# THE ABBÉ BRASSEUR DE BOURBOURG.

BY HERBERT B. ADAMS.

I.

### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

Charles Stephen Brasseur de Bourbourg, the historian, archæologist, philologist and ethnographer, was born at Bourbourg, in the north of France, on the 8th of September, 1814, and died at Nice, January 8, 1874. He was descended, on his mother's side, from the viscounts of Bourbourg. He studied at the College of Saint Omer and first appeared in literature as a writer of romances and moral tales. This period of his activity was from 1835 to 1840. He afterwards devoted himself in Ghent to philosophical and theological studies and continued the same in Rome, after travelling through Germany, Italy and Sicily.

In 1845, after two years at the Sapienza and the College of Rome, he took priestly orders and came to America with letters from the congregation of the Propaganda. tarried for a time in Boston and then went to Quebec where he served for one year as Professor of Church History in the Catholic Seminary, to which he had been called before His first contribution to American history leaving Rome. was a sketch of the life of Monsignor de Laval, the first bishop of Quebec, published, with a portrait, in that city in the winter of 1845-46. During this sojourn, Brasseur collected materials for two volumes, published in 1852, on the History of Canada, its Church and its Missions from the discovery of America to our own times. In the spring of 1846, he returned to Boston and remained there until the end of that year, perfecting his knowledge of English.

"In this city," said the Abbé, "a Frenchman always hears with pleasure the praises of an illustrious compatriot, Cardinal Cheverus, the first bishop. As for myself, Boston will never cease to be especially dear to my memory, on account of the generous hospitality which I received from Monsignor Fitzpatrick and from his worthy predecessor, Monsignor Fenwick, whose memory is cherished by all who knew him. It was in Boston that I first became acquainted with the American Indians, and first read the History of the Conquest of Mexico, by Mr. William Prescott. The reading of this delightful and instructive work helped to persuade me that my scientific calling was in the American field."

Fifteen years before this, when Brasseur was a mereyouth, he had read, with juvenile credulity, in the Gazette de France, of the discovery in Brazil of a tomb containing arms and a helmet of Macedonian origin, with an inscription in the Greek language. "From that time," he says, "he began to feel a lively interest in all new geographical facts relating to America." In the Journal des Savants, he had read an account of Rio's description of the ruins of the ancient city of Palenqué, in Guatemala. Brasseur says this account decided for him his archeological calling. These early influences together with the fame of Champollion's researches in Egypt, gave the young man a strong bias towards American archaeology; but it was the reading of our own Prescott, in the city of Boston, in the year 1846, that finally and definitely turned the mind of the young ecclesiastic towards Mexico and Central America.

Appointed Vicar-General by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Boston, Brasseur first returned to Rome to represent the Catholic Church of North America at the Papal court of Pius IX. Brasseur spent two winters in Rome devoting himself seriously to the study of American history. The library of the Vatican offered him its rich sources of information. There he examined the great work of Lord

Kingsborough, in nine folio volumes, on the Antiquities of Mexico. He also consulted the famous Mexican Codex, and a great number of rare documents preserved in the library of the Propaganda. Most interesting to him was the Codex Borgia, which he had found mentioned in the writings of Humboldt.

The revolution of 1848 was the occasion of Brasseur's leaving Rome and France for a second voyage to America. He visited New York, Niagara, and some of our interior cities. By way of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, following the grand route of the old French voyageurs and mentally criticizing the fanciful descriptions of Chatcaubriand, he went to New Orleans, whence he soon took passage for He met on shipboard M. le Vasseur, the French Minister, and went with him from Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico, where the young archeologist became the almoner of the French Legation. This position gave him a fine opportunity to study the history, manners and customs of the native Indian population, in which labors he was assisted by the director of the national museum, by the custodians of the vice-royal archives, and by the librarian of the University of Mexico.

In 1850 he travelled extensively in the interior provinces and devoted himself to a study of native dialects under the guidance of a professor in the College of San Gregorio, who professed to be a descendant of a brother of Montezuma. During these studies and travels in Mexico, Brasseur de Bourbourg made a fine collection of books, manuscripts and works of art and archæology. He became well versed in American antiquities, on which he was to become one of the chief European authorities. Feeling himself sufficiently master of his subject, he published in 1851, in the city of Mexico, in both French and Spanish, a work entitled "Letters Introductory to the Primitive History of the Civilized Nations of North America." He called this work the first fruit of his labors in Mexican history and archæology.

This book is now very rare, but a copy of it, presented by himself, is preserved in the library of Harvard College. This valuable contribution to American antiquities first gave Brasseur de Bourbourg an honored place among American archæologists, and made him known to Mr. E. G. Squier of New York, and M. Aubin of Paris, at that time the leading French authority upon Mexican antiquities.

In 1851 the Abbé returned to Europe and worked for two winters at Rome, in the Vatican library, prosecuting his archeological studies. In 1854, he crossed the Atlantic ocean for the third time. He visited Washington and there met Schoolcraft and Peter Force, who showed him the texts of Las Casas and Father Duran, copies of whose writings had been obtained from Madrid. The Abbé sailed in October from New York for Central America. Crossing the States of Nicaragua and San Salvador, he came in February, 1855, to Guatemala. The archbishop of that State, desiring to favor Brasseur's archeological and linguistic studies, appointed him ecclesiastical administrator of a great Indian village, Rabinal, where he lived for over a year, and enjoyed singular opportunities for a study of Here it was, he says, amid a population of seven thousand people speaking the Quiché language, that he learned not only to speak and write it, but to translate the most difficult documents. He gained the confidence of the Indians and in talking with them about their history, gradually learned their early traditions.

He took numerous excursions into different parts of the country for the purpose of learning local dialects and exploring the archæological remains of early civilizations. In the course of his travels in Central America he discovered many rare old manuscripts. The fruit of all these discoveries and original studies he began to publish in Paris, in 1857, in four volumes, completed in 1858, entitled The History of Civilized Nations of Mexico and Central America during the Centuries before Christopher Columbus.

"This work," he said, "was written from original and unpublished documents, drawn from ancient and native sources."

Mr. Winsor calls this the most important work of Brasseur de Bourbourg. Winsor says, "This was the first orderly and extensive effort to combine out of all available material, native and Spanish, a divisionary and consecutive history of ante-Columbian times in these regions, to which he added from the native sources a new account of the conquest by the Spaniards. His purpose to separate the historic from the mythical may incite criticism, but his views are the result of more labor and more knowledge than any one before him had brought to the subject. his later publications there is less reason to be satisfied with his results, and Brinton even thinks that 'he had a weakness to throw designedly considerable obscurity about his authorities and the source of his knowledge.'1 His fellowstudents almost invariably yield praise to his successful research and to his great learning, surpassing, perhaps, that of any of them, but they are one and all chary of adopting his later theories."2

In 1859, the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg was sent by the French government to Central America for the purpose of investigating its history, geography and antiquities. He visited, among other regions, the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, Guatemala, Chiapas and Mexico. He returned to France in October, 1860, after an absence of eighteen months, bringing with him valuable manuscripts and many things of interest. In 1861, he began to publish a great collection of original documents in the native languages of Central America for the illustration of their history and philology. This collection, in three volumes, octavo, was completed in 1864. Most important was the *Popol Vuh*, the sacred or national book of the Quichés, with their myths, traditions

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Brinton, Aboriginal American Authors, p. 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America, Vol. I., p. 171.

and heroic literature. In his preface to this work, the editor said that it was the first native American book to enter the paths of science, which had been open so long to similar works having their origin in the Orient. Brinton, in his Myths of the New World (p. 41), says, "Internal evidence proves that these legends [which compose the Popol Vuhl were written down by a converted native sometime in the seventeenth century. They carry the national history back about two centuries beyond what is professedly mythical." The sacred book of the Quichés was originally and imperfectly translated by a Dominican monk, Father Francisco Ximenes, about 1725. Brasseur de Bourbourg made a fresh translation, and says that his critical work was the result of original studies among the Quichés and other tribes in the year 1860. work embraces the Quiché text, with a French translation, accompanied by commentaries and philological notes. In the same series with the Popol Vuh, Brasseur de Bourbourg published a grammar of the Quiché language in French and Spanish, with illustrations of local dialects; also the Spanish text and French translation of the now famous History of Yucatan by Diego de Landa. script copy of this work, written by the first Spanish bishop in Central America, Brasseur discovered at Madrid, in the library of the Royal Academy of History. description of the ancient phonetic alphabet of the Maya language Brasseur found useful in interpreting the Troano manuscript, and both works were used by him for the dedecipherment of the hieroglyphic inscriptions upon the temples of Palenqué, Copan and other famous monuments. In connection with this history by Landa were published various historical documents with a grammar and vocabulary of the Maya language, and also an essay on the sources of the ancient history of Mexico and Central America.

In September, 1864, the Abbé was appointed member of a scientific commission for the historical and archeological 280

exploration of Mexico and Central America. At this time the French government was endeavoring to establish political ascendency in that region. From the days of the Alexandrine Conquest of the Orient to the English conquest of India, men of science have profited by military expeditions. The Abbé had carefully planned in advance the lines of exploration, for in the meantime he had visited Central America again in 1862. He and his artist companion, M. Henri, Bourgeois, went now to Yucatan. The explorers devoted several months to the study of the wonderful monuments and splendid ruins of that early seat of native civilization. The illness of the artist prevented the perfect execution of the Abbe's project, but he was able to visit many of the most interesting historic sites, pyramids and ruins of Central America and Mexico. He remained in those regions for about a year, encountering many difficulties on account of the political complications of France with the New The Emperor Maximilian endeavored to persuade Brasseur to remain in Mexico, and become the general superintendent of museums and libraries and the minister of public instruction, but the Abbé declined.

Although the French expedition was a political failure, the scientific results were of great value and are largely due to the intelligent labors of the man who was already master of the field. The archives of the commission contain several articles from his pen, among others his Sketches of History, Archeology, Ethnography and Linguistics, designed for the general instruction of the Mexican expedition; Letters upon the peninsula of Yucatan; Report on Yucatan and the Ruins of Ti-hoo and Izamal; and a report on the Ruins of Mayapan and Uxmal. interesting result of the French expedition was an illustrated work on the Ancient Monuments of Mexico, which was published in parts from 1864 to 1866. The text was furnished by Brasseur de Bourbourg and the designs by M. de Waldeck.

The Abbé Brasseur returned home by way of Cadiz and There he found a native American manuscript, now known as the manuscript Troano from the name of its owner, Don Juan de Tro y Ortolano, Professor of Palæography in the Madrid University, who allowed the Abbé to copy and publish the text. It was issued in two volumes, quarto, in 1869 and 1870, by order of the Emperor Louis Napoleon and under the direction of M. Duruy, minister of public instruction. The first volume contains an explanation of the graphical system of the Maya language, with a vast number of facsimile reproductions of their pictorial The second volume contains a grammar, vocabulary and choice selections from the Maya language. In his prefatory letter to M. Duruy, the Abbé explains the linguistic relation of this manuscript Troano to the Maya alphabet described in Landa's History of Yucatan. Abbé's somewhat fanciful interpretations have exposed him to many attacks from critics, but he published a final explanation and defence of his work in the Revue Archaeologique for March, 1870, and October, 1871, and in the preface to his catalogue, published that year. Dr. D. G. Brinton condemns the tendency of Brasseur to make American mythology the apotheosis of history, but while regretting the use made of good materials, he says, "all interested in American antiquities cannot too much thank this indefatigable explorer for the priceless materials he has unearthed in the neglected libraries of Spain and Central America and laid before the public."1

In December, 1872, the Abbé was commissioned to collect in Spain and South America a list of all the documents which concerned American antiquities, but in consequence of political events in Spain, he was not able to complete this work and returned to France in May, 1873. From this time his health, already somewhat impaired, became more feeble. He continued, however, his literary labors

<sup>1</sup> Brinton, Myths of the New World, p. 41.

and occupied the last year of his life in putting into perfect order the various parts of a catalogue, which was to describe all the collections of documents relating to the ancient history of America and preserved in the libraries of Spain. Notes for this catalogue had been furnished the Abbé by a Spanish scholar, Don Tomas Muñoz. The Abbé visited Rome for the last time in December, 1873, only about three weeks before he died at Nice.

### II.

## REMINISCENCES.

My acquaintance with the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg was formed in 1873 at the Hotel della Minerva, close by the One evening in the reading-room I met an English Catholic priest, who had come to Rome to defend the property of certain English Catholics, resident in Italy, from encroachment or confiscation by the Italian govern-I asked him some questions about Roman Catholic doctrines, in which I was historically interested, and he not only answered my queries with great kindness and intelligence, but introduced me to certain other ecclesiastics, who were either staying or visiting at our hotel. all talk French or a little English, and I used to play chess with some of them after dinner. In the daytime I visited Roman churches under their instructive guidance, and of course received by the way many intelligent explanations' of Catholic institutions and ceremonies. I was invited to dine with the president of the College of the Propaganda, and was on the way to a blessing from the Pope, when I suddenly determined to leave Rome. I was taken, the night before my departure, to the Pantheon, which was dimly lighted with tapers, while the moonlight struggled in through the round opening in the roof of that old pagan temple now converted into a Christian church. There to and fro with me walked my friendly priest, who had gone

over from the Church of England to the Church of Rome, and he talked Roman Christianity by the hour. At last he held me firmly by the hand and made me promise that at least I would always cultivate the society of good Catholics in Germany and America, even if I would not stay in Rome and study history at the college of the Propaganda.

Among the regular guests at the hotel, to whom I had been introduced by my English friend, was M. l'Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg. At his right hand, I had the honor of sitting every day at table d'hôte. I found him the most interesting man I had ever met, for up to that time I had never encountered a true cosmopolitan. Abbé told me that he spoke twelve different languages and had a reading acquaintance with more than twenty. Judging from his perfect command of English, German and Italian, I thought him a master of tongues. I heard him converse with persons of different nationality and apparently with as much ease and facility of expression as when he talked He said he had visited New England in English with me. his earlier years and knew Boston well. He recalled in a humorous way his dreary experience in that once Puritanical city of a Sunday afternoon, when he endeavored in vain to hire a carriage to visit some ecclesiastic in the suburbs.

He talked a great deal about his travels and archæological studies in Mexico and Central America. The point which impressed me most was that, in his opinion, many of the truths of modern science had been anticipated by the learning of those early peoples. He also impressed me with the fact that he never should have been able to obtain access to the rare collections of manuscripts and antiquities in Spanish America unless he had been a good Catholic. He said this with a kind of merry twinkle in his eye, which made me think he was something of a diplomatist and man of the world as well as a man of science and religion. He tried to persuade me to stay in Rome to study history, art and archæology. He said one could have as much intellectual

liberty in Italy as in Germany. It was only necessary, he thought, to have one's feet upon the rock of the historic church; one could then be as liberal and progressive as he pleased; the Church had room enough for scholars and scientific men; it was not necessary for a man educated at a Catholic institution in Rome to become a priest, or to devote himself to ecclesiastical interests. "For example," he remarked, "I am an Abbé in the Church but my ecclesiastical duties have always rested very lightly upon me." This too he said with a pleasant and rather amused expression.

He was a strikingly handsome man, with a good head, keen eyes, a very intelligent and attractive face, tall stature and courtly manners. He seemed to me a kind of scientific Talleyrand. You may imagine the personal influence which this most fascinating, scholarly Abbé exerted upon me, a young and inexperienced Puritan, fresh from Massachusetts and Amherst College. Every day after my return from walks in and about Rome he would renew his charming conversation and tell me of his own travels in He never failed to lead the conversation back to Rome and the historic attractions of the eternal city. gave me many valuable suggestions concerning objects of historic interest and places that I ought to visit. Sometimes we breakfasted together and I started out upon my morning rambles with words of helpful direction from the learned Abbé.

I stayed in Rome several weeks and it has sometimes been a source of wonder to me whether I should not have stayed there always, if I had been less of a New England Puritan. One of my classmates, Wyman, who went from Amherst College to Brown University in 1870, became a Roman Catholic priest under the influence of the historical lectures of that most catholic of all Americans whom I have ever seen or heard, the late Professor J. L. Diman, who in 1879, gave a remarkable course of twenty lectures in our Johns Hopkins University upon the Thirty Years' War,

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to the delight of Roman Catholics and the edification of Protestants. I believe it was said of Professor Diman that he was a Congregational minister, who married a Unitarian wife, had a pew in an Episcopal church, and taught Roman Catholic doctrines in a Baptist university! He was undoubtedly a broader Catholic than my cosmopolitan friend, the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg. I have never thought of the two men before in the same connection, but surviving memories of our well-known American scholar may perhaps give his countrymen some approximate idea of the genial character of the accomplished Frenchman, whom I was probably the last American to see.

### III.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The following bibliography of the writings of the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg was prepared from sources of information in the Peabody Library of Baltimore, and the American Antiquarian Society Library in Worcester. titles to his early romantic writings are given in an article on "Brasseur de Bourbourg" in the sixteenth volume, Supplement, of Pierre Larousse's Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIXº Siècle. A good list of his scientific writings may be found in Brasseur's "Bibliothèque Mexico-Guatémalienne." A more complete account, but with some errors and duplications, was published in Sabin's "Dictionary of Books relating to America," vol. II., under the head of "Brasseur de Bourbourg." Bandelier's "Notes on the Bibliography of Yucatan and Central America" may be seen in vol. I., new series, American Antiquarian Society Proceedings, pp. 82-128. Many references to the writings of Brasseur de Bourbourg and critical notices of his work . are given in Mr. Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," see Index to Vol. I. In this volume, page 170, there is a portrait of the Abbé, from an etching originally published in the Annuaire de la Société Américaine

de France, 1875. Suggestive materials for a biographical sketch of Brasseur de Bourbourg have been found in the prefaces to his own writings, particularly in the first volume of his "Histoire des Nations Civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique-Centrale" and his "Bibliothèque Mexico-Guatémalienne." An article on "The Abbé Brasseur and his Labors" by Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, appeared in Lippincott's Magazine, January, 1868. Frequent mention, both critical and appreciative, is made of the Abbé by Dr. Brinton in his "Myths of the New World" and his "Aboriginal American Authors." Suggestive reviews of Brasseur's services to science may be found in Dr. Brinton's "Critical Remarks on the Editions of Landa's Writings," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society XXIV. (Philadelphia, 1887), and "A Study of the Manuscript Troano by Cyrus Thomas, with an introduction by D. G. Brinton" (Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. V., Washington, 1882). Less skeptical of the scientific value of the Abbé's labors is the report made upon them by Dr. Samuel F. Haven to the American Antiquarian Society, October 21, 1870.

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Opuscules divers réunis, comprenant:

- —1° Aperçus d'un voyage dans les États de San Salvador et de Guatémala, lus dans la séance publique annuelle (de la Société de Géographie de Paris) du 17 avril 1857. 24 pp.
- —2° Notes d'un voyage dans l'Amérique Centrale, lettres à M. Alfred Maury, Bibliothécaire de l'Institut. Extrait des Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, août 1855. 31 pp.
- —3° Voyage de M. l'abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg à Tehuantepec, dans l'État de Chiapas, et son arrivée à Guatémala. Une lettre adressée à M. Brasseur par M. Vandegehuchte, ingénieur à Guatémala, avec une description topographique de cet État. Extrait des Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, année 1860. 24 pp. carte.
- —4° Quelques traces d'un émigration de l'Europe Septentrionale en Amérique dans les traditions et les langues de l'Amérique Centrale, lettre adressée à M. C. C. Rafn, secrétaire de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord à Copenhague. Extrait des Nouvelles Annales des Voyages. Décembre 1858. 32 pp.
- —5° Le mystère de l'île de Pâques, communication de M. V. A. Malté Brun à M. Brasseur de Bourbourg et réponse y relative, du 12 Janvier 1870. Extrait des Nouvelles Annales des Voyages.
- —6° Archéologie Américaine. Cours de M. Pabbé Brasseur de Bourbourg (Soirées littéraires de la Sorbonne). Antiquités du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale, etc. Extrait de la Revue des Cours Littéraires de la France et de l'Étranger. Mai 1864. 10 pp. à deux colonnes.
- --7° Lettre de M. E. G. Squier à propos de la lettre de M. Brasseur de Bourbourg, insérée au cahier des Annales d'août 1855. 15 pp.
- Bibliothèque Mexico-Guatémalienne précédée d'un coup d'œil sur les études Américaines dans leurs rapports avec les études classiques et suivie du tableau par ordre alphabétique des ouvrages de linguistique Américaine contenus dans le même volume, rédigée et mise en ordre d'après les documents de sa collection Américaine par M. Brasseur de Bourbourg. Paris, Maisonneuve & Cie., 1871.

In the introduction to this catalogue there are some interesting autobiographical statements by Brasseur regarding his early education at Ghent and Rome: "Les circonstances me firent venir à Gand, où je me retrouve, trente ans plus tard, imprimant le catalogue des documents réunis durant mes longues pérégrinations. C'est au séminaire de cette ville que, recueilli en moi-même sous la poussière d'une ancienne bibliothèque, dont mes supérieurs m'avaient fait l'honneur de me confier la réorganisation, j'appris à connaître et à apprécier les livres sérieux, qu'à peine on ouvre dans ce siècle de journaux insipides et de frivoles revues. Je n'eus pas l'avantage d'achever mon travail: mais ce que j'appris, en remuant ces trésors, est incalculable. Attentif, d'un autre côté, aux enseignements de doctes professeurs, j'accoutumai insensiblement mon espirit à une action plus grave et plus profonde et, ensuite, lorsque, à Versailles, sur la proposition de Mgr. Blanquart de Bailleul, depuis archevêque de Rouen, je fis le voyage de l'Italie et des pays voisins, je joignis, en les parcourant, pendant plusieurs

années, la pratique et l'observation personnelle à mes études antérieurs. Niebuhr et Nibbi à la main, j'étudiai dans la société du sage Visconti, Rome et la campagne, tout en écoutant, à la Sapienza et au Collége Romain, les savantes leçons des professeurs dont la Ville Éternelle a toujours eu la primauté, sous l'administration paternelle de ses Pontifes-Souverains. Tour à tour disciple de Passaglia, de l'archéologue Secchi, du sagace Bresciani, si profondement versé dans les antiquités phéniciennes et préhistoriques de la Sardaigne, sa patrie; disciple de Perrone, dont la voix me fit entrer, depuis, dans l'Académie de la Religion Catholique, visiteur assidu de la Bibliothèque Vaticaine, honoré de l'amitié et de la conversation des cardinaux Mai et Mezzofante, j'amassai peu à peu une variété de connaissances, dont l'ensemble s'enchaîna naturellement à celles que j'eus occasion d'acquérir plus tard au Mexique et dans l'Amérique Centrale."

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