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Martin Frobisher's Voyages to the Arctic Wasteland, 1576–1578

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"A vast silence reigned over the land. The land itself was a desolation, lifeless, without movement, so lone and cold that the spirit of it was not even that of sadness. There was a hint in it of laughter, but of a laughter more terrible than any sadness—a laughter that was mirthless as the smile of the sphinx, a laughter cold as the frost and partaking of the grimness of infallibility. It was the masterful and incommunicable wisdom of eternity laughing at the futility of life and the effort of life. It was the Wild—the savage, frozen-hearted Northland Wild."

/Jack London, *White Fang*/

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Introduction

Relativizing the Past: Toward an Interpretation of the Historical Document

"A proper story is like a river; sometimes it may be traced back to a source in the hills, but what it becomes reflects the scenery through which it flows. It has a history, and its history is marked by the appearance of new incidents or new characters; its colours change, it is told in fresh idiom; it may be concentrated into a ballad or a song only to be dispersed again in more prosaic telling."[1] These words of Michael Joseph Oakeshott (1901–1990), an English philosopher and political theorist who wrote about philosophy of history as well as about philosophy of religion and of aesthetics, perfectly define numerous accounts, journals, and other records originally written and published in the late sixteenth century, which significantly contribute to the understanding of the intellectual, religious and social context of Tudor England, in which those early journalists, commentators, merchants, and adventurers acted.

Admittedly, history cannot be used as a scientific method of examining human experience because historians lack sufficient means to verify the results of their study through experimentation. Therefore, history should be viewed as philosophy, literature, and arts, rather than science. Although historians endow human past with meaning and value, their interpretation and evaluation of historical occurrences, and resultant human experience remain only their personal judgment and individual approach of a historian or philosopher. Oswald Arnold Gottfried Spengler (1880–1936), a German scholar of history and philosophy, is best known for his study entitled *The Decline of the West*,[2] a two-volume work in which he lectures on world history, revealing his non-scientific approach to it, widely discussed in the aca-

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[1] Michael Joseph Oakeshott, "The Rule of Law," in *On History and Other Essays* [1983] (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1999), 178.

[2] *The Decline of the West* (*Der Untergang des Abendlandes*), the first volume of which was published in 1918, revised by the Author in 1922. In 1923, the second volume was added, subtitled *Perspectives of World History*. For this discussion, see Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West: Form and Actuality*, trans. with notes by Charles Francis Atkinson (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, MCMXXVII [1927]), vol. I, chapter IV: "The Problem of World-History," 155–159.

demic circles of the time. His claim about meaning in world history was strongly criticized and rejected by large contemporary audience, including such philosophers as Max Weber, Karl Popper, Harry Kessler, and Ludwig Wittgenstein. Spengler's work became a fundamental contribution to the theory of the social cycle which, unlike the theory of social evolution perceiving the evolution of society and human history as progressing in ever new directions, maintains that stages of society and history tend to repeat themselves in cycles. Such a definition of history, viewed as repeating cycles of events (which does not reject social progress) was advanced by the academic circles in the nineteenth century and has since been used to interpret history.

Paul Hamilton, Professor of English at Queen Mary, University of London, in his research of Enlightenment and Romantic thought combines literary theory and historical interpretation. In his well-acclaimed 1996 study *Historicism*, he thoroughly investigates the origins and development of this crucial concept in literary studies which has existed in some form from ancient Greece to modern times. In his volume Hamilton provides the essential meaning and function of the term as well as the major thinkers in historicism, both past and present. With straightforwardness and clarity he provides his reader with a possible definition of the term:

> "historicism shows, fundamentally […], that the historical character of interpretation allows us as critics continually to refocus a present that is always changing, always sliding out of focus again. We should therefore expect the process of understanding the past to be as unending as is the future. We can conclude from this necessary but difficult summery of some of the main principles of historical explanation that history and aesthetics have cleared the way for a kind of understanding of their subjects different from scientific understanding."[3]

Therefore, claims Hamilton, we must infer from each text an explanatory context, and through this act of restoration reconstruct the means by which the examined text will be comprehended. Consequently, historicism "is the name given to the apparent relativizing of the past by getting to know the different interpretations to which it is open and deciding between them on grounds expressing our own contemporary preoccupations."[4]

In his Introduction to *Historicism*, Hamilton argues that "[t]he protagonists of progress in historical understanding are always isolated individuals who are led by such historical convulsions as wars and revolutions to put new questions."[5] Therefore, claims Hamilton, historicism is "a critical move-

[3] Paul Hamilton, *Historicism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 18.
[4] Hamilton, *Historicism*, 19.
[5] Hamilton, 1.

ment insisting on the prime importance of historical context to the interpretation of texts of all kinds,"[6] understood through the images of history the analyzed texts imply. Historicism has noted a long tradition of influence upon numerous disciplines of thoughts and, apparently, it has been enjoying a significant revival in present—day literary criticism which employs it as a method to identify an underlying pattern of historical explanation recurring at different times and in various forms. Hamilton lucidly formulates the main aspects and functions of historicism:

> "Firstly, it is concerned to situate any statement—philosophical, historical, aesthetic or whatever—in its historical context. Secondly, it typically doubles back on itself to explore the extent to which any historical enterprise inevitably reflects the interests and bias of the period in which it was written. On the one hand, therefore, historicism is suspicious of the stories the past tells about itself; on the other hand, it is equally suspicious of its own partisanship. It offers up both its past and its present for ideological scrutiny."[7]

The past, argues Hamilton, "is to be understood on the model of interpreting a text; and texts, literary or otherwise, only have meaning within an economy of other texts, which both limits their possibilities and facilitates the distinctiveness of their utterances."[8] Comprehended hermeneutically,[9] the meaning of a text is determined by the spirit of the times, that is by the culture of the text's first audience. However, observed over a longer time span, that is between its past reception and the present attempt to understand it, the text will most probably have produced many more interpretations. Not infrequently, the historicist may be much more aware of the cultural context and expectations which had directed and controlled the first, i.e. the original readers, whose assumptions could have been too internalized and unconscious. Historicists also claim "to have gained more knowledge of the text's meaning because of their acquaintance with the new meaning it had for subsequent historical periods."[10] Discussing the nature of historical explanation, Hamilton makes a momentous observation: "History and aesthetics do seem to have this vital fact in common, that they are concerned with events which are particular and individual rather than instances of the application of a scientific law."[11]

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[6] Hamilton, 2.
[7] Hamilton, 3.
[8] Hamilton, 3.
[9] "Hermeneutical"—interpretative; "hermeneutics"—the theory and methodology of interpretation, especially the interpretation of biblical or philosophical texts. It has widely been applied in the humanities, especially in law, history, and theology.
[10] Hamilton, 4.
[11] Hamilton, 13.

Hayden V. White (1928–2018), lately Professor Emeritus at the History of Consciousness Department of the University of California at Santa Cruz, having previously retired from the Comparative Literature Department of Stanford University, was most famous for his 1973 work *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. He was an American historian and theorist of history in the tradition of literary criticism, always arguing that historical writing had developed under a strong influence of literary writing. In his well-acclaimed 1974 essay entitled "Historical Text as Literary Artifact," White explained the term "metahistory" in the process of understanding the epistemological status of historical interpretations and the role of history in advancing knowledge:

> "It addresses itself to such questions as, What is the structure of a peculiarly *historical* Consciousness? What is the epistemological status of historical *explanations*, as compared with other kinds of explanations that might be offered to account for the materials with which historians ordinarily deal? What are the possible *forms* of historical representation and what are their bases? What authority can historical accounts claim as contributions to a secured knowledge of reality in general and to the human sciences in particular?"[12]

White questioned the strict disciplinary boundaries between History and Literature, that is fact versus fiction, applying theories of fiction to historical writing, that is historiography. His theory of "metahistory," the term he himself coined, meaning histories or stories about history, aimed to eradicate or at least blur the disciplinary distinctions between Historiography and Literature, ie. Fiction. Accordingly, he claimed that History was narrative prose built in literary conventions and shaped by the historian's "historical imagination," used, alongside the narrative strategies of a literary writer, for depicting the past. "Historians seek to refamiliarize us with events which have been forgotten through either accident, neglect, or repression. Moreover, the greatest historians have always dealt with those events in the histories of their cultures which are 'traumatic' in nature and the meaning of which is either problematical or over determined in the significance that they still have for current life."[13] Apparently, we might aptly apply White's theory to events and large-scale processes that in the past had revolutionized whole communities and nations, having reconstructed communal as well as national consciousness. There can be cited numerous examples such as

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[12] Hayden White, "The Historical Text as Literary Artifact." As the author explains, his essay is a revised version of a lecture given before the Comparative Literature Colloquium of Yale University on 24 January, 1974, 1. Retrieved at HaydWhitHistTextArtifact.pdf, accessed 8 April, 2018.

[13] White, 4.

wars, revolutions, and evolutions, which have survived on the current social scene and in contemporary collective memory. Among such processes which remodeled social thinking and restructured sociopolitical reality as well as long-run national aspirations were English sixteenth-century expeditions of discovery and the Atlantic explorations which had begot and advanced England's maritime power, and paved way to its present global position.

Quite naturally, history can be set over against science because of its inability to create the kinds of universal laws that the sciences typically seek to create. Similarly, history can be set over against literature because of its interest in the "actual," rather than the "possible," which is supposedly the object of literary representation. Therefore, in a long critical tradition that has attempted to determine what is "real" and what is "imagined" in the novel, history has served "as a kind of archetype of the 'realistic' pole of representation."[14] It seems much more complex and sophisticated to perceive the reality of the past world reconstructed from a multitude of historical documents than to investigate the depths of a single literary work that is present to the critic studying it. Not infrequently, however, the historical texts are as obscure as those examined by the literary critic. Each new historical document only multiplies texts that have to be interpreted to faithfully recreate an accurate picture of a given historical milieu, yet, paradoxically, "the *more* we know about the past, the more difficult it is to generalize about it."[15]

Provenance of any document is the basic requirement when a given text is studied and evaluated; the most fundamental aspect of such an evaluation is the historical context, whereas other aspects that need to be considered, perception and interpretation, although of crucial importance, remain disputable. Paul Hamilton who, as noted earlier, was a proponent of historicism, that is a critical approach to interpreting texts, urged that a researcher examine both the setting of the studied event or statement, and the motifs, objectives, as well as possible bias. Therefore, to understand a document, be it autobiographies, diaries, memoirs, journals, letters and interviews, is to connect life to times, uniqueness to representativeness, individual experience to local/national framework. For the critic's approach to a historical document of any kind, no better work can be found than the still-standard 1945 volume entitled *The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology, and Sociology*, edited by Louis Reichenthal Gottschalk, Clyde Kluckhorn, and Robert Cooley Angell. Louis Reichenthal Gottschalk (1899–1975), a distinguished American historian, for a long time the University of Chicago history department professor, in his analytical essay on historical method, "The Historian and the Document," extends the term "personal document"

[14] White, 5.
[15] White, 5. Emphasis original.

to include all historical sources, and presents the techniques employed by historians to determine the validity of documents and the crucial questions of interpretation. Gottschalk emphasizes the need to locate the people and their stories in their historical setting to fully understand both the document and the *persona*. What distinguishes a historical subject are the geographical, chronological, and functional aspects alongside the human dimension. This "historical mindedness" requires not only empathy and intuition but also adopting the subject's perspective to best comprehend the protagonist's reasoning, beliefs, and motives.[16]

Indisputably, non-fiction requires impartiality, however, even non-fiction rarely remains unbiased. Rarely are we concerned with chronicles solely describing actions and events; since people are inevitably involved in every such action or event either as protagonists or chroniclers, they naturally tend to judge, evaluate, to be partial, opinionated, sympathetic or lacking compassion. The truth may be that only such universally acknowledged and purely objective facts which humans do not affect or do not participate in, such as sun rising or setting at a particular time, or regularity of the ebb and flow stand a chance, and a chance only, of being depicted exactly as they are—or appear to be.

A human or personal document may be defined as one which presents its author and the occurrences in such a way that enables the reader to get knowledge about the author or to guess the author's views on these events. Personal documents are not homogeneous; if a diary, for instance, includes entries which were not made on the date given but were added later, it may be considered a memoir, rather than a diary. The autobiographies written under supervision of an editor must have been examined, proofread, and edited. In such a case their authors had time to rethink, rewrite, or reconsider their accounts, to verify and correct mistakes, to search the text for omissions. Many other external or internal factors may also affect a document. The larger the expected audience (readers or listeners), the better the chance a document may get ornamented with "literary, rhetorical, or dramatic flourishes."[17] Another important aspect of a written (or oral) testimony analysis appears to be its reliability, that is how truthful it is, and whose truth it reveals. Undisputedly, people naturally tend to develop their own perception of things. Not infrequently, do they erroneously assume that their own

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[16] Louis Reichenthal Gottschalk, "The Historian and the Historical Document," in *The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology, and Sociology*, ed. Louis Reichenthal Gottschalk, Clyde Kluckhorn, and Robert Cooley Angell (New York: Social science Research Council, 1945), 32–34 [1–75].

[17] Gottschalk, "The Historian and the Historical Document," 16; for a broader discussion of this issue, see 18–20.

perception should widely be acquired. And although such an approach to one's personal viewpoint may be unintentional or even subconscious, it is essential that we refrain from too fast and too impulsive conclusions to avoid a potential misjudgment, as the truth here may rather appear to merely be the vision or perception of truth. The complexity of the record of events and experiences is, therefore, determined by such factors as time, memory, imagination, the level of objectivity and literary capability, and, not rarely, by the ability of "retrospective enhancement."

Interestingly, Gottschalk remarks that sometimes there may appear the so-called 'interested' eyewitnesses who may gain profit from manipulations, speculations, misstatements, omissions, or from not disclosing all relevant information. It sometimes occurs that their not being honest enough serves some cause or is a result of prejudice or even subconscious resentment. Accordingly, a truthful testimony or account may be provided only when no personal interest or bias are involved and, significantly, "of the emotions, ideals, interests, sensations, impressions, private opinions, attitudes, drives and motives of an individual only that individual can give good testimony, unless their outward manifestations are sufficiently well understood to serve as a reliable index."[18]

[18] Gottschalk, "The Historian and the Historical Document," 46–47.

Chapter I

The Necessity of Navigation: Exploring the "Ocean Sea"[1]

From the *Romanus Pontifex* to "The Letters Pattents Graunted by Her Maiestie to Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight, for the Inhabiting and Planting of Our People in America"

If viewed from the political, social, cultural, and economic perspective, Columbus' discovery of the Americas fundamentally restructured the known world. In 1492, the geographical scope of the "Old World" of Europe, Asia, and Africa was immensely broadened by embracing the Western Hemisphere. That in turn entirely transformed and reformulated human contacts, bringing together Europeans, Africans, and Native Americans, for past ages having been separated, into communication that involved not only cooperation, but also conflict and exploitation. All those developments reshaped Western Europe from a remote economic and cultural backwater into the most powerful region of the world, which, in the fifteenth century, gave rise to modern capitalism. Consequently, by the eighteenth century, Western Europe, from its fourteenth-century relative backwardness, had developed into the supreme power, and achieved the position of global hegemony. Importantly, that astonishing transition had become to be viewed by scholars through geographic, biological, economic and historical factors, replacing the earlier, long-standing approach of the intrinsic superiority of European values.[2]

Throughout the Middle Ages, the main centers of economic operations and trade traffic were located in two great commerce networks: the Indian

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[1] The Ocean Sea—the Atlantic.

[2] For this approach, see Anna Suranyi, *The Atlantic Connection. A History of the World 1450–1900* (London and New York: Routledge. Taylor & Francis Group, 2015); Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System. I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Academic Press, 1974).

Ocean, connecting East Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia, and the Mediterranean Sea, which linked southern Europe, the Middle East, as well as North and West Africa. Therefore, all the regions which lay in remote parts, faraway from those centers, such as southern Africa, eastern and northern Europe, northern Asia, and the South Pacific, were considered as backwaters. That radically changed in the fifteenth century when Western Europeans, most of all the Portuguese and the Spanish, developed their ships to make them capable of crossing the Atlantic Ocean. Then the Atlantic proved to be a repository of wealth, power and influence, that far exceeded the capacity of the earlier-established commercial centers. Geographically, Western Europe was in a natural way oriented toward the Atlantic, however, until the fifteenth century, that factor had been an underestimated advantage because of the ocean's dangerously turbulent currents and little navigable waters. European sailing ability became more important after the Fall of Constantinople, conquered in 1453 by the Ottoman Turks who cut Europeans off from the Indian Ocean and some Mediterranean ports, most of all, however, from the Spice Islands, i.e. the Indonesian archipelago of the Moluccas. That meant that the trading routes between Europe and East Asia had been seized by the Ottoman Empire which obtained lucrative monopoly for the importation of spices and thereupon imposed heavy duties on such condiments as cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg, and pepper. Consequently, while on the Moluccas one quintal of cloves cost about two ducats, after the Fall of Constantinople, the London Stock Exchange value of the same volume of cloves was set at 213 ducats. Therefore, the discovery and exploration of an alternative route to East Asia became an economic prerequisite for rapidly developing Europe, and finding a straight route to the producers of goods could only be implemented by sea.[3] It may be noteworthy here that the London Stock Exchange was officially opened by Queen Elizabeth in 1571, whereas the older one was founded in Antwerp, Belgium, as early as 1531.

Thus the development of more effective shipping and navigation techniques had become an imperative stimulating Europeans to overseas travels and adventures a few decades prior to 1492. The consequent progress in shipbuilding and navigational technology made Columbus' voyage possible, and accelerated Western Europe's subsequent acquisition and accumulation of great wealth. Geographically, West European regions: Spain, Portugal, Britain, France, and the Netherlands were favorably located on the western rim of the known world, which gave them open access to the Atlantic and an impulse to develop more elaborate nautical improvements. It is

[3] Carl Ortwin Sauer, *Sixteenth Century North America* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1971), 3–5.

noteworthy, however, that West Africans, also located on the "Ocean Sea" rim, did not benefit from the same opportunities as the south-going Atlantic currents along their coasts made ocean navigation very difficult. Therefore, they remained within the overland commercial activity network connected with the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, yet they were not motivated to advance more efficient shipping and innovatory navigational technologies.

The late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries were notable periods in European history because of the fast economic development. A significant increase both in food production and in hygienic conduct improved the sustenance and health of European societies. Famine and pestilence were much less frequent and became more local than in the earlier times. The increase in agricultural production gave rise to a demographic growth and the expansion of urban economy. The fast economic development could not have materialized if not for the increase in the population which, from 80 million inhabitants in the year 1500, had reached the estimate number of 100 million people until the end of the sixteenth century. The most intensive demographic growth was noted in Western Europe, where 75 per cent of European population concentrated; the highest density exceeded 50 people per square kilometer in the regions of the Netherlands and the northern Italian Peninsula. As the average population density of the cities in Europe was steadily increasing, toward the end of the fifteenth century, there were five significant city centers, each with at least 100,000 residents: Istanbul (until 1453, known as Constantinople), Paris, Naples, Milan, and Venice. At the end of the sixteenth century, there were noted over 200 cities with more than 100,000 residents, although the process of urbanization in Europe was uneven.[4]

In Western Europe, the Catholic Church dominated numerous aspects of traditional customs and cultural codes. At the same time, however, changes could be observed in technology, education, political ideas, and international contacts. At the beginning of the early modern period, the 1492 Atlantic passage fundamentally shifted the focus of the European social development from local to global challenges. Although traditionally most people were peasants, and societies were based on a system of privileges established on birth which determined social roles, in the growing urban areas there were increasing numbers of professionals, among them doctors, lawyers, university professors, clerks, and public officials. Moreover, there appeared expanding roles for artisans and merchants, the former operating in the emer-

[4] Carlo M. Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution: European Society and Economy, 1000–1700* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1994), 134–135; Norman Davies, *Europe. A Panorama of Europe, East and West, from the Ice Age to the Cold War, from the Urals to Gibraltar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 406–407.

gent guilds, and the latter becoming the most dynamic group especially in the coastal regions, either of the Mediterranean (particularly in the Italian Peninsula), or of the Atlantic rim, such as Portugal. New economic developments, combined with growing urbanization and large-scale industry, revealed novel possibilities. An increasing money-based economy replaced the traditional commodity money, that is money whose worth came from the intrinsic value of a commodity of which it was made. These goods could have been gold, silver, salt, peppercorns, tea, shells, or silk. Money-based economy also developed financial innovations in banking, and especially in the money-lending system.

The growth of long-distance trade gave a privileged position to harbors which prevailed in a number of the biggest European cities. The naval mass transportation of the basic commodities progressed in the international trade. The sea transport turned to be more convenient, relatively cheaper, and, paradoxically, safer. According to the magnitude and significance of transported merchandise, the naval transport was dominated by three kinds of goods. The industrial development of the Italian region, England, and the Netherlands resulted in their increasing need for food, essentially the grains, imported from the north-eastern European countries, mainly from Poland, and in subsequent years also from Russia (the cities of the north of the Italian Peninsula imported the grains from Egypt and Sicily). The second group of the transported merchandise, important for the European naval trade, were the colonial commodities imported from the Levant[5] and the Far East, mainly roots and spices: pepper, cloves, cinnamon, nutmeg, and also sugar; their importation in the sixteenth century considerably increased. The third mass-traded goods were the textiles, especially the cloth from England, the Netherlands, and the Italian Peninsula, exported to nearly entire Europe.[6]

The rapid development of the international trade offered favorable conditions for the introduction of the new methods in the organization of a business exchange, and a new system of settling financial records. The naval transport was cheaper in itself yet it required investing higher financial assets and was still a risky enterprise. That induced merchants to unite in partnerships,

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[5] Levant is an imprecisely defined region in the Middle East, south of the Taurus Mountain between the Mediterranean Sea on the west, and the northern Arabian Desert and the Upper Mesopotamia to the east. The Levant countries comprise: Cyprus, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, and Syria. In a broader definition, the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean shores: Egypt, Greece, Libya, and Turkey, are included. The term "Levant," meaning the rising of the sun in the east, entered the English language in the fifteenth century.

[6] Peter Spufford, *Power and Profit. The Merchant in Medieval Europe* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2003), 125–129.

with the intent to invest the assets of many investors and, at the same time, to reduce the risk of losing the individual entrepreneur's goods. With time, the partnerships evolved into the trade companies operating under the protection of the monarch who aided them in obtaining a monopoly for trading with specified regions. The accelerated circulation of commodities entailed the need for taking loans, and the possibility of a non-cash settlement. It had a significant impact on the advancement of the banking and trading houses of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The banking and trading centers were located in Genoa, Florence, Nuremberg, and Augsburg. They created their own business policies and assisted in settling financial matters among the European cities with the issuance of the bills of exchange and the letters of credit, while eliminating the commodity money which could have caused shipping difficulties. In the sixteenth century, the role of dealing with the non-cash payments was taken over from the banks by the more popular and affluent stock exchanges which set the prices for the traded commodities.[7]

Cultural changes were inevitable. Although the range of technological improvements was limited, the most revolutionary progress of the fifteenth century, which brought a significant growth of literacy, was made with the printing press, and was owed to the implementation of the matrix and the reusable sorts. It was developed by Johannes Gutenberg in the 1450s, which allowed the fast accessibility and propagation of ideas. These factors coincided with the consolidation of the state, innovations in the production of firearms, and growing national tensions. The prosperity of the European banking houses and stock exchanges in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as well as the gradually increasing standard of life altered the views of the contemporaries about money and accumulation of wealth which became their major mindset.

The violent accumulation of the capital, which had covertly operated in the fourteenth century, rapidly developed under the impact of the ideas of the Protestant Reformation, which was started in 1517 by Martin Luther.[8] According to the sixteenth-century mercantilist theory of economic nationalism for the purpose of building a wealthy and powerful state, the soil was to be utilized for agriculture, mining, or manufacturing, and the raw materials should be processed in the home country. The sale of the country's surplus manufactured goods to foreign regions for gold and silver was considered the way to increase the wealth of the mother country. Although

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[7] Spufford, *Power and Profit*, 140–142.

[8] For the Protestant Reformation in Europe, and its mercantilist implications, see Bożenna Chylińska, *The Gospel of Work and Wealth in the Puritan Ethic. From John Calvin to Benjamin Franklin* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2012).

the term "mercantile system" to describe the strategy of political economy that sought to enrich the country by restraining imports and encouraging exports was coined and defined in the eighteenth century by a Scottish economist, Adam Smith, the system itself had dominated Western European economic thought from the sixteenth century when the early mercantilist ideas, which included the mercantilist theory of international trade, extended beyond England.

The mercantile practices, particularly the accumulation of wealth, were strongly criticized by the conservative Catholics as contradictory to the teachings of the Bible. However, the new Protestant ethic strongly encouraged wealth acquisition. Most of the contemporary merchants started to accumulate possessions and money. In the Catholic ethic, the significance of temporal endeavors was relative; one's worldly status did not have to directly result from one's effort. The success-oriented Protestant conviction that hard work could bring wealth and material resources became part of the West European reformed communities. Clearly then, the emphasis on achievement and accomplishment in Reformed theology encouraged every Protestant to openly and unrestrainedly enjoy the fruits of his labor. In the Protestant ethic, wealth possession, if not excessive and if decently earned, marked a high social status and secured the respect of the community members. If the Catholic ethic has always promoted the attitude of self-satisfaction in relation to what one achieves, Puritanism propounded the idea that one could never be too wealthy. Hard work made material achievement, that is wealth, "a sacred product, spirited by human energy which transformed the quest for grace into the quest for money."[9]

There were many political, cultural, and technological causes that led to the European voyages of discovery, the primary cause being commercial. Gaining access to the Asian spice trade was a driving force behind the West European—Atlantic connection. Spices proved to be instrumental for economic growth, promising enormous potential profits. Salt was imported mainly from Portugal, but the other spices, such as cinnamon, nutmeg, ginger, pepper, and cloves, came from Africa, India, China, and the Spice Islands of the East Indies, that is South and Southwest Asia. As noted earlier, the prices of spices were especially high after the Fall of Constantinople, conquered by the Ottoman Sultan. The complicated organization of their transport across the Indian Ocean and overland through the Ottoman Empire, was conditioned upon the payment of heavy duties, imposed by the Ottoman Turks. Subsequently, the merchandise was transported to the Republic of Venice and later sent to other European trading centers.

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[9] Chylińska, *The Gospel of Work and Wealth*, 155. For a broader discussion of this issue, see 154–156.

Significantly, contacts of Europeans with other regions considerably intensified thereby contributing to the growth of knowledge about the rest of the world, and developing their national distinctiveness and identity. Islamic regions, bordering Europe to the east and south had become the source of antagonism and tensions, dated from the crusades in the twelfth century. Those medieval hostilities expanded into economic competition and conflicts with the Ottoman Empire, based on Europeans' unyielding pursuit of reaches and glory. In January 1492, Spanish Christians ousted the Muslims from Spain. The Moorish fortress of the kingdom of Granada fell to the Christian forces of King Ferdinand II of Aragon and Queen Isabella I of Castile, thus the Spanish Muslims lost their last foothold in Spain, and in 1502, the Spanish Crown ordered that all Muslims convert to Christianity. The *Reconquista* (or "reconquest") of Spain marked the beginning of the Spanish voyages of discovery, and it signified the royal support Columbus received from Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492 in Grenada, soon after its conquest. The discovery of the New World unequivocally precipitated the growth of the Spanish and Portuguese colonial empires.

By the time of the Spanish *Reconquista*, and Columbus' discoveries, the kingdoms of Portugal and of Castile had long been rivaling for position and possession of colonial territories along the African coast. In the early fifteenth century, the Portuguese quest for a sea route to India to participate in the lucrative spice trade was started by Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460), a younger son of King John I (João I, d. 1433) of Portugal, and an uncle of John I's successor, King Alfonse V (Afonso V, 1432–1481). Henry launched numerous expeditions to explore the West African coast and to control navigation there. He was particularly curious to know how far Muslim territories in Africa extended, hoping to circumvent them by sea and trade directly with Africa. He also searched the possibility of reaching the West Indies by sea route, and join the profitable spice commerce there. The fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks, also called Saracens,[10] was a blow to Christianity and to the established trade relations with the East. Significantly, in January 1455, Pope Nicholas V (r. 1447–1456), issued the bull *Romanus Pontifex*, a specimen of the Papacy's claim to spiritual lordship of the whole world, and to the role as an arbitrator among Christian nations, and between Christians and infidels. *Romanus Pontifex* reinforced

[10] "Saracen" was a term widely used among Christian writers in the Middle Ages. By the twelfth century, in Medieval Latin literature, the term had come to be associated with "Muslim." In the Western languages before the sixteenth century, "Saracen" was commonly used to refer to Muslim Arabs, whereas the words "Muslim" and "Islam" were not generally used.

Nicholas' previous bull *Dum Diversas* of June 1452, which had granted King Alfonse V of Portugal and his successors all lands south of Cape Bojador[11] in Africa, and authorized him to conquer Saracens and non-Christians (called "pagans"), consigning them to perpetual servitude.

Romanus Pontifex, written by the Pope to King Alfonse V as a follow-up to the previous bull, praised earlier Portuguese victories against the Muslims of North Africa. It also approved of the successful expeditions of discovery and conquest to the Azores and to Africa beyond Cape Bojador. The Bull is the most seminal of the papal statements pronounced at various times in the fifteenth century that assigned the Roman Catholic Kingdom of Portugal the task of exploring the coasts of Africa in search of an alternative route to India, with securing this route by establishing naval bases, and of converting infidels into Christianity. Significantly, the Bull initiated the so-called *mare clausum*[12] policy in the Atlantic. The Bull numerous times extolled the *Infante*, Prince Henry the Navigator, for his successful struggle against the Saracens, and for his effective spreading of the Christian faith. It also granted Portugal sovereignty over the lands acquired until that time and in future conquests beyond Cape Bojador, south of the Canary Islands. The Bull ordered that Christianity be also propagated in the newly-conquered territories. The following lengthy passages of the *Romanus Pontifex* signify the most fundamental substance of the Pope's message:

> "Nicholas, bishop, servant of the servants of God. For a perpetual remembrance.
>
> The Roman pontiff, successor of the key-bearer of the heavenly kingdom and vicar of Jesus Christ, contemplating with a father's mind all the several climes of the world and the characteristics of all the nations dwelling in them and seeking and desiring the salvation of all, wholesomely ordains and disposes upon

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[11] Cape Bojador (original Portuguese name "Cabo Boujdour"), also spelled Cape Boujdour, is an extension of the West African coast into the Atlantic Ocean, now part of the Western Sahara. The discovery of a passable route around Cape Bojador, despite its violent seas, in 1434, by the Portuguese navigator, Captain Gil Eanes, encouraged by Henry the Navigator himself, was considered a major breakthrough for European explorers and traders *en route* to Africa, and later to India. Traditionally, this promontory was accepted by cosmographers, cartographers and mariners, both Arab and Christian, to mark the furthermost southerly point on the coast of West Africa as far as which it was safe to navigate. After 1450, the area was disputed by both Portugal and Spain.

[12] *Mare clausum*, in Latin "closed sea," is a legal term used in international law to signify that a sea, ocean or any other navigable body of water under the jurisdiction of a state is closed or not accessible to other states. During the Age of Discovery, Portugal and Spain defended a *mare clausum* policy, which was soon challenged by other European nations.

careful deliberation these things which he sees will be agreeable to the Divine Majesty and by which he may bring the sheep entrusted to him by God into the single divine fold, and may acquire for them the reward of eternal felicity, and obtain pardon for their souls. This we believe will more certainly come to pass, through the aid of the Lord, if we bestow suitable favors and special graces on those Catholic kings and princes, who, like athletes and intrepid champions of the Christian faith, as we know by the evidence of facts, not only restrain the savage excesses of the Saracens and of other infidels, enemies of the Christian name, but also for the defense and increase of the faith vanquish them and their kingdoms and habitations, though situated in the remotest parts unknown to us, and subject them to their own temporal dominion, sparing no labor and expense, in order that those kings and princes, relieved of all obstacles, may be the more animated to the prosecution of so salutary and laudable a work.

We have lately heard, not without great joy and gratification, how our beloved son, the noble personage Henry, *Infante* of Portugal, uncle of our most dear son in Christ, the illustrious Alfonso [Afonso], king of the kingdoms of Portugal and Algarve, treading in the footsteps of John, of famous memory, king of the said kingdoms, his father, greatly inflamed with zeal for the salvation of souls and with fervor of faith, as a Catholic and true soldier of Christ, the Creator of all things, and most active and courageous defender and intrepid champion of the faith in Him, has aspired from his early youth with his utmost might to cause the most glorious name of the said Creator to be published, extolled, and revered throughout the whole world, even in the most remote and undiscovered and undiscovered places, and also to bring into the bosom of his faith the perfidious enemies of his and of the life-giving Cross by which we have been redeemed, namely the Saracens and all other infidels whatsoever, after the city of Ceuta, situated in Africa, had been subdued by the said King John to his domain, and after many wars had been waged, sometimes in person, by the said *Infante*, although in the name of the said King John, against the enemies and infidels aforesaid, not without the greatest labors and expense, and with dangers and loss of life and property, and the slaughter of very many of their natural subjects, the said *Infante* being neither enfeebled nor terrified by so many and great labors, dangers, and losses, but growing daily more and more zealous in prosecuting this his so laudable and pious purpose, has peopled with orthodox Christians certain solitary islands in the ocean sea, and has caused churches and other pious place to be there founded and built, in which divine service is celebrated. Also by the laudable endeavor and industry of the said *Infante*, very many inhabitants or dwellers in divers islands situated in the said sea, coming to the knowledge of the true God, have received holy baptism, to the praise and glory of God, the salvation of the souls of many, the propagation also of the orthodox faith, and the increase of divine worship."[13]

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[13] Pope Nicholas V, The Bull *Romanus Pontifex*, January 8, 1455, in *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648*, ed. Frances Gardiner Davenport (Washington, D.C.: 1917), doc. 1.

Portugal, in a natural way, was oriented toward the Atlantic Ocean. The fish and salt trades were the key sectors of the Portuguese economy. At the same time, due to their close proximity to Africa, the advanced Portuguese seafarers were the skillful explorers who penetrated the African coastline in search of possible sources of wealth, and ventured into other lucrative businesses there, such as trade in spices, gold, ivory, and slaves. The Portuguese naval expeditions to Africa were strongly encouraged and sponsored financially by Prince Henry the Navigator who also promoted the study of navigation, astronomy, cartography, and shipbuilding, as well as the advancement of navigational instruments, indispensable for sailors and explorers in their voyages of discovery through the Atlantic. The celebrated Prince Henry was the third surviving son of King John I and Philippa of Lancaster. Curiously enough, special significance was patriotically attributed by Samuel Purchas (1577–1625), an English author and compiler of travel accounts and discovery writings, to the fact that Henry was half-English by blood. However, the claim that the Prince's English Plantagenet descent was instrumental in his achievements as a promoter and benefactor of Portuguese oceanic expansion, and made him an honorary English discoverer, may have been a little exaggerated.[14]

Portuguese expeditions along the African coast, and the actual beginning of the Empire, started in August 1415, with the attack on Ceuta, openly glorified in the cited papal bull *Romanus Pontifex*. Ceuta, the Moroccan stronghold, was not only a major commercial port but also one of the strongest fortresses in the Mediterranean, controlling on the one hand the entrance to the Mediterranean Sea, and on the other, its exit to the Atlantic. Therefore, the attack, led by King John I and his son, Prince Henry, was made both for economic and strategic reasons; quite possibly, religious and crusading zealotry could have been the least important motives of that military action which employed the greatest fleet made up of about a hundred ships, many of them being foreign vessels—Castilian, Flemish, German, Breton, and English—and probably the largest army ever assembled by a Portuguese monarch.[15] Importantly, prior to the conquest of Ceuta, Morocco had been a *terra clausa* (a "prohibited land") for Christians, and in 1415, Ceuta opened to maritime trade with Europe.

Prince Henry's ambitions were continued by Alfonse's son, the 'Perfect Prince,' King John II (João II, r.1481–1495), who restored the policies of Atlantic exploration, verifying the accomplishments of his great-uncle. John II's

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[14] For Prince Henry the Navigator's biographical details and exploratory achievements, I am referring here and elsewhere to a great biography by Peter Russell, *Prince Henry 'the Navigator.' A Life* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 14.

[15] Russell, *Prince Henry 'the Navigator,'* 29–30.

vision was much more expansive than that of Prince Henry's. Under his reign, the Portuguese became the main European slave traders in the fifteenth century. John II further consolidated Portugal's claim to coastal Africa by declaring his country's exclusive control of the Guinea coast, and warning that all other European ships seized there would be sunk and their crews executed. In 1482, a large Atlantic coastal fortress (later known as the Elmina Castle), and trade post of São Jorge da Mina was established in present-day Ghana, then called the Gold Coast. The fortress, known as the Elmina Castle or simply Mina, was the first European trade settlement on the Gulf of Guinea, which later became one of the most important stops on the Atlantic slave trade route. Among the earliest crews who sailed to Elmina on trading ventures was Christopher Columbus; a century later, Martin Frobisher was jailed there. In 1487, King John financed the expedition of Bartholomeu Dias along the southern coast of Africa. In the following year, Dias discovered and passed the Cape of Good Hope, the southern tip of the African continent, named so by the King himself. But it was exactly ten years later that the Portuguese sailor and explorer, Vasco da Gama, as the first European, navigated to India through the Cape of Good Hope. His voyage to India in the years 1497–1499 initiated the sea route which connected the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans thus linking Europe and Asia—the West and the Orient. Vasco da Gama, shortly before his death in 1524, was appointed by John III (João III, r. 1502–1557) the Viceroy of Portuguese India.

However, by the time of Vasco da Gama's voyage, Columbus had already reached unchartered lands in the New World and the conflict between Portugal and Spain, the latter under the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, King Ferdinand II of Aragon and Queen Isabella I of Castile, started. John II claimed that the new lands belonged to Portugal under the terms of the Portuguese-Spanish Treaty of Alcáçovas of 1479. The treaty, ratified by Pope Sixtus IV, gave Portugal the monopoly over colonization and trade in territories south of the Canary Islands, including the African coastline and the known Atlantic islands, yet the discovery of new Atlantic territories thirteen years later obscured the terms of the Alcáçovas agreement. Eventually, the conflicting claims were settled in 1493, by Pope Alexander VI (r. 1492–1503), himself a Spanish from Valencia, by name Rodrigo Llançol de Borja y Borja (Italian: Rodrigo Borgia) who, in his bull *Inter Caetera*,[16] divided the world between Spain and Portugal. Immediately upon learning of the discoveries made by Columbus, and of the claims of Portugal to the newly discovered lands, Ferdinand and Isabella probably dispatched their own report of Columbus' accomplishments to the Holy See. In the consequence of the Catholic Monarchs' diplomatic activities, Pope Alexander, a friend of King Ferdi-

[16] *Inter Caetera* in Latin means "Among other [works]," the first two words of the bull.

nand, issued three bulls, dated the 3rd and the 4th of May, 1493, which were highly favorable to Spain. By the first *Inter Caetera* bull, the Pope assigned to the present and future sovereigns of Castile the lands discovered and to be discovered by their envoys, and not previously possessed by any Christian prince:

> "Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the illustrious sovereigns, our very dear son in Christ, Ferdinand, king, and our very dear daughter in Christ, Isabella, queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, and Granada […], as your illustrious deeds already known to almost the whole world declare, you not only eagerly desire but with every effort, zeal, and diligence, without regard to hardships, expenses, dangers, with the shedding even of your blood, are laboring to that end; recognizing also that you have long since dedicated to this purpose your whole soul and all your endeavors — as witnessed in these times with so much glory to the Divine name in your recovery of the kingdom of Granada from the yoke of the Saracens — we therefore are rightly led, and hold it as our duty, to grant you even of our own accord and in your favor those things, whereby with effort each day more hearty you may be enabled for the honor of God himself and the spread of the Christian rule.[…] We have indeed learned that you, who for a long time had intended to seek out and discover certain lands and islands remote and unknown and not hitherto discovered by others, to the end that you might bring to the worship of our Redeemer and profession of the Catholic faith their residents and inhabitants […]. [Y]ou, with the wish to fulfill your desire, chose our beloved son Christopher Columbus, whom you furnished with ships and men equipped for like designs, not without the greatest hardships, dangers, and expenses, to make diligent quest for these remote and unknown countries through the sea, where hitherto no one had sailed; and they at length, with divine aid and with the utmost diligence sailing in the ocean sea, through western waters, as is said, toward the Indians, discovered certain very remote islands and even mainlands, that hitherto had not been discovered by others; and therein dwell very many peoples living in peace, and, as reported, going unclothed, and eating flesh. […] Wherefore, after earnest consideration of all matters […], you have purposed with the favor of divine clemency to bring under your sway the said countries and islands with the residents and inhabitants, and to bring them to the Catholic faith. Hence, […]we exhort you very earnestly in the Lord […] enjoin strictly, that inasmuch as with eager zeal for the true faith you design to equip and dispatch this expedition […], to lead the peoples dwelling in those islands to embrace the Christian profession. […] [W]e, of our own accord, not at your instance […] do by tenor of these presents give, grant, and assign forever to you and your heirs and successors, kings of castile and Leon, all and singular the aforesaid countries and islands thus unknown and hitherto discovered by your envoys and to be discovered hereafter, provided however they at no time have been in the actual temporal possession of any Christian owner."[17]

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[17] Pope Alexander VI, The Bull *Inter Caetera*, May 3, 1493, in *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648*, doc. 5.

Importantly, the Pope safeguarded the concessions already made to Portugal with the proviso "that by this our gift, grant, assignment, and investiture no right acquired by any Christian prince is hereby to be understood to be withdrawn or taken away,"[18] and he confirmed the earlier Portuguese claims: "some kings of Portugal, likewise by apostolic grant made to them, have similarly discovered and taken possession of islands in the regions of Africa, Guinea, and the Gold Mine, and elsewhere."[19] Moreover, Ferdinand and Isabella were commanded to send "worthy and God-fearing, learned, skilled, and experienced men"[20] to instruct the inhabitants of these newly discovered lands in the Catholic faith and in good morals. The bull concludes with the exhortation that "under penalty of excommunication […] we strictly forbid all persons of no matter what rank, estate, degree, order, or condition, to dare, without any special permit or that of your aforesaid heirs and successors, to go for the sake of trade or any other reason whatever to the said islands and countries after they have been discovered and found by your envoys or persons sent out for that purpose."[21]

The bull *Inter Caetera* of the 4th of May, 1493 is, in some part, a restatement of the *Inter Caetera* bull of 3 May.The two later bulls cover the same ground as *Inter Caetera* of May the 3rd, for which they set up a substitute. However, the changes introduced into the May the 4th bull are of fundamental importance, and remain highly favorable for Spain. Instead of simply granting to the Queen of Castile the lands discovered by her envoys, and not under Christian rule, the revised bull draws a line of demarcation one hundred leagues west of any of the Azores or Cape Verde Islands, and assigns to Castile the exclusive right to acquire territorial possessions and to trade in all the lands west of that line, which at Christmas 1492, were not in the possession of any Christian prince. Moreover, the possible conflicting rights of Portugal were not, in any way, secured:

> "We […] do by tenor of these presents, should any of said islands have been found by your envoys and captains, give, grant, and assign to you and your heirs and successors, kings of Castile and Leon, forever, together with all their dominions, cities, camps, places, and villages, and all right, jurisdictions, and appurtenances, all islands and mainlands found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered towards the west and the south, by drawing and establishing a line from the Arctic pole, namely the north, to the Antarctic pole, namely the south, no matter whether the said mainlands and islands are found and to be found in the direction of India or towards any other quarter, the said line to be

[18] Pope Alexander VI, The Bull *Inter Caetera*, May 3, 1493.
[19] Pope Alexander VI, *Inter Caetera*, May 3, 1493.
[20] *Inter Caetera*, May 3, 1493.
[21] *Inter Caetera*, May 3, 1493.

> distant one hundred leagues towards the west and south from any of the islands commonly known as the Azores and Cape Verde. With this proviso, however, that none of the islands and mainlands, found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered, beyond that said line towards the west and south, be in the actual possession of any Christian king or prince up to the birthday of our Lord Jesus Christ just past from which the present year 1493 begins."[22]

Admittedly, the *Inter Caetera* bulls only further escalated the conflict between Spain and Portugal. Spain insisted that the Portuguese navigators refrain from visiting the regions beyond those reserved to Portugal, specified as Madeira, the Azores, Cape Verde and other islands discovered prior to the 1479 Alcáçovas Treaty, and the region from the Canaries down toward Guinea. However, no agreement could be reached because the Portuguese sailors were continually exploring the islands located within Spain's discoveries. Portugal felt aggrieved by the papal bull which designated as the eastern limit of the Spanish demarcation meridian only one hundred leagues, that is 555.6 kilometers, west of the Azores or Cape Verde Islands, considering the limits too narrow. King John II of Portugal demanded that another meridian be agreed on, farther to the west, half-way between the Cape Verde Islands and the lands discovered by Columbus. This new line of demarcation was finally accepted by Ferdinand and Isabella, and on June 7, at Tordesillas near Valladolid, the treaty between the two kingdoms was concluded. According to the Treaty of Tordesillas all lands lying east of a meridian 370 leagues (i.e. 2055.72 kilometers) west of the Cape Verde Islands, and discovered by Portugal, were to pertain to King John, whereas all lands west of the line, discovered by the Spanish navigators and explorers, were to pertain to Spain. If the sovereign of either country discovered lands within the bounds assigned to the other, he must surrender them to the other monarch:

> "Be it manifest and known to all who shall see this public instrument, that at the village of Tordesillas, on the seventh day of the month June, in the year of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ 1494 […], the lord and lady Don Ferdinand and Dofia Isabella, by the grace of God king and queen of castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, Granada, etc. […] and very excellent lord Dom John, by the grace of God king of Portugal and of the Algarves on this side and beyond the sea in Africa, lord of Guinea […] agreed that a boundary or straight line be determined and drawn north and south, from pole to pole, on the said ocean sea, from the Arctic to the Antarctic pole. This boundary or line shall be drawn straight, as aforesaid, at a distance of three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde

[22] Pope Alexander VI, The Bull *Inter Caetera*, May 4, 1493, in *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies to 1648*, doc. 7.

> islands. […] And all lands, both islands and mainlands, found and discovered already, or to be found and discovered hereafter, by the said King of Portugal and by his vessels on this side of the said bound determined as above, toward the east, in either north or south latitude, on the eastern side of the said bound, provided the said bound is not crossed, shall belong to, and remain in the possession of, and pertain forever to, the said Kind of Portugal and his successor. And all other lands, both islands and mainlands, found or to be found hereafter, discovered or to be discovered hereafter, which have been discovered or shall be discovered by the said King and Queen of Castile, Aragon, etc., and by their vessels, on the western side of the said bound, determined as above, after having passed the said bound toward the west, in either its north or south latitude, shall belong to, and remain in the possession of, and pertain forever to, the said King and Queen of Castile, Leon, etc."[23]

Not insignificantly, for the sake of peace the monarchs of both parties made a few surprising concessions and conciliatory arrangements: "inasmuch as the said ships of the said King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, etc., sailing as before declared, from their kingdoms and seigniories to their said possessions on the other side of the said line, must cross the seas on this side of the line, pertaining to the said King of Portugal, it is therefore concerted and agreed that the said ships of the King and Queen of Castile […], shall, at any time and without any hindrance, sail in either direction, freely, securely, and peacefully, over the said seas of the King of Portugal, and within the said line. And when ever their Highnesses and their successors wish to do so, and deem it expedient, their said ships may take their courses and routes direct from their kingdoms to any region within their line and bound to which they desire to dispatch expeditions of discovery, conquest, and trade. They shall take their courses direct to the desired region and for any purpose desired therein, and shall not leave their course, unless compelled to do so by contrary weather. They shall do this provided that, before crossing the said line, they shall not seize or take possession of anything discovered in his said region by the said King of Portugal; and should their said ships find anything before crossing the said line, as aforesaid, it shall belong to the said King of Portugal, and their Highnesses shall order it surrendered immediately."[24] The Treaty of Tordesillas was ratified by Spain on the 2nd of July, 1494, and by Portugal on the 5th of September of the same year. The Signatories on the part of Spain were Their Catholic Majesties Ferdinand II of Aragon, Isabella I of Castile and their

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[23] Treaty between Spain and Portugal, concluded at Tordesillas, June 7, 1494, in *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies to 1648*, doc. 9.

[24] Treaty between Spain and Portugal, concluded at Tordesillas, June 7, 1494.