgotten or wasted than his (the king's) flesh and body, which the earth is eating up."† Of Affonso de Cerveira, whom Azurara used, nothing was known, even at the time of João de Barros, who says of the sources from which he had to derive his history of the discoveries, "The affairs of the time of D. Affonso V., as he [Azurara] promised, we did not find; . . . or, if he ever wrote them, they were lost with other writings, which time has consumed. Therefore *what we write about King D. Affonso's time is a mere fragment of this discovery.* ‡

Those who only read Azurara, and see there the chronological mention of the ships and captains who went out for the purpose of discovery from 1418 to 1448, are led to the supposition that all is to be found in his narrative, and that a minute and methodical registration was made of everything, as if Sagres, Lagos, and Lisbon were all Portugal, and all Portuguese the pilots and servants of *Infante* D. Henrique.

While discussing Mr. Oldham's memoir, Mr. R. Beazley apparently contested the fact that Portuguese ships were lost, or generalized, from the special case to which he referred, that "the track of every ship was accounted for, and its return to Portugal stated." §

In the middle of the seventeenth century, Faria of Sousa describes the documents he found on the official *armadas*, in the following words: "Of some of the first *armadas* the number of ships is not known, and of some of them the memory was, from the very beginning, lost. The result is that . . . it is impossible to know for certain which ships went and which remained. . . . We did not mention the names of the *nãos* and *galêões*, as most of them are not in the memoirs. . . . Up to the present no list has ever been made of the *armadas* that sailed from Lisbon for the discovery of the seas and coasts of Africa and Asia, with the exception of the time of the king D. Manuel, and the year 1497, in which Vasco da Gama went

\* C. Errera, *loc. cit.*, pp. 220, 221.

† 'Chronica de D. Affonso V., Prologo a D. Manuel, Coll. Livros ined.,' i. (Lisbon, 1790), p. 201.

‡ 'Da Asia,' Dec. i. liv. ii. cap. i. p. 21 v. The italics are mine.

§ *Geographical Journal*, March, 1895, p. 236. Mr. Yule Oldham rightly said, in answer to this, that he could not "accept the statement." I now show why.

to discover India by sea."\* Precisely of the year 1447, to which Mr. Yule Oldham more specially attributes the discovery of the *Authentic Island*, Faria e Sousa writes, as if he were answering Mr. Beazley's unfounded assertion: "Other armadas were sent by *Infante* D. Henrique, of which neither the number nor the epoch are known."† And, after mentioning the discoveries and armadas of 1469, Faria y Sousa goes on to say, "Previous to this there were other discoveries, of which the authors are unknown, . . . and others which have been forgotten; . . . this neglect and interruption in exploring was also due to the king's (D. Affonso V.'s) wars in Africa and Castille."‡

But Signor C. Errera says too: § "No argument can possibly explain how the discovery which would have revealed, half a century before Columbus and Cabral, the existence of the South American lands, could have been forgotten."

This sentence leads me to note another of the curious delusions of historians. They unconsciously take for granted that the men who, in the fifteenth century, touched at any point of what we now call America, had the same reasons we have now to fairly estimate the importance of the event.

It would have been, no doubt, unaccountable, had the value of what we now know to be the continent of South America been entirely understood, that the discovery of a part of it should have been forgotten; or that any man, having discovered it, with full consciousness of the importance and consequences of such a deed, could have neglected to present it in all its real magnitude. But nobody could have known before 1448, that any important land found south-west of Cape Verde was part of a vast, rich, and populous new continent. And the argument is seen to be impossible, when those who advance it take the trouble to place themselves in the position of the men of the middle of the fifteenth century. The new land on the 1448 map was represented as an island—one more island—and as such was, no doubt, considered by the person who revealed its existence to Biancho.

The exploration of the Atlantic was very active in the fifteenth century.

The 1436 atlas of the same Biancho proves that, soon after the reconnoitring of at least the first Azores islands, the Portuguese sailed up to the region then, and still, occupied by accumulated seaweeds, and named by Biancho with the Portuguese expression, *Mar de Baga*.|| To quote only the voyage related by Galvão, and attributed by his translators and commentators to the year 1447, gives an impression very different from that produced by the knowledge of the numerous expeditions projected and sent out to the West Atlantic, of some of which we have still authentic documents.

In 1452, Diogo de Teive and Pedro Velasco sailed for more than 150 leagues west of the island of Fayal.¶ In 1457, the *Infante* D. Fernando planned Atlantic

\* Faria y Sousa, 'Memoria de las Armadas. Asia,' iii. p. 523 (Lisboa, 1675). The italics are mine.

† Idem., p. 527.

‡ Faria y Sousa, *loc. cit.*, p. 519.

§ *Loc. cit.*, p. 224.

|| Everybody knows the amusing explanation of this name given by Formaleone ('Illustrazione di due Carte Antique' (Venezia, 1783), p. 48), and adopted by Humboldt ('Examen Critique,' etc., iii. p. 88 (1837)), forgetting that the Portuguese call the Sargasso vesicules, *bagas*, "berries."

¶ Arch. Torre do Tombo, 'Cartas de D. Aff. V.,' 1453, Jan. 8; 'Chancel,' liv. iii. f. 20; 'Alguns Doc.,' etc. (1892), p. 14; Jan. 20, 'Liv. Misticos,' f. 69; A. C. de Sousa, 'Hist. Geneal. Casa real, Provas,' iii. p. 500; 'Arch. dos Açores,' i. pp. 9, 10. Mr. Yule Oldham speaks of this voyage on the authority of Fernando Columbus' 'Histoire,' p. 22 (1571). Las Casas, 'Hist. de las Indias,' liv. i. cap. xiii. vol. i. p. 100 (1825); Canto, 'Corte Reaes,' pp. 30, 59; 'Arch. dos Açores,' i. p. 250.

explorations.\* Before 1460, one ship seems to have reached an unknown land no doubt to the west, and possibly to the south-west, where the navigators, fearing the natives, did not remain a long time, coming back to Portugal with news to the *Infante* D. Henrique.† In 1462, Gonçalo Fernandes de Tavira tries to discover new lands to the west-north-west of the Canary and Madeira.‡ In 1473, new attempts are made to discover islands west of the Cape Verde archipelago.§ In the same year, Ruy Gonçalves da Camara goes westwards to look for new lands.|| From 1474 dates the well-known correspondence between Canon Fernando Martins de Roriz and Paolo del Pozzo Toscanelli, on the navigation of the Atlantic, and discovery of Asia by the west.¶ In the year 1475 Fernão Telles tries to make discoveries westwards, far from the Guinea seas.\*\* In 1476 Antonio Leme sails to the west.†† In 1480–1481 Thlyde, or Thomas Lyde, or Lloyde, starts from Bristol to the west of Ireland.‡‡ In 1484 Fernão Domingues do Arco intends to look for a reported new island to the west.§§ At the moment of leaving the Canary islands, on his first voyage of 1492, Columbus remembers having seen in Lisbon this explorer.¶¶ It is about this time (1484) that Columbus offered D. João II. of Portugal to discover the west route to India. From 1486, or earlier, to 1490, one voyage to the west as far as the Sargasso Atlantic region was ordered (or made?) by a Portuguese prince.¶¶ In 1486 the Portuguese expect to find islands and *terra firma* to the west, and prepare an expedition commanded by Fernão Dulmo, and João Affonso

\* Arch. Torre do Tombo, 'Chancel D. Aff. V.,' liv. i. f. 118 v.; 'Alguns Doc.,' etc. (1892), p. 22; Jose de Torres, 'Memor. acerca da Originalidade das Navegações dos Portuguezes. Revista dos Açores,' i. p. 290 (1851).

† Las Casas, *loc. cit.*, liv. i. cap. xiii. vol. i. p. 100.

‡ Arch. Torre do Tombo, 'Carta de D. Aff. V.,' 1462, Out. 29; 'Misticos,' ii. f. 155; 'Alguns Doc.,' etc. (1892), p. 32; Senna Freitas, 'Memoria Historica . . . de uma supposta Ilha as norte da Terceira' (1843), pp. 82, 83.

§ Arch. Torre do Tombo, 'Carta de D. Aff. V.' (1473), Jan. 12; 'Chancel,' liv. xxxiii. f. 33 v.; 'Alguns Doc.,' etc. (1892), p. 37.

|| Arch. Torre do Tombo, 'Carta de D. Aff. V.,' 1473, Junho 21; 'Liv. das Ilhas,' f. 1 v; Jose de Torres, 'Mem.,' etc.; 'Rev. dos Açores'; Canto, 'Os Corte Reaes,' pp. 61–63; 'Alguns Doc.,' etc. (1892), p. 37.

¶ F. Martins had met Toscanelli in Rome between 1460 and 1464, and talked with him about explorations to the west. See Gustavo Uzielli, 'Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli' (Firenze, 1892), pp. 91, 212; *Idem.*, 'La vita e i tempi di P. dal Pozzo Toscanelli-Raccolta di Documenti e Studi. R. Commissione Colombiana' (Roma, 1894), part v. vol. i. pp. 252, 263, 304, 550.

\*\* Arch. Torre do Tombo, 'Cartas de D. Aff. V.,' 1475, Jan. 28, Nov. 10; 'Chancel D. João III.,' livs. xiv. f. 147, lxx. ff. 30, 31; 'Arch. dos Açores,' i. pp. 21, 25, 28; 'Livro das Ilhas,' f. 5 v.; Senna Freitas, 'Mem. historico' (1843), pp. 77, 78; Canto, 'Os Corte Reaes,' pp. 63, 64; 'Alguns Doc.,' etc. (1892), pp. 41, 42.

†† Las Casas, *loc. cit.*, lib. i. cap. xiii. vol. i. p. 98 (1875).

‡‡ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. No. 210, p. 195; 'Itineraria Symonis Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcester' (Cantab., 1778), pp. 267, 268; Cornelio Desimoni, 'Intorno a Giovanni Caboto,' etc. (1881), pp. 10, 45; H. Harrisse, 'Jean et Sebastian Cabot' (Paris, 1882), p. 44; 'Discovery of North America' (1892), p. 659; 'John Cabot the discoverer of North America,' etc. (London, 1896), p. 42.

§§ Arch. Torre do Tombo, 'Carta de D. João II.,' 1484, Junho, 30; 'Chancel,' liv. xxii. f. 34; 'Livro das Ilhas,' f. 19 v.; 'Alguns Doc.,' etc. (1892), p. 56.

¶¶ C. Columbus, 'Este es el Primer Viaje,' etc.; Navarrete, 'Coleccion de los Viajes,' etc., i. p. 5 (Madrid, 1825).

¶¶ Fernandez Duro, 'Colon y Pinzon. Memorias de la R. Acad. de Historia,' x. pp. 234–235 (Madrid, 1883); Probanza de 1 Nov. 1532.

do Estreito, whom Martim Behaim is to accompany.\* Their first exploration was calculated to last six months, and all the discoveries were to be realized in two years. During the last years of the fifteenth or first years of the sixteenth century (1486-1506) Gaspar Gonçalves Machado, from Ribeira Secca, in the island of Terceira, tries, during the residence there of Martim Behaim, to discover land north of the Azores.† From 1493 (July 14) dates the letter in which Hieronymus Monetarius (Münzmeister), ignorant of the arrival of Columbus at Lisbon in March of the same year, incites King D. João, II. to reach Asia by the west.‡ From the last months of 1491, or the first of 1492, up to 1495, Pedro de Barcellos and João Fernandes Lavrador undertake, by order of the king of Portugal, several voyages of discovery, exclusively, or principally, to the north-west.§ In 1491, or 1492, begin or continue, with or without the two latter navigators or with one of them, the seven years' explorations from Bristol to which Pedro de Ayala's letter (1498, July 25) to the Spanish monarchs refers.|| And all leads to the conclusion that this same João Fernandes Lavrador continues his personal attempts as late as 1499,¶ and accompanies, or guides, in their exploration the Bristol travellers, during the first years of the sixteenth century. With these adventures the first voyages of the Cabots are directly connected. After the return of Columbus in 1493, king D. João II. is about to send an expedition to the west, commanded by D. Francisco de Almeida.\*\* The two or three expeditions of

\* Arch. Torre do Tombo, 'Carta de D. João II.,' 1486, Março 3; 'Chancel,' iv. f. 101 v.; Varnhagen, 'Mem. do Inst. Hist. e Geogr.' (Rio de Janeiro, 1842), p. 116, docs. iv.-vi.; Canto, 'Corte Reaes,' p. 66; 'Alguns Doc.' (1892), pp. 59-60; F. Columbus, 'Historie,' etc., cap. ix. f. 22 v.; Las Casas, *loc. cit.*, lib. i. cap. xiii. vol. i. p. 101 (1875). Carta de Julho, 24; 'Chancel,' iv. f. 101 v.; 'Liv. das Ilhas,' f. 113 v.; Senna Freitas, 'Mem. Histor.' (1843), pp. 62-69; Canto, 'Corte Reaes,' pp. 64-69; 'Alguns Doc.' (1892), pp. 58-61. 'Carta de Agosto,' 4; 'Chancel,' xix. f. 87 v.; 'Liv. das Ilhas,' f. 23 v.; Senna Freitas, 'Mem. Hist.' (1843), pp. 69-73; Canto, 'Corte Reaes,' pp. 69-70; 'Alguns Doc.' (1892), pp. 62, 63. 'Contracto de 12 Julho, Chancel,' iv. f. 101 v.; Canto, 'Corte Reaes,' p. 65; 'Alguns Doc.' (1892), pp. 58-60.

† Fructuoso, 'Saudades de Terra,' liv. vi. cap. xxxviii., M.S.; Cordeiro, 'Historia insulana,' liv. vi. cap. viii. § 43, vol. ii. p. 323 (1866); Canto, 'Corte Reaes,' p. 95.

‡ Fr. Alvaro da Torre, 'Tractado da Spera do Mundo, tirada do latim em linguagem portugueza com uma carta que um grande doutor allemam mandon a Elrey de Portugal Dom Joham ho segundo:' unique copy in the Evora Library. Innocencio F. da Silva, 'Diccionario bibliographico,' i. p. 51; viii. pp. 52, 53 (Lisboa, 1858-1867); 'Arch. dos Açores,' i. pp. 444-447; Dr. Schmeller, 'Ueber Valentim Fernandez Aleman,' etc., (München), pp. 9-11.

§ Documents of 1490, Oct. 18; 1495, Jan. 30, April 14; 1502, April 14; 1506. Ernesto do Canto, 'Quem deu o nome ao Lavrador,' 1894; 'Arch. dos Açores,' pp. 353-371; Torre do Tombo, 'Carta da D. Manuel, Chancel,' xxxvi. f. 21; 'Arch. dos Açores,' xii. pp. 529-530 (1894).

|| Archivo de Simancas, 'Estado. Tractados con Inglaterra,' Legajo 2; G. A. Bergenroth, 'Calender of Lettres, Despaches,' etc., 'England and Spain,' i. p. 177 (1862); H. Harrisse, 'Jean et Sebastian Cabot' (1882), doc. xiii., p. 329, Spanish text.

¶ Arch. Torre do Tombo, 'Carta de D. Manuel,' 1499, Out. 28; 'Livro das Ilhas,' f. 63 v.; 'Chancel,' xvi. f. 39 v.; Canto, 'Os Corte Reaes,' p. 73; 'Alguns Doc.' (1892), p. 95. These, as I have shown, are not the "earliest [authorizations to discover] on record for [Portugal]," as Mr. H. Harrisse says in 'John Cabot the Discoverer of North America' (London, 1896), p. 336; and therefore England "was [not] the first nation" (as Mr. Harrisse has it) "which endeavoured to follow the example of Spain in the sphere of transatlantic discoveries."

\*\* Ruy de Pina, 'Chron. D. João II.,' cap. lxvi.; 'Coll. Ined.,' ii. p. 178; Garcia de Rezende, 'Vida D. João II.,' cap. clxv. pp. 241, 242.

Vicente Dias of Tavira, and of the Cacenas of Seville and Terceira island, to more than 100 leagues west of the Azores, probably date from the last years of the fifteenth century.\*

Between 1474 and 1496, João Coelho sails to the south-west, and is supposed to have found desert lands, where he died with all his companions, with the exception of two who managed to come back to Terceira.† Before October, 1495, D. João II. plans to send an expedition to lands that had been seen south-west of the island of Fogo. (one of the *Dos Ermanos* of Biancho's map), in the Cape Verde archipelago, in which direction, as it was known, canoes used to go from the coast of Guinea.‡ And it is certain that before 1500 (probably between 1497 and 1500) Gaspar Corte Real looked for new lands to the west of the Azores.§ In 1500 (before May) João de Ornellas (father-in-law of Diogo de Teive) volunteered to explore the Atlantic for the kings of Spain.|| I will not mention any exploration subsequent to 1500, the year in which, as it is well known, Pinzon and Cabral reached South America.¶

I cannot, therefore, agree with Signor C. Errera,\*\* that *all* Portuguese expeditions were directed to the north of Azores, nor that *all* were destined to look for the Antillia, although, as I profess not to be a victim of the delusion I pointed out,†† I do not attach too much importance to the name under which the navigators looked for, or expected to find, new lands.

This condensed and no doubt incomplete, but still considerable, list certainly does not contain a mention of all that happened; but it gives, I think, a correct impression that during the fifteenth century many in Europe looked for new lands to the west, north-west, and also south-west, some even pretending to have seen them, or to have landed on them. The legendary case of the pilot who is said to have died in Christopher Columbus's house, before the latter's first voyage, has been much discussed. This story, perhaps false in its accessory elements, I consider undoubtedly true in all its essential points; for what is it that tradition (as well as some historians) attributes to the Spanish or Portuguese shipwrecked pilot? That he affirmed to Columbus the existence of lands to the west, adding that he had been there. But this is exactly what Columbus necessarily heard, not from *one*

\* Las Casas, *loc. cit.*, cap. xiii. vol. i. p. 101 (1875); Herrera, 'Historia General de los Hechos,' etc. (1601), i. caps. ii., iii.; Canto, 'Corte Reaes,' p. 60; HARRISSE, 'Discovery of North America' (1892), p. 661.

† Fr. Diogo das Chagas, 'Espelho Chrystalino em Jardins de varias flores,' M.S. 1640-1645; Drummond, 'Annaes da Ilha Terceira,' i. p. 71; Canto, 'Corte Reaes,' p. 72.

‡ C. Columbus, *ap. Las Casas, loc. cit.*, cap. cxxx. vol. ii. p. 225 (1875).

§ Arch. Torre do Tombo, 'Carta de D. Manuel,' 1500, Maio 12; 'Arch. dos Açores,' iii. f. 406; 'Alguns Doc.' (1892), pp. 123, 150; Canto, 'Os Corte Reaes,' p. 55.

|| Carta de los Reyes, Arch. Simancas, 'Libro General de cédulas,' No. 4; Navarrete, 'Coll. de los Viaj.,' iii. pp. 41, 42, 77, 78 (Madrid, 1829); A. d'Ornellas, 'Mem. Sobre a residencia de Christovam Colombo na Ilha da Madeira,' p. 7; 'Mem. da Comm. Portugueza Centen. do Descobrimto d'Amer.' (Lisboa, 1892).

¶ I have mentioned all the sources, all the documents and archives, as well as the collections and special works where they have been published, principally the Portuguese as being the less known and studied. The two most complete published lists I know of the now existing vestiges of old projected and actually made Atlantic explorations are to be found in Sr. E. do Canto, 'Os Corte Reaes' (1883), pp. 59-95; and Mr. H. HARRISSE, 'Discovery of North America' (1892), pp. 655-700.

\*\* *Loc. cit.*, p. 221, note.

†† See p. 191.

resident of the Atlantic islands, but from *many* of them.\* The list I have just given is, I believe, decisive to prove it. Those who read it cannot fail to be convinced of the possibility, or even probability, of some more or less intentional visit to lands south-west of Cape Verde from which might have been derived the information registered in the 1448's map of Andrea Biancho.

The name of João Vaz da Costa Corte Real (father of the two Corte Reaes who, from 1500 to 1502, reached the lands of North America and died there) became surrounded, during the second half of the fifteenth century and the whole of the sixteenth, by an ever-increasing, and in fact legendary, reputation as a navigator and discoverer. Dr. Fructuoso, who is the oldest known chronicler (end of the sixteenth century), referring to it, says that some attributed to João Vaz the discovery of Terceira and São Jorge in the Azores, of the island of Fogo (one of Biancho's *Dos Ermanos*) in Cabo Verde, the discovery of some parts in the west (*Ponente*), and that of Brazil.† I will not conclude from this quotation more than I can be justified in doing by the most severe criticism, namely, that there was in the sixteenth century a tradition pointing to some Portuguese of the Azores islands having reached South America, or other western parts, across the Atlantic, and that this tradition connected those supposed achievements with the discovery of one of the southernmost islands of the Cape Verde archipelago.‡

## V.

Historians say that Columbus, who both in 1492 and 1494 had started from the Canary islands, went, on his third voyage of 1498, due south-west from the Cape Verde archipelago, in order to ascertain if the King of Portugal was mistaken in affirming that there was *terra firma* in that direction.

Mr. Yule Oldham rightly considers it "strange" that this reason, the most adequate of all to explain the course of the third voyage, "should have been generally overlooked; and still," he continues, "it is as precise and reasonable as could be wished."§

It is, however, hardly less strange that so many historians|| should have quoted, on this particular point, as their sole authority, a small sentence of Herrera, and not Las Casas, whom the former had copied.

Now, Herrera was born fifty-one years after Columbus's third voyage, and wrote more than one century after it. To quote him, and on y him, naturally

\* M. Pinheiro Chagas, 'Las Novelas de los descubrimientos. El Centenario,' No. 17, p. 332 (Madrid, 1892).

† Fructuoso's sentence is, "and some pretend to say that he discovered the island Terceira itself and some parts in the *Ponente* and of Brazil, and Cabo Verde, where he was the first to sight the island of Fogo, and to give notice how it continually threw out fire; and coming from the *Ponente* discovered Terceira itself and São Jorge. . . ." 'Saudades da Terra,' MS. lib. v. cap. ix.; E. do Canto, 'Os Corte Reaes,' pp. 19, 38, 40 (1833); José Accursio das Neves, 'Considerações políticas e commerciaes sobre os Descobrimientos e Possessões dos Portuguezes na Africa e na Asia' (Lisboa, 1830), p. 36.

‡ In a lecture I delivered in London (South Place Ethical Society), December, 1890, I said that "by some it was supposed that João Vaz Corte Real had discovered Newfoundland in 1473." In a Portuguese translation of this lecture in Oporto ('Características de Portugal na Europa e na Historia da Humanidade, Revista de Portugal,' p. 353 (Porto, 1891), the affirmative of that discovery is incorrectly attributed to me.

§ *Geographical Journal*, March, 1895, p. 232.

|| Among others, the eminent American expert, Mr. Justin Winsor ('Christopher Columbus' (1890), p. 348.

gives the wrong impression that no historian, contemporary of the event, and personally connected with Columbus, knew the alleged remarkable circumstance. Las Casas is a contemporary, a personal friend of Columbus and of many of his companions. What Las Casas says\* is so much more explicit, so much more important and favourable to the hypothesis of Mr. Yule Oldham, that it is incomprehensible how neither he nor any of those who have discussed the subject ever quoted it.

Las Casas evidently writes from Columbus's own reports, probably from his 'Diario' itself,† often copying his own words, as everybody can see in the following sentences, which I translate literally:—

"Here [that is to say, in this point of his narrative] the admiral mentions to the kings [of Castille] the treaty they had made with the King of Portugal, according to which the Portuguese should not pass to the west of the Azores and Cape Verde islands;‡ and also mentions how the kings wished him to be present at the negotiations [1494] together with those who discussed the partition, and how he was prevented from going on account of grave illness. . . . He says, moreover, that soon after [1495] the King D. João died before the said partition could be put in practice."§

This was on June 21, 1498. Of July 1, Las Casas writes—

". . . The admiral says again that he wants to go south, as he believes . . . he will be able to find islands and lands; . . . and because he wants to see what was the meaning of King D. João of Portugal when he said that there was *terra firma* to the south; and for this reason he [Columbus] says that the King of Portugal had differences [*diferencia*] with the kings of Castille, which were settled when it was decided that the King of Portugal should have 370 leagues to the west, beyond the islands of the Azores and Cape Verde, which belong to him, from north to south, and from one pole to the other; and he [Columbus] says that King D. João considered it certain that inside those limits he was going to find many things and famous lands. Some of the more important inhabitants of that island of Sant' Iago came to see him [Columbus], and said that to the south-west of the island of Fogo, which is one of the said islands of the Cape Verde, . . . an island was seen,|| and that King D. João had a great wish to send an expedition to make discoveries towards the south-west, and that canoes had been known to go from the Guinean coast to the west with merchandize. . . . And [Columbus] ordered the ships to steer south-west, which is the way from those islands [the Cape Verde's] to the austral regions, . . . as he would be thus east-west of Serra Leoa and Cape Santa Anna, in Guinea, under the equinoxial line; . . . and then he would navigate due west, and afterwards to this island Espanola, in which way he would verify the said opinion of King D. João."¶

\* Las Casas writes his 'Historia de las Indias' between 1552 and 1561. It was only published from the autograph manuscripts in 1875.

† Cesare de Lollis, 'Raccolta di Docum. e studi pub. dalla R. Comm. Colomb. Quart. Cent. del. Scop. d'Amen.', parte i. vol. i. (1892), p. ii.; vol. ii. p. xi.

‡ Meaning, of course, the distance determined in the Tordesillas Treaty beyond the latter islands.

§ Las Casas, *loc. cit.*, cap. cxxx. vol. ii. p. 223.

|| "Was seen" or "had been seen." This island might have been Bianco's *authentic island*, already at this time getting confused with the islands seen by mirage. It is, however, not said that the new island was seen *from* the island of Fogo (one of the *Dos Ermanos* of Bianco's 1448 map) but *to the south-west* of it.

¶ Las Casas, *loc. cit.*, cap. cxxxii. vol. ii. pp. 225, 226.

From the very words of Columbus, copied by Las Casas, we gather, therefore, the following important facts:—

(a) That during several days, over and over again, Columbus declared he was going to the south-west of the Cape Verde islands, because King D. João of Portugal believed in the existence of a continental land (*tierra firme*) in that direction;

(b) That the reason for the differences between the King of Portugal and the kings of Castille—that is to say, all that preceded and led to the Treaty of Tordesillas—was D. João II.'s belief in the existence of land to the south-west of the Cape Verde islands;

(c) That the King D. João II. of Portugal considered it certain that inside the 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde islands, which he accepted at Tordesillas, as the boundary-line, there were very important lands (*tierras famosas*);

(d) That King D. João II. (therefore previous to October, 1495), and the inhabitants of the Cape Verde islands, knew that to the south-west of the island of Fogo (one of the *Dos Ermanos* of Bianco's map) one island had been seen;

(e) That King D. João II. had intended to send ships for discovery in that direction.

All this is something more—more trustworthy, more decisive, coming as it does from Columbus himself, in 1498, through Las Casas—than what Herrera shortly says not earlier than the beginning of the eighteenth century. And all this is much more, I think, than that *slight trace* of knowledge of lands to the south-west of the Cape Verde which Sig. C. Errera determinedly declares the Portuguese did not even possess in the fifteenth century.\*

What Columbus knew of D. João II.'s opinions, he probably acquired before 1486. Starting on his third voyage to the south-west, to verify the truth of them, he remembers the fact of his having been unable to be present at the negotiations for the Tordesillas Treaty, as if to regret that, knowing what he knew, he could not have tried to oppose the King of Portugal in the 370 leagues in which the latter supposed important land to be included—an island, *terra firma*, or an island as important as a continent—which would exactly correspond with the *authentic island* represented in Bianco's map, and which, as a matter of fact, was realized by the lands of Brazil.

From this same year of 1498 dates the King of Portugal's project of sending an expedition to the south-west, under Duarte Pacheco Pereira, for the discovery of land represented on an old map, which was in 1500 in Portugal, and might have been there in 1498.

In 1498 D. Manuel reigned in Portugal. What had been done before him, in the time of D. Afonso V. (who reigned when Bianco's map was made), and in that of D. João II., who mentioned to Columbus the existence of south-western lands?

All the information I have here collected and discussed—a great part of which has been so utterly forgotten by historians—seems to me decisive of the great probability of South America having been seen and represented on the 1448 map, and of such a discovery having been more or less distinctly known in Portugal. But I do not suppose that D. João II. was absolutely certain of the existence of that land at the time of the arrival of Columbus from his first voyage, and during the negotiations which culminated in the Tordesillas Treaty; nor do I suppose that his successor, D. Manuel, knew much more than he up to 1500.

It cannot be said—as so many too affirmative historians do—that, had the kings of Portugal any knowledge of the probable existence of land to the south-west

\* *Loc. cit.*, p. 219.

of Cape Verde, they no doubt would have sent many expeditions in that direction. Sig. Errera rightly says that "the inquiry after the route to the Cape [of Good Hope] could not have precluded the ambition for other conquests."\* This ambition, no doubt, existed, but not the belief that the principal objects in view (the arrival by sea to India, the discovery of the kingdom of *Prester John*, and immediate commercial advantages) could be attained westwards; nor did the resources of Portugal permit of two important series of expeditions being carried on, at the same time, on a large scale.

And here it is opportune to point out another common fault of the historians of geography: Navigations and geographical discoveries are, to a great extent, unintelligible if we consider them apart from all the other manifestations of national activity. To properly study the history of geographical discovery, all history must be studied. Therefore, only those who study the history of Portugal during the fifteenth century can easily understand why the knowledge of an island could not have determined the Portuguese Government to undertake an official expedition. As soon as King D. Duarte died in 1438, the struggle begins between the widowed queen and the eldest of the *Infantes*, sons of D. João I., for the regency during the minority of D. Affonso V., at that time only six years old. This contest, which impassions the whole country and keeps it for years on the verge of a war with Spain, lasted till 1449. From 1447 to 1449, precisely when the discovery of the *authentic island* is supposed to have taken place, and when it was certainly drawn on Biancho's map, this civil strife goes through a very acute period. The *Infante* D. Henrique plays in it a very active although mysterious part, and one of rather difficult explanation for those historians who are experts in manufacturing untarnished heroes according to nineteenth-century ethical standards. Under these circumstances, it was possible to keep going, to a certain extent, the routine of the African exploration, but it could not be expected that, at the same time, any explorations should have been fitted out to look for an *island* in the far south-west, no matter how *authentic* its existence might have been considered.

When the more independent will of King D. Affonso V. begins to enter as an important factor in the government of Portugal, his temperament gives to the national enterprises a very peculiar character. D. Affonso V. is not a man of the Renaissance, as his two elder uncles were, and as his son D. João so typically was. D. Affonso V. is the last knight of the Middle Ages; † a kind of mystic Quixote, whose pleasure consisted in the accomplishment of brilliant personal feats and theatrically generous deeds. His activity is, therefore, preferentially employed in the traditional peninsular war against the Barbaresque Moors (1457-1471); in fitting out, in the midst of the political indifference of Europe (which was no more that of Gode'roi de Bouillon or Saint Louis), a crusade against the Turks, the conquerors of Constantinople and invaders of Italy (1453-1480); in the long war with Spain, to protect the disinherited daughter of King Henrique of Castille, whom D. Affonso V. married, and to conquer her disputed crown—a quarrel which only leaves the battlefield in 1479, and does not end until two years before the king's death. ‡ During these two years D. Affonso V. travels in Europe as an easy dupe between Charles the *Bold* of Burgundy and Louis the *Fox* of France, abdicates and resumes possession of the throne of Portugal, runs away as a pilgrim to Jerusalem, and at times

\* *Loc. cit.*, p. 220.

† J. P. d'Oliveira Martins, 'Os Filhos de D. João I.,' pp. 350, 357, and *passim* (Lisboa, 1891).

‡ G. Uzielli, 'La vita e i tempi di P. dal B. Toscanelli. Raccolta di Doccum,' etc., pt. v. vol. i. p. 550.

retires from worldly life to live as a monk in the Franciscan monastery of Varatojo, near Torres Vedras.\*

D. João II. was born seven years after Bianco's map was made. He could only have appreciated the importance of the then, probably, already vague account of one more island in the Atlantic, if he ever knew it, more than twenty years after such an island had been sighted or visited. When Columbus returned from his first voyage with the news of having discovered islands in what he supposed to be the sea of Cypango in extreme Eastern Asia, the proceedings of the King of Portugal, if they may give indication of his having had some information of the probable existence of land to the west, were not such as might have been expected from him had any official or other expedition undoubtedly discovered an island of the dimensions and in the position Bianco seems to indicate. Against the Spanish discoveries and consequent pretensions D. João II. only appears to have mentioned "Guinea," and the "seas of Guinea," vague expressions which, no doubt, might include the whole Atlantic, at a time when, even after the discoveries of Columbus, nobody exactly knew what "the Atlantic" really meant.

The negotiations for the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) are not yet well known, and could not, of course, be discussed now. The Spanish monarchs delayed for a long time their conclusion, and, on a sudden, in three days, two treaties were signed.† We do not clearly know if Portugal then presented claims to the discovery of any specific lands to the south-west of Cape Verde.‡ At Tordesillas we know that to Portugal was assigned, as a boundary for her sphere of dominion, a line drawn at 370 leagues west of these islands. How did Portugal obtain this result? How can it be supposed that, without important reasons, both alleged and more or less proved, Portugal would have been able to gain of a nation much more powerful than she was, 270 leagues beyond the 100 of Alexander VI.'s Bull? To have asked and obtained much more than these 100 leagues, which, in fact, largely covered the at first invoked Guinea Seas, surely proves that Portugal was probably able to

\* G. E. d'Azurara e Ruy de Pina, 'Chronica . . . de D. Affonso V., Collec. d'Ined.,' etc. (Lisboa, 1790), i. pp. 195-626; Garcia de Rezende, 'Vida . . . d'Elrey D. João II.' (1545, Lisboa); Damiao de Goes, 'Chronica . . . do Principe D. João' (Lisboa, 1567).

† Ruy de Pina, 'Chron. D. João II., Coll. Ined.,' ii. pp. 179, 180; Garcia de Rezende, 'Vida D. João II.,' caps. clxiv. clxv. clxvi. pp. ciii. v.-ciii. v.; La Casas, *loc. cit.*, clxxxiii. vol. ii.; Calvo, 'Le Droit international,' i. p. 24.

‡ One of the geographers who discussed Mr. Yule Oldham's theory says, "We . . . plainly see from De Barros that, . . . when the subject of Columbus's discoveries was fully discussed between Spain and Portugal, the Portuguese were unable to produce any evidence of a pre-Columbian discovery of America" (*Geographical Journal*, March, 1895, p. 237). I beg leave to declare that I cannot see anything of the kind: *We do not see in Barros that the Portuguese had produced any special evidence to that point*; but this is not the same as to see that *they were unable to do it*, or even that they did not actually do it. This argument would only be correct had Barros professed to exhaustively describe the negotiations that prepared the Treaty of Tordesillas, which, of course, he does not. Barros and Azurara are, as a rule, the only Portuguese historians known by geographers. Barros was born two years after the Tordesillas Treaty was signed, and only wrote in 1539. But Ruy de Pina and Garcia de Rezende are contemporaries of the arrival of Columbus in Portugal, and of the consequent negotiations. The first of these was one of the Portuguese envoys to Spain. Pina says how all were satisfied in Portugal with the Treaty of Tordesillas ('Chron. D. João II., Coll. Ined.,' ii. p. 180), and Rezende specially shows how the king was glad of it, and how he rewarded the Portuguese ambassadors—evidently for what they obtained ('Vida, etc., D. João II.,' cap. clxvi. f. ciii. v.).

produce some good grounds for her claims. Why 370 leagues? Does this special and still unexplained number not seem to point to the probability of the King of Portugal having arrived at its determination from the knowledge of the more or less correct geographical location of lands west of Europe and Africa?

The possibility of the boundary-line passing over land, and that of the existence, not only of islands, but of a continent east of it, was indeed, as Mr. Yule Oldham says,\* foreseen by the treaty, although I do not consider this as being enough to show that the boundary-line *would certainly pass on lands already known by the Portuguese*. The Tordesillas Treaty was the object of many disputes. However, it indisputably gave to Portugal all the eastern part of South America. Were Bianco's *authentic island* at 1500 miles from Cape Verde, the representation of the north-east corner of Brazil, it would have been therefore included in the boundary Portugal claimed and obtained,† for the 370-leagues line passed the mouth of the Maranhão or Amazonas river ‡ at about 48° 35' W. Greenwich.

## VI.

But there were, in the fifteenth century, many degrees of determination in what may be called a geographical discovery.

An official navigator might sight an unknown land, disembark on it, completely or extensively study it, and on his return to Europe, describe it to his government and to well-known and prominent men. Such a discovery would probably become famous, and be registered in documents which would have all possible guaranties of sure transmission to future historians. I have, nevertheless, already shown how discoveries, made under these favourable conditions, still remained for centuries in oblivion.

But humble, private, unknown men, ignorant of all the conditions that give credit and celebrity, during a mere commercial exploration, or in the course of a voyage chiefly directed by chance winds, storms, and currents, might also discover unvisited lands. New countries might be approached by crews only able to sight them, or to run along their inaccessible shores, or to reach and land on them without having the means of sufficiently observing and locating them, and might only report afterwards a tale of the adventure to friends, like them, humble and unknown, many, no doubt, naturally sceptical with regard to narratives which, whether true or false, would certainly be abundant in those times.

Biancho's authentic island was probably thus discovered.

As we must not lose sight for a moment of *the indisputable fact that in*

\* Mr. Yule Oldham refers to this clause on the authority of Humboldt (probably in 'Kosmos,' ii. p. 481, 'Anmerkungen,' 1847). The text of the treaty says, "And in case the said . . . from pole to pole . . . shall touch any island or *terra firma*, . . . a sign or tower shall be erected, and signs shall be built along the said line . . ." (V. de Santarem, 'Quadro elem. diplom.' ii. p. 389; Navarrete, 'Coll. de los Viaj.,' ii. p. 138; 'Alguns Doc.' (1892), p. 76. The treaty was also published in 1742 in A. C. da Sousa, 'Historia genealog. da casa real,' etc., 'Provas,' ii. pp. 94-106).

† A Portuguese historian, recently dead, discussed some question connected with this point in his three last published essays: M. Pinheiro Chagas, 'Os Descobrimentos portuguezes e os de Colombo' (Lisboa, 1892); 'O Folheto do Sr. E. do Canto e a Descoberta da America'; 'Jornal do Commercio' (21 and 22 Março, 1894, Lisboa); 'Los Supuestos precursores de Colon y el Tratado de Tordesillas:' 'El Centenario,' n. 10, pp. 437-443 (1892, Madrid).

‡ Diogo Ribeiro draws the line on his map of 1529 a long distance to the west of the mouth of the Maranhão. Ribeiro was a Portuguese, but cosmographer of the kings of Spain, and one of their representatives in the negotiations with Portugal.

a map of 1448 an extensive land is represented south-west of Cape Verde, it being, therefore, for me much more rational to admit that the event took place as I have just hypothetically described it, than to suppose that, by mere chance, all the following facts coincided:—

(a) In a map of 1448 appears the sketch of a land (named *authentic island*), the relative position and shape of which essentially corresponds to the north-east point of South America;

(b) At the same time (middle of the fifteenth century or before) a map existed (the same or another) known in Portugal, at least, during the first months of 1500, with land represented in the same position in which, that same year, Brazil was found;

(c) Among numerous explorations and attempts to the west, made during the whole fifteenth century, we have traditions or news of lands found to the south-west of the Azores, and to the west and south-west of the Cape Verde islands, in 1444, or before 1447, in 1473 and 1474;

(d) Before 1486 the King of Portugal supposes the existence of land to the south-west;

(e) This was, in Columbus's opinion, the cause of the differences between the King of Portugal and the Kings of Castille;

(f) Before 1498 an island is supposed to have been seen south-west of the island of Fogo, to which the king intended to send an expedition;

(g) Canoes were, at that time, known to have gone from Guinea to this south-western land;

(h) On a globe of 1492, an island, essentially in the position of this land, and in that of the *authentic island* of the 1448 map, is represented;

(i) In 1498 the King of Portugal actually plans to send an expedition to look for land to the south-west;

(j) In 1500, an expedition of the same king, in fact, finds land—South America—which a cosmographer recognizes as the land represented on the map mentioned in (b); this land, as we can now see, occupying the same position and possessing the same shape as the *authentic island* sketched in 1448.

The greater probability is, therefore, in my opinion, in favour of the supposition that the north-east corner of South America had been seen on or before 1448, although this cannot be affirmed with the same historical certainty with which we can affirm that, in 1492, Columbus landed on some of the Antilles.

It appears to me (if I dare express my whole feeling on the subject) that to answer questions like this with an unconditional affirmative or a rigid negative, is not to realize, in all their true conditions, historical problems—not to realize, in fact, what real life is, and how history ought to be studied and written.

Almost all the historians of geographical discoveries consider it their absolute duty to arrive at a radical conclusion in the study of problematical questions, answering with a *yes* what only deserves a *perhaps*, or, more frequently, dismissing with a *no* what ought to be held as probable.

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### THE WESTON TAPESTRY MAPS.\*

By the Rev. W. K. R. BEDFORD, M.A.

WILLIAM SHELDON, of Weston and Brailes in Warwickshire, and Beoley in Worcestershire, was a worthy constituent of that forceful generation which gave us Shakespeare and Bacon, Raleigh and Drake, Willoughby and Camden. He was not

\* Paper read at the Royal Geographical Society, December 10, 1896.