

## DOCUMENTS

### I. *Texts of Columbus's Privileges*

It is well known that, for precautionary reasons, Columbus caused several codexes, or chartularies, to be compiled, each containing transcripts of certain grants of privilege, conferred upon him by Ferdinand and Isabella.

An examination of one of these codexes not hitherto described in print,<sup>1</sup> and a partial collation of the text of the several volumes, has led to some new conclusions regarding the history of this book. Two of the manuscripts are well known—(a) the Genoese codex, printed by Spotorno in 1823, in the *Raccolta di Documenti e Studi pubblicati dalla R. Commissione Colombiana*, part II., volume II., in 1894, and in other editions, and published in facsimile in 1893, and (b) the Paris codex, published in facsimile in 1893 under the editorship of B. F. Stevens, with a comprehensive introduction by H. HARRISSE. Besides these, there are (c) the Providence codex, containing selections and extracts from the complete codex, and briefly described in Thacher's *Columbus*, II. 564–565, note, and in the introduction to the edition of the Genoese codex in the *Raccolta Colombiana*, pp. xvii–xix, and printed in the appendix to the latter volume; (d) the Washington or Florentine codex, purchased in Florence in 1818 by Dr. Edward Everett, for many years virtually lost, but acquired from Dr. William Everett by the Library of Congress in 1901, of which some account is given by Mr. Wilberforce Eames in a note in Thacher's *Columbus*, II. 562–564, and by Mr. Herbert Putnam in *The Critic*, XLII. (1903), 244–251; and (e) a codex of earlier date than any of the others, which was exhibited at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago among the manuscripts of the Duke of Veragua, and of which the Library of Congress possesses photographic copies. The following note relates chiefly to the Washington and Veragua codexes.

From the data in the Genoese and Paris codexes, it has naturally been concluded that Columbus's Book of Privileges was first compiled in the early part of the year 1502, shortly before his fourth voyage. These two codexes are in several parts—documents one

<sup>1</sup> It is, however, mentioned in Mr. Herbert Putnam's article, "A Columbus Codex", in *The Critic*, XLII. (1903), 246, 248.

to thirty-five, authenticated by the alcaldes and notaries on January 5, 1502, and described by the editors as the codex proper; the thirty-sixth document, the Bull of Demarcation of May 4, 1493, which follows the first notarial authentication; documents thirty-seven to forty, inclusive, separately authenticated by the notaries on March 22, 1502; and, finally, a few miscellaneous documents of no legal value and unauthenticated.

There can be no doubt that the Washington codex was compiled at about the same time as the Genoese and Paris codexes. On the dorse of the second vellum folio of the Washington codex is the statement:

Este es traslado de dos escripturas escriptas en pargamino de cuero, la una abtorizada, de ciertas çedulas é cartas é titulos del Almirante de las Yndias ante ciertos alcaldes é firmadas é sygnadas de Martin Rodriguez, escriváno publico de Sevilla.

This is a transcript of two writings written on parchment, one of them authorized, of certain cedulas and letters and titles of the Admiral of the Indies before certain alcaldes, and signed and rubricated by Martin Rodrigues, public scrivener of Seville.

That the two parchment writings mentioned are the Genoese and Paris codexes, appears from a collation of texts. A comparison has been made of the various texts of the Bull of Demarcation of May 4, 1493, in the three codexes with the following: (a) the text as given, in part, in facsimile in *Autógrafos de Cristóbal Colón* (opp. p. 20), published by the Duchess of Berwick and Alba in 1892, (b) as reproduced from the Vatican register in Heywood's *Documenta Selecta é Tabulario Vaticano* (1893), and (c) as printed in Navarrete's *Coleccion de Viajes*, II. 28 ff., and elsewhere. The bull published by the Duchess of Berwick and Alba, who reproduced only a little more than one-third of the document, belonged to Columbus.<sup>2</sup> Like the texts in the Genoese and Paris codexes it is prefixed by a certification from the Bishop of Barcelona, and in several of its readings it agrees with the texts of the three codexes, while differing from the Vatican register, Navarrete, Solorzano (*De Jure Indiarum*, I. 610), and other texts. It is evident that it was from the Alba bull or from a closely similar text that the texts in the Genoese, Paris and Washington codexes were, either immediately or mediately, derived. It appears further that the text in the Genoese codex most closely resembles this original, that the deviations from this original in the Genoese manuscript are

<sup>2</sup>For an account of this document see the *Raccolta Colombiana*, part I., vol. II., p. clxxiv.

reproduced in the Paris codex, and that both these and some further deviations, original to the Paris manuscript, are followed in the Washington codex. The lineage of that portion of the codexes containing the bull seems clear. From the Genoese codex was derived the Paris codex, and from the Paris codex, the Washington codex. A few illustrations of the variant readings may be selected from a large number of instances, all pointing to the same conclusion. References are to the pages and lines of the text of the Genoese codex as printed in the *Raccolta Colombiana*, part II., vol. II.

P. 77, line 36, *Saracenorum* in the Register, Navarrete, and elsewhere and in the Alba bull, becomes *Sarraceno &* in the Genoese, Paris and Washington codexes; p. 77, l. 37, *immerito* in the Register, Navarrete, and elsewhere, becomes *merito* in the Alba bull and in the three codexes; p. 78, l. 9, *utique dignum et* in the Register, Navarrete, and elsewhere, becomes *itaque dignum et* in the Alba bull, and *itaque et*, with *dignum* omitted, in the three codexes; p. 78, l. 18, *bonis moribus* in the Register, Navarrete, the Alba bull, and the Genoese codex, becomes *moris bonibus* in the Paris and Washington codexes; p. 79, l. 22, *districtius* in the Register, Navarrete, Genoese and Paris codexes becomes *discriptius* in the Washington codex; p. 79, l. 18, the eight words following *doctos* which are included in the Register, Navarrete, and the Genoese codex, are omitted in the Paris and Washington codexes.

In other documents in the Washington codex, however, are readings that resemble the Genoese rather than the Paris codex. Thus the Washington and Genoese codexes include the words *que á ello fueron presentes* (*Raccolta*, p. 9, ll. 8-9), which are omitted in the Paris codex. *Señor* in the Washington and Genoese codexes (*Raccolta*, p. 13, l. 12) is *Salvador* in the Paris codex. In general, the readings of the Genoese and Paris codexes, so far as examined, are far more frequently alike than the readings of either of these and of the Washington codex, which seems to have been more hastily copied.

It is thus shown by a collation of texts that a portion at least of the Washington codex was copied from the Paris codex. Other portions may have been copied from the Genoese codex. The title-page states that the book is a transcript of two parchment codexes.

The date of the Washington codex is thus approximately determined. One of the other two parchment codexes was sent to Genoa before April 2 of that year; the other parchment codex was left at Cadiz to be carried to Genoa before Columbus sailed

on his fourth voyage in May, 1502. Therefore the Washington codex, if transcribed in Spain, which seems certain,<sup>3</sup> dates from the early part of the year 1502.

As regards its contents, the Washington codex includes less than those of Genoa and Paris. Documents one to thirty-five, known as the "codex proper", are in the same order in the Washington codex as in the other two chartularies. The Bull of Demarcation, which is the thirty-sixth document in the other volumes, is the first document written on the vellum folios of the Washington codex. The documents after the thirty-sixth are lacking.

The Washington codex, however, includes one document not found in any of the other codexes and of great interest.

It is written on paper and bound in the codex at the beginning. The handwriting indicates that it was copied at the same time as the rest of the book. It is the bull of September 26, 1493, by which the pope extended "the field of maritime discoveries in favor of Spain as far as the regions in the East, including India". Of this bull Harrisse says: "It is known at present only by a Spanish translation, made August 30, 1554."<sup>4</sup> Searches in the Spanish archives and in the Vatican and Lateran failed to bring it to light. In a work published in Latin in 1629 by the Spanish author Solorzano, the Latin text of the bull was indeed printed,<sup>5</sup> but Harrisse and other historians have supposed that this text was only a Latin translation of the Spanish copy of 1554.<sup>6</sup> A comparison of the bull in the Washington codex with Solorzano's version shows, however, that that author printed the original Latin text, since the bull as he prints it corresponds precisely with that in the Washington codex. One further important peculiarity of the Washington volume is that the notarial rubrications and the authentic signatures of the alcaldes and notaries are lacking. The probable reason for this will be given later on.

The Veragua codex has not received more than the briefest mention in print. It is not referred to in the volumes containing the Paris and Genoese codexes, or even in the chapter on the Book

<sup>3</sup> Evidence of this is the use of the Spanish language in some passages not in the Genoese and Paris codexes, *e. g.*, the statement already quoted from the dorse of the second folio, and other passages cited in Mr. Eames's note in Thacher's *Columbus*, referred to above. The presence of the bull of September 26, 1493, indicates a Spanish origin. Except for the lack of notarial rubrications the handwriting and general appearance of this codex is very similar to the other two.

<sup>4</sup> Harrisse, *Diplomatic History of America*, p. 64.

<sup>5</sup> *De Jure Indiarum*, I. 613-614.

<sup>6</sup> Harrisse, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

of Privileges in the second volume of J. B. Thacher's *Columbus*. The latter omission is surprising, since in the same work, Mr. Thacher reproduces in facsimile or in type a large number of documents from the Veragua archives, exhibited at the Columbian Exposition.<sup>7</sup>

A superficial examination of the Veragua codex discloses many important differences from other texts, which throw new light on the history of the codex, and help to explain the order in which the documents are entered in the book.

The codex opens thus :

[Folio 1r.] Este es traslado de una çedula del Rey e dela Reyna nuestros Señores escripta en papel é firmada de sus Reales nonbres e así mesmo de una escriptura escripta en papel é firmada é signada de escrivano é [notario publico] segund que por ella paresçia. Su thenor delo qual uno en pos de otro este que sesigue.

This is a transcript of a cedula of the King and Queen, our Lords, written on paper and signed with their royal names; and likewise of a document written on paper and signed and rubricated by the scrivener and notary public, as appears thereby. The tenor of which, one after the other, is as follows.

Immediately following is the document which also stands first in the Genoese and Paris codexes, and second in the Washington codex, a letter from the Spanish sovereigns to Ferdinand de Soria, Lieutenant of the High Admiral of Castile, dated April 23, 1497, and an authenticated copy of the privileges and charters relative to the office of High Admiral of Castile. The text of this document, without the introduction which we have quoted above, is also printed in Navarrete, *Viages*, I. 355 ff. In the Veragua codex, the document has this ending :

[Folio 7v.] Este traslado fue sacado é conçertado con la dicha çedula de sus altetas é escriptura oreginal donde fue sacado ante los escrivanos publicos de Sevilla que lo firmaron é signaron de sus nonbres en testimonio en la çibdad de Sevilla.

Este traslado fue corregido é conçertado con la dicha çedula original de sus altetas é escriptura original onde fue sacado ante los escrivanos publicos de Sevilla que lo firmaron é signaron de sus nonbres en testimonio en la dicha çibdad de Sevilla quinze dias del mes de março año del nascimiento de nuestro Salvador Jhesu Christo de mill é quatroçientos é noventa é ochos años. . . .<sup>8</sup>

Yo Diego dela Bastida escrivano de Sevilla so testigo deste traslado. [ ]<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> See volume III., ch. cxxi., and appendix. Many documents from the Veragua archives are also reproduced in the *Raccolta*, in facsimile or otherwise.

<sup>8</sup> Here follow certain corrections.

<sup>9</sup> The notarial sign is made here.

Yo Johan Fernandes escrivano de Sevilla so testigo deste treslado.  
[ ]<sup>9</sup>  
E yo martin Rodrigues escrivano publico de Sevilla fis escribir este treslado é fis aqui mi sig[ ]<sup>9</sup>no é so testigo.

This transcript was taken from and collated with the said cedula of their highnesses, and the original document from which it was derived, before the public scribes of Seville, who signed it and rubricated it with their names, in testimony, in the city of Seville.

This transcript was corrected and collated with the said original cedula of their highnesses and the original document from which it was derived, before the public scribes of Seville, who signed and rubricated it with their names, in testimony, in the said city of Seville on the fifteenth day of the month of March in the year of the nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ, one thousand four hundred and ninety-eight. . . .

I, Diego de la Bastida, scrivener of Seville, am witness of this transcript.

I, Johan Fernandes, scrivener of Seville, am witness of this transcript.

And I, Martin Rodrigues, public scrivener of Seville, have caused this transcript to be written and have made here my sign and am witness.

This ending does not appear in the other codexes, but, except the first four lines, it is given in Navarrete, *op. cit.*, I. 370.

The next folio, 8, begins as follows:

Enla muy noble é muy leal çibdad de Sevilla Sabado<sup>10</sup> quince dias del mes de março año del Nasçimiento de nuestro Salvador Jhesu Christo de mill é quatroçientos é noventa é ochos años estando dentro enlas casas donde posa el muy mag[nifico] Señor Don Christoval Colon Almirante mayor dela mar oceano viso rey é governador delas yslas delas Yndias é tierra firme por el Rey é la Reyna nuestros señores, é su capitan general dela mar que son en esta çibdad enla collaçion de Sancto Bartolome estando ay presente el dicho Señor Almirante y en presençia de mi Martin R[odrigues] escrivano publico dela dicha çibdad é delos escrivanos de Sevilla que a ello fueron presentes. É luego el dicho Señor Almirante presento ante los dichos escrivanos dos cartas de privilegios del Rey é dela Reyna nuestros Señores escriptas en pargamino de cuero é selladas con su sello de plomo pendiente en filos de seda a colores diversas é firmadas de sus Reales nonbres é de los del su consejo é de sus contadores mayores é de otros oficiales. É asi mismo otras cartas patentes firmadas de sus Reales nonbres é selladas con su cera colorada alas espaldas delas dichas cartas y otras çedulas de sus Altasas firmadas de sus Reales nonbres los quales dichos privilegios é cartas é çedulas seran de yuso escriptas é nonbradas. É por que dixo que si ellas oviese de llevar por la mar a las Yndias o a otras partes que se reçelava que por fuego o por agua o por otros casos fortuytos o

<sup>9</sup> The notarial sign is made here.

<sup>10</sup> Thus in the MS., but March 15, 1498, fell on Thursday.

llevandolas gelas fortaria[n] de que su derecho pereçeria y sus altetas serian deservidos por que los dichos previllegios é cartas é çedulas rellevan al serviçio de sus altetas. Porende dixo que pedia e pidio a nos los dichos escrivanos que sacasemos un traslado o dos o mas delos dichos previllegios é cartas é çedulas corrigiendolos conlos dichos originales bien é fielmente en maña que fisiese fee, para guarda de su derecho del sobre dicho señor Almirante, los quales dichos previllegios é cartas é çedulas uno en pos de otro son estos que se siguen.

In the most noble and most loyal city of Seville, Saturday, the fifteenth day of the month of March, in the year of the nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ one thousand four hundred and ninety eight, being within the house where dwells the very magnificent Lord Don Christopher Columbus, high admiral of the ocean, viceroy and governor of the islands and mainland of the Indies, for the King and Queen our lords, and their captain general of the sea, which [house] is in this city, in the parish of Saint Bartholomew, the said Lord Admiral being there present, and in the presence of me, Martin Rodrigues, public scrivener of the said city, and of the scriveners of Seville who were present for that purpose, thereupon the said lord admiral laid before the said scriveners two letters of privileges of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, written on parchment and sealed with their seal of lead, hanging by threads of silk of different colors and signed with their royal names and with those of their council and of their accountants, mayors, and other officials. And likewise other letters patent, signed with their royal names and sealed with their colored wax on the back of the said letters and other cédulas of their highnesses, signed with their royal names, which said privileges and letters and cédulas will be written and named below. And because he said that if he should have to carry them over sea to the Indies, or to other parts, that it was feared that by fire or by water or by other mischances, or by carrying them, that the documents might be taken from him, whereby his right might be destroyed and their highnesses might be disserved, because the said privileges and letters and cédulas concern the service of their highnesses. Wherefore he said that he asked us, the said scriveners, to make a transcript, or two, or more, of the said privileges and letters and cédulas, correcting them with the said originals well and faithfully, so that the transcript should obtain credence, for the protection of the right of the aforesaid Lord Admiral, which said privileges and letters and cédulas, one after the other, are as follows.

The above passage is to be compared with that with which the three principal codexes open (*Raccolta*, p. 9; Stevens, p. 10) and which, in the translation of Stevens's edition, is as follows:

In the most noble and most loyal city of Seville, Wednesday the fifth day of the month of January, in the year of the nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ one thousand five hundred and two. On this said day, at the hour when Vespers are said, or a little before or after, being in the dwelling house of the Lord Admiral of the Indies which is in this said city in the parish of St. Mary, before Stephen de la Roca and Peter Ruys Montero, ordinary Alcaldes in this said city of Seville

for the King and Queen our Lords, and in the presence of me Martin Rodrigues, public scrivener of this said city of Seville, and of the undermentioned witnesses, did appear there present the very magnificent Lord Don Christopher Columbus, High Admiral of the Ocean, Viceroy and Governor of the Islands and Main Land, and laid before the said Alcaldes certain patents and privileges and warrants of the said King and Queen our Lords, written on paper and parchment, and signed with their royal names, and sealed with their seals of lead hanging by threads of coloured silk, and with coloured wax on the back, and countersigned by certain officers of their royal household, as appeared in all and each of them. The tenor whereof, one after the other, is as follows.

The introductory certification of the circumstances under which the Veragua codex was compiled, is followed by documents 2 to 25, entered in the same order as in the three later codexes. With the twenty-fifth document the codex was, temporarily, completed. The passage given below, which is not in the other codexes, comes immediately after the twenty-fifth document and is the conclusion of the certification, the beginning of which preceded document 2.

[Folio 33v.] Este traslado fue corregido é concertado con las dichas dos cartas de privilegios é con las dichas cartas patentes é con todas las otras çedulas de suso encorporadas, originales onde fue sacado ante los escrivanos publicos de Sevilla que lo firmaron é signaron de sus nombres en testimonio que fue fecho é sacado en la dicha çibdad de Sevilla en el dicho dia é mes é año suso dicho . . . <sup>11</sup>

Yo Diego dela Bastida escrivano de Sevilla so testigo deste traslado. [ ]<sup>12</sup>

Yo Johan Fernandes escrivano de Sevilla so testigo deste traslado. [ ]<sup>12</sup>

É yo Martin Rodrigues escrivano publico de Sevilla fis escrivir este traslado é fis aqui mi sig[ ]<sup>12</sup>no é so testigo.

This transcript was corrected and collated with the said two letters of privileges, and with the said letters patent, and with all the other cedulas incorporated above, (the originals from which it was derived), before the public scribes of Seville, who signed and rubricated it with their names in testimony that it was made and copied in the said city of Seville, on the day and month and year aforesaid . . .

I, Diego de la Bastida, scrivener of Seville, am witness of this transcript.

I, Johan Fernandes, scrivener of Seville, am witness of this transcript.

And I, Martin Rodrigues, public scrivener of Seville, have caused this transcript to be written, and have made here my sign, and am witness.

This first stage in the compilation of the codex must have been finished before Columbus sailed on his third voyage, May 30, 1498;

<sup>11</sup> Some corrections follow.

<sup>12</sup> The notarial sign is made here.



for, as will be shown, Columbus must have taken the manuscript with him.

The compilation of the codex shortly before the third voyage, instead of before the fourth voyage, as has heretofore been supposed, explains the selection of the documents contained therein. All the documents date from the year 1497. Documents 1 to 5, inclusive, confirm or confer the admiral's most important rights, document 6 consists of the instructions given to Columbus for his third voyage, and nearly all of the subsequent documents are orders, authorizations, licenses, etc., directly relating to the third voyage. Some are of a comparatively trivial nature, or are important only in relation to the coming voyage, and would scarcely have been included in a volume compiled *de novo* in 1502.<sup>13</sup>

The second stage in the growth of the codex was reached in Hispaniola, as is shown by the following passage, not in the other codexes, which immediately succeeds that last quoted, but begins a new folio, and is in a different hand.

[Folio 34r.] En la villa de Santo Domingo que es en las Yndias en la ysla Española martes quatro dias del mes de Disiembre año del nascimiento de nuestro Señor Jhesu Christo de mill é quatroçientos é noventa é ocho años estando dentro en las casas donde posa el muy manifico Señor Don Christoval Colon almirante mayor del mar oceano viso rey é governador delas yslas delas Yndias é tierra firme por el Rey é la Reyna nuestros Señores é su capitan general dela mar que son en esta dicha villa de Santo Domingo estando ay presente el dicho señor almirante é en presençia de mi Diego de Alvarado escrivano publico del Rey é dela Reyna nuestros señores. É luego el dicho señor almirante presento ante mi el dicho escrivano algunas cartas patentes del Rey é dela Reyna nuestros señores escritas en papel é selladas con su sello de cera colorada en las espaldas é otras çedulas de sus altetas firmadas de sus reales nonbres las quales dichas cartas é çedulas seran de yuso escriptas é nonbradas é por que dixo que sy ellas oviese de llevar o cubrar por la mar a los reynos de Castilla o a otras partes que se reçelava que por fuego o por agua o por otros casos fortituytos o llevandolas gelas fortarian de que su derecho pereçería y sus altetas serian deservidos por que las dichas cartas é çedulas relevanan al servicio de sus altetas, porende dixo que pedia é pedio a mi el dicho escrivano que sacase un treslado o dos o mas delas dichas cartas é çedulas corregie[ndolas] con las dichas oreginales byen é fielmente [en maña] que fesiese fe para guarda de su derecho del [suso] dicho señor Almirante las quales dichas cartas [é] çedulas uno en pos de otra son estas que se siguen.

In the town of Santo Domingo, which is in the Indies, in the island

<sup>13</sup> For example, document 20, an order to the royal accountants to reimburse Columbus for sums lent by him to certain persons in the Indies; and document 25, a joint letter to the Bishop of Badajoz and Columbus regarding the purchase of provisions for the third voyage.

of Hispaniola, on Tuesday, the fourth day of the month of December in the year of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, one thousand four hundred and ninety-eight, being within the house where dwells the very magnificent Lord Don Christopher Columbus, high admiral of the ocean, viceroy and governor of the islands and mainland of the Indies, for the King and Queen our Lords, and their captain general of the sea, which [house] is in this said town of Santo Domingo, being there present the said Lord Admiral, and in the presence of me, Diego de Alvarado, public scrivener of the King and Queen our lords, thereupon the said Lord Admiral laid before me, the said scrivener, some letters patent of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, written on paper and sealed on the back with their seal of colored wax, and other cédulas of their highnesses, signed with their royal names, which said letters and cédulas will be written and named below, and because he said that if he should have to carry or transmit [?] them, by sea to the kingdoms of Castile, or to other parts, that it was feared that by fire or by water or by other mischances, or by carrying them, they might be lost, whereby his right might be destroyed and their highnesses might be disserved, because the said letters and cédulas concern the service of their highnesses, wherefore he said that he asked me the said scrivener to make a transcript of two or more of the said letters and cédulas, correcting them with the said originals, well and faithfully, so that it should obtain credence for the protection of the right of the above-mentioned Lord admiral, which said letters and cédulas, one after the other, are as follows.

Immediately after this introduction come documents 26-29, which are also entered in the same order in the later codexes. Next follows the conclusion of the certification in these words:

[Folio 36v.] Fecho é sacado fue este traslado delas dichas cartas é çedulas originales de sus Altezas enla dicha villa de Santo Domingo martis quatro dias del mes de desienbre año del nascimiento de nuestro señor Jhesu Christo de mill é quatro çientos é noventa é ocho años. Testigos que fueron presentes a ver ler é conçertar las dichas cartas é çedulas oreginales con los dichos treslados, Pedro de Terreros é Diego de Salamanca é Lope Minos, las quales van çiertas é conçertadas.

É yo el dicho Diego de Alvarado escrivano é notario publico suso dicho presente fuy a todo lo que dicho es en uno con los dichos testigos é por mandado del dicho Señor Almirante estos treslados saque delas estas cartas é çedulas oreginales, las quales van çiertas é conçertadas é porende fis aqui este mio syg[ ]<sup>14</sup>no atal, en testimonio de verdad.

Diego de Alvarado notario publico.

This transcript of the said original letters and cédulas of their Highnesses, was made and extracted in the said town of Santo Domingo on Tuesday, the fourth day of the month of December, in the year of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand four hundred and ninety eight. Witnesses who were present to see, read and collate the said original letters and cédulas with the said transcripts:

Pedro de Terreros and Diego de Salamanca and Lope Minos. Which are genuine and in agreement.

<sup>14</sup> The notarial sign is made here.

And I, the said Diego de Alvarado, scrivener and notary public, aforesaid, was present at all that which is aforesaid together with the said witnesses, and by command of the said Lord Admiral I copied these transcripts of these original letters and cedulas, which are genuine and in agreement; and therefore I have made here this sign in testimony of the truth.

Diego de Alvarado, notary public.

What circumstances led Columbus to enter these documents, 26-29, into the codex at this time? When he arrived at Santo Domingo at the end of August, 1498, a large party of the colonists under the leadership of Francisco Roldán were in rebellion against his brother the Adelantado. Negotiations with the rebels finally resulted in the signing of an agreement on November 17 and 21, after which the rebels left the neighborhood of Santo Domingo. Thereupon Columbus resolved to go on a tour of the island to settle affairs, which were in a very disturbed condition. For this purpose he left Santo Domingo towards the end of January, 1499, leaving the Adelantado to look after that place.<sup>15</sup> It seems very likely that the preparation of an attested copy of his original charters was made in anticipation of this tour. Perhaps one set of documents was to be carried with him, while the other was to be left with his brother.

The documents 26-29, all date from 1493 or 1494, and bear directly upon the rights of the admiral in the Indies. The first is a mandamus addressed to all men in the Indies to obey Columbus as viceroy and governor of the same. With document 29, the Veragua codex ends, and the next additions to the codex were doubtless made in 1502.

It has long been known that four copies of Columbus's Book of Privileges were in existence in the year 1502; for this is stated in a unique passage at the very end of the Genoese codex. That passage is as follows:

Los originales destes privilegios, y cartas y çedulas y otras muchas cartas de Sus Altezas é otras escripturas tocantes al señor almirante, están enel monesterio de Sancta María delas Cuevas de Sevilla.

Otrosi esta en el dicho monesterio un libro traslado delos privilegios é cartas suso dichos, semejante que este.

Otro traslado levo este año de .MD.II. y tiene Alonso Sanches de Carvajal á las Yndias escripto en papel é abtorizado.

Otro treslado en pergamino tal como este.

The originals of these privileges, letters and grants, and many other papers of their Highnesses, and other writings respecting the said Admiral, are preserved in the monastery of Sancta Maria de las Cuevas in Seville.

<sup>15</sup> F. Colombo, *Historia*, cap. 81; and Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, I., cap. 158.

In the said monastery there is also a book of transcripts of the fore-said privileges and letters, similar to this. Another copy was carried to the Indies in this year (1502) by Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal, written on paper and authorized. Another copy on parchment, the same as this.

The "other copy on parchment the same as this", has long been identified with the Paris codex.

It is no doubt true, as has been conjectured by HARRISSE, that the Everett, now Washington codex, is to be identified with the copy deposited in the monastery of Las Cuevas. We have already seen that this copy differs from the other three in its lack of authentic signatures and notarial rubrics. But if this codex were to be kept *together with the originals* in the monastery of Las Cuevas, there was no need of these evidences of its authenticity.<sup>16</sup>

The copy taken by Carvajal to the Indies in 1502, is doubtless the same as the Veragua codex, likewise on paper<sup>17</sup> and authorized. Carvajal sailed in February, 1502, before the other codexes were completed; but the Veragua codex was completed in 1498. The editors of the latest editions of both the Genoese and Paris codexes, published respectively in 1893 and 1894, state that only two of the four codexes are known to exist—that the other two are lost.<sup>18</sup> It is strange that within so few years both these others should have come to light.

Still more surprising is it to find in the Library of Congress, in the collection of photographs already referred to as including the Veragua codex, photographs of the front and dorse of the original manuscript of the bull *Inter Caetera*, of May 3, 1493, issued from the papal chancery. Presumably, the document itself is in the archives of the Duke of Veragua, at Madrid. It has been supposed hitherto that none of the four bulls of 1493 connected with the discoveries of Columbus (*Eximiae Devotionis*, May 3, *Inter Caetera*, May 3 and 4, and *Dudum Siquidem*, September 26), was extant in its original, promulgated form. It has even been doubted whether the bull *Inter Caetera*, of May 3, was promulgated at all. Its existence was unsuspected until Muñoz discovered a copy of the text at Simancas, in 1797. Subsequently it was found entered on the secret register of Alexander VI., in the Vatican archives. But, in a paper

<sup>16</sup> This and some other arguments for the identity of this codex with that preserved at Las Cuevas are given in Mr. Putnam's article and in Stevens's work.

<sup>17</sup> The photograph clearly shows this.

<sup>18</sup> Thus HARRISSE writes (p. xvi), "Carvajal sailed from Spain on the 13th of February, 1502, taking with him the codex on paper. No traces of it have ever been found. The probability is that, on account of its texture, it was destroyed in the course of time by the worms and ants in St. Domingo."

on "The Lines of Demarcation of Pope Alexander VI.", read by Dr. S. E. Dawson before the Royal Society of Canada in 1899, and printed in their *Transactions* (second series, 1899-1900, volume V., section 2), it was argued with much plausibility that this bull had been suppressed, and Dr. Dawson refers to it repeatedly as "the unpromulgated bull".

Comparison of the photograph of the front of the document, here reproduced, with like reproductions of the same class of documents in palaeographic works such as Dr. L. Schmitz-Kallenberg's *Practica Cancellariae Apostolicae Saeculi XV. Exeuntis* (Münster, 1904) leaves no room for doubt as to the authenticity of the manuscript. The endorsement of the bull, *Registrata in camera apostolica*, also accords with the practice of the papal chancery. Of the two Spanish and obviously unofficial endorsements, one reads as follows: *Bula del papa Alexandro en que concede a los rreyes catholicos y sus successores todo lo que ganaren y conquistaren en las Yndias, es la data año MCCCCXCIII*. The other endorsement begins with the words, *Esta se emendo y esta la emendada*. . . . The last words, probably three in number, are undecipherable. The text is the same as that printed in Navarrete, *Viages*, vol. II., no. 17, pp. 23-27, from the transcript in the Simancas archives. Navarrete, however, stops with the date, omitting the words *Gratis de mandato sanctissimi Domini nostri pape*, and the names of the officials of the chancery: B. Capotius, D. Serrano, and L. Podocatharus, the pontifical secretary.

FRANCES G. DAVENPORT.

## 2. South Carolina Federalist Correspondence, 1789-1797

THE following letters, mainly written by William Smith to Gabriel Manigault and Ralph Izard, are printed from the manuscripts in the possession of Mrs. Hawkins Jenkins, Wantoot Plantation (Pinopolis), St. John's, Berkeley, South Carolina.

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.

WILLIAM SMITH TO GABRIEL MANIGAULT.

NEW YORK June 7, 1789.

Dear Sir:

. . . Much harmony, politeness and good humor have hitherto prevailed in both houses—our debates are conducted with a moderation and ability extremely unusual in so large a body—consisting of men under the influence of such jarring interests coming from such different countries and climates and accustomed to such different manners. How long this delightful accommodation will continue is uncertain: I sincerely wish I shall never see it interrupted . . .