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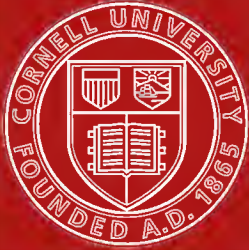
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PEDRALUAREZ CABRAL

PEDRALUAREZ CABRAL

(PEDRO ALLUAREZ DE GOUVEA)

HIS PROGENITORS HIS LIFE

AND

HIS VOYAGE TO AMERICA AND INDIA

BY

JAMES ROXBURGH McCLYMONT

M.A., AUTHOR OF 'PROBLEMATICAL FEATURES IN MAPS DESIGNED
BY MERCATOR AND DESCELIERS'

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ACCORDING to a family tradition the Cabraes were descended from a certain Carano or Caranus, the first king of the Macedonians and the seventh in descent from Hercules. Carano had been instructed by the Delphic Oracle to place the metropolis of his new kingdom at the spot to which he would be guided by goats and when he assaulted Edissa his army followed in the wake of a flock of goats just as the Bulgarians drove cattle before them when they took Adrianople. The king accordingly chose two goats for his cognisance¹ and two goats *passant* gules on a field argent subsequently became the arms of the Cabraes. Herodotus knows nothing of Carano and the goats. Another and a more probably true tradition is to the effect that this family is descended from a Castilian one—the Cabreiras²—and the origin of the Coat of Arms is thus explained. A certain fidalgo who was commander of a fortress at Belmonte was with the garrison being starved into submission by investing forces. Two goats were still alive in the fortress. These were killed by order of the commander, cut into quarters and thrown to the enemy, whereupon the siege was raised as it was considered by the hostile commander that it was of no use to attempt to starve a garrison which could thus waste its provisions. It is also narrated that the son of the Castellan was taken prisoner and slain and that the horns and beards of the heraldic goats are

¹ Brandão, *Monarchia Lusitana*, IV. 456-7.

² Frei Gonçalo Velho por Ayres de Sá. Lisboa, 1899-1900, II. p. 424.

sable as a token of mourning in consequence of this event. Examples of the coat of arms may be seen in the church of São Thiago at Belmonte¹ and, almost wholly effaced, on a flat tombstone opposite the chapel of Our Lady of the Rosary in the north nave of the Old Cathedral of Coimbra and in the Sala das Armas of the Palace of Cintra. The last-named escutcheon was painted during the reign of Emmanuel. We are not to suppose that the navigator used these arms. That privilege would belong to his elder brother, João Fernandez Cabral.

The earliest Cabral known to history is Gil Alvares de Cabral who lived in the reigns of Affonso II. (1211-1223) and Sancho II. (1223-1248). He married his cousin Maria Gil de Cabral and had a son called Pedro Annes who may have been the Pedro Annes who was First Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Affonso III. (1248-1279). A Pedre Annes Cabral is mentioned in a Contract or Agreement between Dom Affonso, Lord of Portalegre, a son of Affonso III. and the Knights of the Order of Aviz respecting certain property which the prince had in São Vicente de Elvas. This document is dated September, 1288, and was therefore signed in the reign of Diniz (1279-1325). Brandão is of opinion that this Pedre Annes was not the Pedro Annes who held the office of Reposteiro mór.²

A son of Pedro Annes Cabral was named Ayres Cabral. His name appears in two documents which are preserved in the *Arquivo do Torre do Tombo*. In one of these he claims the privileges of a place of asylum for Rial in the parish of São Martinho do Valle.³ The other document records the act of homage which Ayres Cabral rendered in respect of the Castle of Portalegre. It would appear that Ayres Cabral had originally held the Castle from Dom Affonso, a brother of Diniz, and that, with the consent of the prince, Ayres was to be

¹ The goats on this escutcheon are sable.

² *Monarchia Lusitana*, IV. 456-7.

³ *Inquirições no julgado de Vermuim*; Liv. 8° de *inquirições de D. Diniz*, fl. 53; Liv. 1° de *inquirições de Alem Douro*, fl. 180 v. (*Frei Gonçalo Velho*, I. 27.)

relieved of his obligations towards him and was thenceforward to hold the Castle by virtue of an act of homage paid to the king. The document is dated 15th of December, 1325.¹ Ayres Cabral married Catharina de Loureiro and had a son named Alvaro Gil Cabral.

Alvaro Gil Cabral was an ardent supporter of the claim of the Master of Aviz to the throne and took part in his election as João I. (1385-1433) when the Cortes assembled at Coimbra for the purpose of electing a king. Alvaro Gil was alcaide mór or governor of the Castle of Guarda and refused to surrender it to the Castilian sovereign Juan I. when he invaded Portugal, seeking to place upon the throne his wife Beatriz, daughter of the defunct king, Fernando. Her succession to the throne would have involved the union of the two kingdoms to which all patriotic Portuguese were vehemently opposed.

La Guarda, of which he was Governor, was founded in 1199 by Sancho I. It is situated in the northern division of the province of Beira, known as Beira Alta, in a mountainous district and its castle was regarded as one of the important fortresses of the kingdom. The bestowal of the alcaideria mór of La Guarda by Fernando in 1383 upon Alvaro Gil Cabral marks the commencement of the connection of the Cabral family with the province of Beira in public capacities—a connection which was to endure for many generations. João I. was a grateful monarch who showered benefits upon his supporters and the good results of the support given by Alvaro Gil were speedily observable. The grants of land and of offices are so numerous that we cannot enter at length into the subject in a memoir which purports to be a biographical note on Pedralvarez Cabral, not a history of the Cabral family. I will therefore merely indicate the purport of those deeds which are reproduced in the work of Senhor Ayres de Sá, following a chronological order.

1. Appointment of Alvaro Gil Cabral as alcaide mór of the Castle

¹ Chancellaria de D. Diniz, Liv. 1.^o, fl. 216 v. (Frei Gonçalo Velho, I. 38-43.)

of La Guarda in place of the Count Dom Henrique by Fernando, king of Portugal and Algarve. Lisbon, 22nd of June, 1383. Chancellaria de D. Fernando, Liv. 3º, fl. 77 v.

2. Grant of the Lands of Zurara to Alvaro Gil Cabral and his heirs by João I. Lisbon, 27th of March, 1384. Chancellaria de D. João I., Liv. 1º, fl. 4.

Azurara-da-Beira, or Zurara in archaic form, is situated about ten miles south-west of Vizeu in a district of which Mangoalde is the principal town.

3. Grant of 180 libras payable by the municipality of Valhelhas and 150 libras payable by the municipality of Manteigas by João I., Lisbon, 10th of May, 1384. Chancellaria de D. João I., Liv. 1º, fl. 10 v.

Manteigas is situated about twelve miles north of Covilhã on the Serra da Estrella, and is one of the most elevated localities in the Serra. Its name is said to be derived from the butter (*manteiga*) which it produced in abundance. Valhelhas is situated about eight miles north of Covilhã.

4. Grant to Alvaro Gil Cabral of the village of Folhada hard by Gouvea with all royal dues there payable. Lisbon, 9th of August, 1384, Chancellaria de D. João I., Liv. 1º, fl. 50.

5. Grant of the lands of Tavares in the almoxarifado (district controlled by one Receiver of Customs) of Lamego. Alemquer, 9th of November, 1384. Chancellaria de D. João I., Liv. 1º, fl. 74.

Lamego is situated about seventy miles east of Oporto.

6. Grant by João I. during his good pleasure of all dues paid by the town of La Guarda. Coimbra, 7th of April, 1385. Chancellaria de D. João I., Liv. 1º, fl. 135 v.

7. Grant to Alvaro Gil Cabral and his heirs of the estate of Santo André in the judicial district of Zurara. Coimbra, 12th of April, 1385. Chancellaria de D. João I., Liv. 1º, fl. 136 v.

8. Grant of the lands of Moimenta to Alvaro Gil Cabral confirming a previous Grant made by the King's Procurator, Ruy Pereira.

Coimbra, 19th of April, 1385. Chancellaria de D. João I., Liv. 1º, fl. 136 v.

Moimenta is situated about twenty-eight miles south-east of Lamego and on the outskirts of the Serra de Carapita.

Genealogists are not agreed regarding the name of the wife of Alvaro Gil Cabral. In the *Livro das Linhagens* of Damião de Goes, continued by D. Antonio de Lima, his wife is called Maria Eanes de Loureiro.¹ In a genealogical account of the Cabraes it is stated that a daughter of Diogo Affonso de Figueiredo and Constança Rodriguez Pereira was married to Alvaro Gil.² Perhaps he was married twice. Among his children by the daughter of Diogo Affonso de Figueiredo were Luiz Alvares, Brites Alvares who married João Peixoto and Maria Alvares, who married Fernão Velho, and became the mother of Gonçalo Velho who was one of the discoverers of the Azores.

From the public gardens at Covilhã one enjoys an extensive prospect over an undulating champaign towards the Serra das Mesas on the west and north-west. The Zezere waters this tract on its way to join the Tagus at Abrantes. At the north-eastern extremity of the range and at the distance of about twelve miles stands a hill detached from it and crowned by the ruins of the ancient castle of Belmonte around which cluster historic memories; on the slope below the castle, towards the south-west, the village lies.

Belmonte Castle, as we will learn shortly, was built by a Bishop of Coimbra and there is documentary evidence to prove that it was in the possession of a Bishop of Coimbra in 1387, only ten years before it was granted in perpetuity to Luis Alvares Cabral and his heirs male. The document to which I allude gives us a curious insight into the customs of the times and also establishes the fact that Belmonte was an appanage of the See of Coimbra and I shall therefore translate a portion of it as follows :—

¹ Cópia de 1600 a 1633, p. 54. (Frei Gonçalo Velho, II. 106.)

² Torre do Tombo, Livraria 21-F-11 (Frei Gonçalo Velho, II. 114.)

‘ Dom Joham, by the grace of God King of Portugal and Algarve, to all to whom this letter shall come we make known that Dom Martinho, Bishop of Coimbra, [a member] of our Council, has informed us that his Castle of Belmonte has lost many inmates owing to this war and has prayed us to give asylum in it to twenty refugees that they may remain there and repeople that place and assist him in defending it and, seeing that he who thus prayed came to us and begged us to show him favour, we hold it good and we command that twenty men,—not more,—who have been fugitives for any offences and crimes whatsoever that they may have committed or with which they are charged and who will come thither in order to settle in and remain in the said Castle of Belmonte, shall receive asylum there and shall not be arrested in that place nor within its boundaries, provided always that the aforesaid offences and crimes do not amount to treachery or treason and that the said fugitives be not [natives] of that place or policy. Moreover we decree that the magistrates of the aforesaid Belmonte and the Council may give leave once each year and not oftener to the said refugees to go away in an orderly manner for two months or a little more in order to receive by our authority provisions and other things which they may require and shall give them for this purpose their letter, sealed with the seal of the said Council and if they go away holding the said licence or come and go within the said place [Belmonte] and its boundaries, we command all our officers of justice not to arrest them nor to do them any harm nor injury because of the aforesaid offences and crimes but this is not to hold good if, after being in the aforesaid place, they go out and perpetrate other offences and crimes than those which have been pardoned, in which case the said asylum shall not be available and in testimony hereof we ordain that these letters patent be given him [to the Bishop of Coimbra]. Given in the city of Braga on the fifteenth day of November by command of the King—Martym Gomçalluez executed this—in the

Era [of Augustus] one thousand four hundred and twenty-five years.'¹ [A.D. 1387.]

We know not precisely how the lordship of Belmonte came to be transferred from the Bishops of Coimbra to the House of Cabral.² The Marquis de Ruvigny in his work, 'The Nobilities of Europe,' states that rights of primogeniture constituting Belmonte a 'morgado' or entailed estate were granted in a document bearing the date 9th of May, 1397.³ It is not stated in whose favour the deed was granted but there is no doubt that Luis Alvares Cabral, the son of Alvaro Gil Cabral, was made first Lord of Belmonte of the family of Cabral by João I., for evidence to prove that Alvaro Gil died previously to the 6th of October, 1385, is contained in a grant of that date of Zurara, Valhelhas, Manteigas and Moimenta to Fernão Alvares Cabral in which the earlier grant to Luis Alvares is quoted and also in the renewed grant of Belmonte Castle to Fernão Cabral in which Fernão de Alvares Cabral and Luis Alvares Cabral are mentioned as the two previous grantees.⁴ The date of this document is 20th of September, 1466. That which is most remarkable concerning Luis Alvares is that he held the office of Comptroller of the Household (Veador) of Dom Henrique⁵ and was present with him at the taking of Ceuta in 1415 and thus brought the family of which he was a member into that close connection with the mercantile policy of the kings of Portugal of the House of Aviz which was to result in the appointment of Pedralvarez Cabral as commander of the second Indian fleet. Luis Alvares married, first, Constança Annes, of whom were born Fernão de Alvares, Izabel and Beatris. His second wife, of whom no offspring was born, was Leonor Dominguez. As the

¹ Chancellaria de D. Affonso V. Liv. 23º, fl. 58 and Liv. 37º, fl. 7 v. (Frei Gonçalo Velho, I. pp. 279, 280.)

² A little information is furnished by Appendix A. ³ Vol. I. p. 157.

⁴ Chancellaria de Affonso V., Liv. 16, fl. 144 v. (Frei Gonçalo Velho, I. pp. 248, 249.)

⁵ Frei Gonçalo Velho, II. p. 125.

grant of the lands of Zurara-de-Beira and of the estate of Santo André was confirmed to Fernão de Alvarez Cabral by Dom Duarte in 1433 it is probable that Luis Alvarez Cabral died in that year.

The head of the family next after Luis Alvarez Cabral was the grandfather of Pedralvarez and was named Fernão Alvarez. We find his name in three deeds or royal grants. By virtue of an instrument dated 8th of December, 1433, Dom Duarte confirms the grant of Moimenta,¹ in another deed of the same date the king confirms the grant of the lands of Zurara in Beira and Manteigas and of the quinta of Santo André² and finally the grants of Zurara, Valhelhas, Manteigas and Moimenta are confirmed by Affonso V. in a deed dated 20th of March, 1449.³ Fernão Alvarez was also Lord of Belmonte. He married Tareja or Thereza de Navaes, daughter of Ruy Freire de Andrade and granddaughter of Dom Nuno Freire, Master of the Order of Christ; she was the widow of Estevão Soares de Mello. Fernão, father of Pedralvarez Cabral, was their son. There was also a daughter or, according to some genealogists, a stepdaughter named Aldonça, who, although known as Aldonça Cabral, may have been a daughter of Estavão Soares de Mello.

When the expedition to Ceuta was organized in 1415 Prince Henry made Luis Alvarez Cabral Captain of one of the ships of the fleet. The position of Veador in immediate attendance upon the prince was thus temporarily vacant and the youthful Fernão Alvarez was selected by the prince to take his father's place and to accompany him in his galley to Ceuta. But when the vessel was in the Straits of Gibraltar the young man fell seriously ill. Prince Henry proposed to disembark him at Tarifa in order to increase his chance of recovery but the sick man protested against removal from the prince's galley and was permitted to

¹ Chancellaria de D. Duarte, Liv. 1º, fl. 50 v. (Frei Velho, I. pp. 209-211.)

² Chancellaria de D. Duarte, Liv. 1º, fl. 51 (Frei Velho, I. pp. 211-212.)

³ Chancellaria de D. Affonso, Liv. 34º, fl. 183 v. (Frei Velho, I. pp. 216-223.)

remain. After his recovery, which must have been speedy and after the capture of Ceuta, he went to that city and remained there for several years, during which time he distinguished himself on various occasions in combats against the Moors. He became the Guarda mór (Captain of the Body Guard) of Prince Henry and died (says Fernam Lopez) subsequently to the siege of Tangiers. As according to Fernam Lopez Fernão Alvarez was at the time of his death still in the service of Prince Henry and as Prince Henry died in 1460 the chronicler must allude to the first siege of Tangiers which took place in 1437.¹

A list of documents relating to Fernão Cabral will convey an idea of the active life led by the father of the discoverer and eldest son of Fernão Alvarez Cabral.

1. Letters patent granting to Fernão Cabral the patronage of the Church of São Gíao (? João) of Azurara upon his estate and requiring the Bishop of Vizeu to ratify presentations to that church made by Fernão Cabral or his heir. Santarem, 30th of April, 1462. Chancellaria de D. Affonso V., Liv. 1º, fl. 75 v.

2. Injunction to the Corregedor and subordinate judicial officers of Beira and Riba de Cóa to accept the appointment of Fernão Cabral as Regedor da Justiça and to obey him and his Ouvidor as they would obey the King. Castello Branco, 2nd of November, 1464. Chancellaria de D. Affonso V., Liv. 8º, fl. 43.

3. Grant of annual allowance of 28,800 reis brancos to Fernão Cabral, being a sum equal to his moradia. Castello Branco, 8th of November, 1464. Chancellaria de D. Affonso V., Liv. 8º, fl. 43 v.

4. Letters patent granted to Fernão Cabral by which all Corregedors and all other officers of justice are required to restrain all persons from making requisitions or possessing manors in the

¹ Fernam Lopez, *Chronica del Rey D. João I.*, Parte III. cap. clx. Lisboa, 1644.

lands of Zurara which are the property of the Crown. Castello Branco, 8th of November, 1464. Chancellaria de D. Affonso V., Liv. 8º, fl. 43 v.

5. Ratification of a Contract made between Fernão Cabral on the one part and Vasco Fernandez de Gouvêa and Lianor Gomçalvez on the other part regarding what was due to him on his marriage and regarding the shares of the property which fell to Vasco Fernandez and Lianor Gomçalvez on the death of João de Gouvêa and the share which would fall to Vasco Fernandez on the death of his mother aforesaid. Castello Branco, 10th of November, 1464. Liv. 2º da Beira, fl. 33.

The Contract is approved by Affonso V. Fernão Cabral married Izabel de Gouvêa, daughter of João de Gouvêa who was alcaide mór of Castello Rodrigo and lord of Almendra and Valhelhas. Lianor Gomçalvez was his wife and Vasco Fernandez his son. Izabel de Gouvêa appears to have been a widow when she was married to Fernão Cabral, and to have been previously the wife of Vasco Fernandez de Sampayo.¹ Castello Rodrigo was a frontier fortress near the Côa about twenty miles north-east of Troncoso. Almendra is about twenty-eight miles north-east of Troncoso, four miles east of the river Côa and is in the neighbourhood of three rivers, the Côa, the Aguiar and the Douro, which render the district a fertile one. Valhelhas is situated on the eastern slope of the Serra da Estrella in a valley watered by the Zezere. It was sold by Luis Alvarez Cabral together with Tavares² and became either then or subsequently the property of the head of the Gouvêa family. I do not find any intimate connection between the Gouvêa family and the small town of the same name on an outlying portion of the Serra da Estrella any more than I find a connection between the Cabral family and Cabra, a village on the Douro, south-east of Vizeu.

¹ Chancellaria de D. Affonso V., Liv. 10º, fl. 106 (Frei Velho, I. pp. 360, 361.)

² Chancellaria de Affonso V., Liv. 34º, fl. 183 v. (Frei Velho, I. p. 219.)

Govea was the name of a distinguished rector of the University of Coimbra who flourished under João III.

6. Authority to convey to Fernão Cabral, member of the King's Council, Regedor da Justiça of the Comarca of Beira, the sequestrated property of João Fernandes, resident in Freixo de Espada Cinta, who took some sheep to Castile without the King's authority. Oporto, 29th of January, 1466. Chancellaria de D. Affonso V., Liv. 14º, fl. 6 v.

7. Conveyance to Fernão Cabral of the Castle of Belmonte that he may hold the same 'as his father Fernão de Alvares Cabral and his grandfather Luis Alvares Cabral held it,' and appointment of Fernão Cabral as alcaide mór of the said Castle. Evora, 20th of September, 1466. Chancellaria de Affonso V., Liv. 16º, fl. 144 v.

Senhor Ayres de Sá remarks that no confirmation is to be found of the statement that the Cabraes held the Castle of Belmonte without rendering homage in respect of it.¹

The Castle appears to have been built in the thirteenth century as appears from letters patent granted by Affonso III. to Dom Egee of the following import :—

'Let all who shall see these presents know that I Affonso, by the grace of God King of Portugal and Count of Boulogne, command and permit Dom Egee, Bishop of Coimbra, to make a Tower in Belmonte and to build his Castle of Belmonte and there to exercise his functions. In evidence whereof I have granted to him these my letters patent. Given at Guimarães the third day of the Kalends of April. By order of the King given by Dom Egidio Martin, majordomo of the Royal Household. Dominico Petri drew this up. 1266.'²

The 'Dom Egee' of this charter became Archbishop of Santiago. His surname was Fafes and he was descended from a certain Count Dom Fafes Sarracins and Dona Ouroana Mendes de Bragança.

¹ Frei Velho, I. p. 249, n. 1.

² MS. iluminado no. 98 da Bibliotheca Nacional, p. 72 (Frei Velho, II. p. 130, n. 1.)

8. Grant of all the rents, quitrents and duties payable in the town of Belmonte to Fernão Cabral, fidalgo of the Royal Household, Regedor das Justiças of the Comarca of Beira and alcaide mór of the Castle of Belmonte and to his successors, being eldest legitimate male children. Evora, 24th of September, 1466. Chancellaria de D. Affonso V., Liv. 22º, fl. 30 v.

9. Letter granting to Fernão Cabral, fidalgo of the Royal Household, Regedor das Justiças of the Comarca of Beira and Riba de Cõa, the privilege of grazing not more than twenty mares in the parks and pasture-grounds of any cities or towns. Lisbon, 20th of July, 1469. Chancellaria de D. Affonso V., Liv. 31º, fl. 98.

10. Grant of an annual allowance of 26,000 reis brancos to Fernão Cabral, member of the King's Council, Regedor da Justiça in the Comarca of Beira, in consideration of the services he has rendered to the King. Lisbon, 1st of October, 1471. Chancellaria de D. Affonso V., Liv. 16º, fl. 144 v.

11. Letters patent of Dom Affonso V. reserving Monte de Crestados within the bounds of Belmonte as a Royal Park and appointing Fernão Cabral Chief Ranger. Lisbon, 6th of October, 1471. Chancellaria de D. Affonso V., Liv. 16º, fl. 144 v.

12. Letter to Fernão Cabral requiring the magistrates of Colmeal and others to maintain the rights and privileges of Fernão Cabral in Colmeal, inherited by him on the death of Vasco Fernandez de Gouvêa, Torres Vedras, 19th of August, 1476. Chancellaria de D. Affonso V., Liv. 7º, fl. 43 v.

In the 'Diccionario geographico' of Padre Luiz Cardoso is a brief description of the Castle of Belmonte as it was in the middle of the eighteenth century. 'The castle,' he writes, 'consists of one high tower with two large windows, one towards the South, another towards the West; it is square and the apartments of the Lord of the Castle are continuous with it. The whole is fortified, having a wall of masonry round it and it is further strengthened by bastions

which are preserved to this day to some height.¹ Of the divisional walls and roofs scarcely anything now remains.

In this seignorial residence and in this judicial atmosphere it is almost certain that Pedralvarez first breathed the air. Various attempts have been made to fix approximately the date of his birth. We find in Brockhaus's 'Konversations Lexicon' a statement to the effect that he was born about 1460. Senhor J. A. d'Oliveira Mascarenhas in his novelette, 'O Brazil,' has a note to the effect that Pedro Alvares was born at Belmonte in 1467. This date is in all probability approximately correct for it may be remembered that the Contract of Marriage between Fernão Cabral and Izabel de Gouvêa was ratified in 1464 and that Pedralvarez was the second son and perhaps the second child of this marriage.

There is perhaps no distinguished discoverer regarding whose life, apart from his discoveries, we know so little as we do regarding the life of Pedralvarez Cabral. We know only that he was the son of an important judicial functionary, that he was one of a somewhat large family—there were four sons besides Pedralvarez and two daughters—that his wife Izabel was a member of a noble family and that his wife, two sons and one daughter or two daughters survived him. The names and matrimonial alliances of the children of João Fernandez Cabral are known and may be appropriately mentioned before we proceed to a consideration of the voyage which was to make Pedralvarez famous.

João Fernandez Cabral married Joanna de Castro, daughter of Rodrigo de Castro, Lord of Valhelhas and Almendra. His second son Jorge had a distinguished career. He went to India, where, after many years of service, he was appointed Capitão mór of the Malacca seas in 1524 and he was Chief Captain of the Indian fleet which sailed in 1536 and Captain of the fortress of Bassein in 1545, where he was when, on the death of Garcia de Sá in 1549, he became

¹ Tom. II. p. 143.

Governor of India and held that office until the arrival of Dom Affonso de Noronha as Viceroy in the following year. The other sons were Jorge Dias, Vasco Fernandez and Luis Alvarez and the daughters were Violante, who was married to Luis da Cunha, Lord of Santar (? Santarem) and Barriero and Brites, who was married to Dom Pedro de Noronha, a son of Dom Pedro de Menezes, first Marquez de Villa Real and alcaide mór of Almeida. Pedralvarez married at a date which I do not find recorded but certainly prior to his voyage to India¹ Isabel de Castro, daughter of Dom Fernando de Noronha, Comptroller of the Household of the Infanta Dona Joanna and niece of Dom Pedro de Noronha, Lord High Steward of João II., alcaide mór of Obidos and Grand Commander of the Order of São Thiago. The mother of Isabel de Castro was Constança de Castro. The children of Pedralvarez of whom we will hear again were Fernão Alvarez, Antonio, Catharina and Guimar. Of the youth of Pedralvarez we know almost nothing. But it is possible that he is the 'Pedrallvarez' who drafted the grant from João II. to Fernam Dominguez de Arco of the governorship of a certain island which he had discovered, the name of which is not mentioned. The document is dated Santarem, 30th of June, 1484.² We know that in that year Pedralvarez and João Fernandez, his eldest brother, were 'moços fidalgos' and received moradias from João II.³

A year later Columbus offered his services to King João II. and proposed to lead an expedition to India by sailing to the westward. It has sometimes been made a matter of reproach to King João II. that he did not accept the proposal made by Columbus. But it should be remembered that the discovery of an eastward route to India had become a certainty owing to the fact made known by

¹ Correa, *Lendas da Índia*, I. p. 226.

² Alguns documentos do Torre do Tombo, p. 56.

³ Livro das moradias do Senhor Rey D. João II. in *Provas da Historia genealogica* por D. A. C. de Sousa, II. p. 181.

João Peres de Covilham that the south of Africa could be passed and the King may well have thought that it would be imprudent to abandon a certainty in favour of an uncertainty. Moreover, it would have been impolitic in the circumstances in which his country then was to have committed it to the accomplishment of two gigantic schemes which might have exhausted its treasury if carried through simultaneously.

The proposals of Columbus were rejected but the efforts to complete the discovery of the eastward route to India were prosecuted with all the greater vigour. In 1497 the fleet sailed which was to accomplish the great task.

Vasco da Gama returned to Lisbon on the 29th of August, 1499 and preparations were made forthwith for the dispatch of a second fleet to Calicut. The second expedition was of a less purely commercial character than the first, for the Rajah of Calicut, if he should prove contumacious, was to be punished and irreconcilable Arabs to be brought into subjection. The ships constituted therefore an armada as well as a flotilla; it is probable that some of the vessels were equipped with heavy armament such as bombardas and culverins. Some of the vessels of the second Indian fleet may have been merchantmen freighted by merchants or mercantile firms and permitted by the king to accompany the fleet under conditions such as are preserved for us by João de Barros who writes in his relation of the voyage of João da Nova to India in 1501 with four ships: 'The captains of the other ships' (than that of Da Nova himself) 'were Dioga Barbosa, servant of Dom Alvaro, brother of the Duke of Brangança for the ship was his and Francisco de Novaes, servant of the king and the other captain was Ferñao Vinet, a Florentine by nation, because the ship in which he sailed belonged to Bartholomeu Marchioni, who was also a Florentine, a resident in Lisbon and the richest the city had produced at that period. In order that those of this kingdom who were engaged in commerce

might have a trade open to them, the king ordained that they should be permitted to freight vessels for those parts, some of which have sailed and others are laded and this method of bringing spices is still employed. And, seeing that upon those persons to whom the king granted this concession it was imposed as a condition in their contracts that they must present for the approval of the king the captains of the ships or barques which they freighted and whose appointments were to be confirmed by the king, they often proposed persons selected rather because they were well fitted for the business of the voyage and the charge laid upon them than because they were of noble blood.¹ Evidence that one of the vessels which accompanied the fleet commanded by Cabral was freighted by a Lisbon merchant is contained in a letter from D. Cretico,² Envoy from Venice to the King of Portugal, dated 27th of June, 1501 and written to an unnamed correspondent who is addressed as 'Serenissime princeps.' 'This ship which has arrived,' writes the Envoy, 'is that of Bartholomio, the Florentine, with the cargo, which consists of about 350 cantaros of pepper, 120 cantaros of cinnamon, 50 to 60 cantaros of lac and 15 cantaros of benzoin.'³

An inscription on the South America of the Cantino Chart alleges that Cabral had fourteen vessels in his fleet. It runs thus: 'A vera cruz + chamada p. nome aquall achou pedralvares cabrall fidalgo da cassa del Rey de portugall & elle a descobrio indo por capita moor de quatorze naos que o dito Rey mandaua a caliquet en el caminho indo topou com esta terra aqual terra se cree ser terra firma em aqual a muyta gente de discricam & andam nu os omes & molheres como suas mais os paria[m] sam mais brancos que bacos tem os cabelos muyto corredios foy descoberta esta dita terra em aera de quinhentos.'

In the account of the voyage written by a Portuguese pilot and

¹ Barros, *Decadas da Asia*, I. v. 10, fol. 105.

² In the French edition of *Paesi nouamente ritrouati* he is called 'dñique cretic.' *Le nouveau monde*, chap. cxxiii.

³ *Paesi nouamente ritrouati*, cap. cxxv.

published by Ramusio, Cabral is said to have commanded thirteen vessels ;¹ Barros avers that the fleet comprised thirteen sail ; Correa asserts that the fleet consisted of ten large (*naos*) and three small ships (*navios*). But on comparing the names of the captains of these ships as we find them in the 'Asia' of Barros with the names mentioned by Correa we find that Correa has ten of the thirteen names mentioned by Barros and four which are not amongst the thirteen. The number of captains is thus raised from thirteen to seventeen. According to Barros, Simão de Miranda sailed in a different vessel from the Chief Captain. The captains whom Barros mentions by name are the following : Pedralvarez Cabral ; Sancho de Toar, son of Martin Fernandez de Toar ; Simão de Miranda, son of Diogo de Azevedo ; Aires Gomez da Silva, son of Pero da Silva ; Vasco de Taide ; Pero de Taide, whose *sobriquet* was 'Inferno' ; Nicolao Coelho ; Bartholomeu Diaz ; Pero Diaz ; Nuno Leitão ; Gaspar de Lemos ; Luis Pirez and Simão de Pina. The additional names to be found in the 'Lendas da India' are those of Bras Matoso, Pedro de Figueiró, Diogo Diaz and André Gonçalves. Three small vessels (*navios pequenos*) were commanded by Luis Pirez, Gaspar de Lemos and André Gonçalves.²

The story of the voyage as it is told by Barros and Correa will not permit us to omit any of the Captains whose names they record and the only possible reconciliation of the two narratives lies in the adoption of all the names as genuine. We must believe therefore that seventeen, or, if we include the ship belonging to Bartholomeu Florentym, eighteen vessels constituted the fleet which was led by Cabral.

The king in consultation with Vasco da Gama, Pedralvarez Cabral and Jorge de Vasconcellos, superintendent of the royal store-houses, (*Provedor dos almazens do Reyno*) fixed the salaries and wages to be paid to the officers and men. The Chief Captain was to

¹ Navigazioni e viaggi, I. fol. 132 v. Venetia, 1554.

² Correa, Lendas da India, I. p. 148.

receive ten thousand cruzados, five thousand of which were to be paid in advance ; the captains were to receive one thousand cruzados for every hundred ' toneis ' of their ships and one thousand cruzados of the total amount was to be paid in advance. One year's wages,—one hundred and thirty cruzados,—were to be paid in advance to the married able-bodied seamen and sixty-five cruzados to the unmarried, six months' wages,—sixty-five cruzados,—were to be paid in advance to the ordinary seamen, if married and thirty-two cruzados and a half to those who were not married. The ships were provisioned for two years and were freighted with woollen stuffs, velvets, satins, damasks, copper, amber, coral and scarlet dye-stuffs. Vasco da Gama took counsel with the masters and pilots concerning the course to be followed and the advice of Vasco da Gama was that they should navigate by the open sea for by so doing they would avoid dangerous winds blowing towards the land, that they should take special precautions when they reached the vicinity of the Cape of Good Hope and that, when the Cape had been rounded, they should make for the land beyond it as speedily as possible. At that stage of the voyage the pilots from Melinda, who accompanied the fleet, were to assist the Chief Captain with their knowledge of the coast.

When all was in readiness, the fleet sailed from Lisbon to Restello and on the following day, the ninth of March, 1500, it set sail for the Cape Verd Islands, where fresh water was to be taken on board. About fifteen hundred persons embarked. Six Franciscans, the Guardian Father of whom was Frey Anrique Soares, afterwards Bishop of Ceuta, accompanied the fleet.

Disasters, of which we shall have not a few to recount, commenced at an early stage of the voyage. The Canary Islands were sighted on the fourteenth day of March and, a few days later, when the fleet was in the vicinity of the Cape Verd Islands, a squall struck the ship of Pedro de Figueiró and it was lost to sight in mist and rain. In the expectation that if no disaster had befallen it it would

rejoin the fleet Cabral gave orders to proceed but it was not seen again and no doubt foundered. Santiago was in sight on the twenty-second day of March and probably a brief stay was made at that island. The average rate of progress each day until this time must have been about one hundred and twenty-four nautical miles.

On the twenty-fourth day of March, after leaving Santiago, the ship commanded by Vasco de Taide lost convoy and two days were spent in waiting for it to rejoin the fleet. Vasco de Taide returned to Lisbon.

When Vasco da Gama left Santiago in 1497 he steered in an easterly direction and towards São Jorge da Mina¹ but Cabral, in accordance with the advice received from Vasco da Gama, shaped his course towards south-south-west. Tides running towards north-west carried him to leeward after a month had elapsed and on the 24th of April² he came in sight of the American continent in ten degrees of south latitude. Barros asserts that the distance from the coast of Guinea was computed to be four hundred and fifty leagues,³ but it is probable that the distance was really computed from Santiago—the last port which had been visited. If so, the rate of progress during this portion of the voyage was on an average only forty-eight nautical miles daily. Such a low average rate might result from the delay of two days' duration which was caused by the separation from Vasco de Taide and from loss of time in passing through the equatorial calm belt.

Cabral coasted along until he reached a part of the coast where he thought the fleet could safely anchor and sent a boat ashore in order to ascertain the disposition of the inhabitants, many of whom were seen on the beach as soon as the boat neared the land. They had dark complexions and long straight hair. Seeing that they had no resemblance to any race whom the voyagers had seen, those

¹ Galvão, *Discoveries of the World*. (Hakluyt Society) p. 93.

² According to Correa, on the third day of May. (I. p. 152.)

³ Barros, I. v. 2.

who had landed immediately returned to the Chief Captain and reported that the port appeared to be a safe anchorage. When the fleet had cast anchor the boat again went ashore in order to obtain closer acquaintance with the inhabitants. These, however, did not await the near approach of the newcomers but fled and could not be prevailed upon to return either by means of signs or of gifts thrown upon the ground. A third attempt to approach them was equally resultless. It had been the intention of the Chief Captain to land on the following day at this place but during the night the wind freshened to a gale to the violence of which the ships were exposed and it was necessary to weigh anchor and to seek a more sheltered anchorage. Late in the afternoon of the day after arrival in American waters the fleet arrived at a large bay which the Chief Captain entered, sounding with the lead. Here was found a safe haven sheltered from the gale and good holding-ground. We cannot suppose that the progress made on the day on which land was sighted or on the following day exceeded the average of one hundred and twenty-four miles maintained between Lisbon and Santiago. One hundred miles might, I think, be reasonably assumed to be accomplished each day and such a rate of progress would result in the attainment of the vicinity of All Saints' Bay on the day after arrival. It is, moreover, very improbable that a bay which affords such good shelter and space for a large fleet to anchor in would be passed by. These considerations lead me to believe that All Saints' Bay (Bahia dos Todos Santos) was the Porto Seguro of Cabral. At the second anchorage Nicolao Coelho was sent on shore and attempted to have speech with the inhabitants. These were of more confiding disposition than those who had been encountered at the first anchorage. They awaited the approach of the strangers and replied to the signs made to them. In complexion they were similar to those previously seen. Correa styles them a white people and adds that their noses resembled those of Javans. They were armed with bows of great

length and arrows having arrow-heads of cane. Some sailors who went a few miles inland found that their villages consisted of wooden houses thatched with grass; they slept in nets suspended by the extremities (which we now call hammocks) and a few of them wore garments or cloaks made of cotton twist (*fiô d'algodão*) to which brightly coloured feathers were attached. If this bay was Bahia dos Todos Santos it is probable that the inhabitants thus described were either of the Tupuia or of the Tupinamba tribe.

The Chief Captain and the council of captains held it to be their duty to inform Dom Manoel speedily of the discovery which they had made and it was therefore resolved to dispatch to Portugal the small vessel commanded by André Gonçalvez and to send in it several natives of the country as was customary at that period and also specimens of their handiwork such as feather cloaks and hammocks. Parrots and brazil-wood were also sent to Portugal.¹

Osorio relates that the Chief Captain had a stone monument or 'padrão' erected similar to those which Vasco da Gama had set up.² It was probably also similar to those shafts surmounted by a Latin cross which are still to be seen at several places in Portugal. There is one such in front of the Church of São Martinho at Cintra and another, the cross of which has apparently been renewed, behind the old church of Santa Cruz at Batalha.

Barros asserts that Cabral set sail on the 3rd of May, 1500. If so, one might find therein the explanation of his bestowal of the name Terra da Santa Cruz upon the newly discovered country for the Festival of the Invention of the Holy Cross falls upon that day.

There is extant a letter from a certain Mestre João, physician and surgeon to King Emmanuel, in which he attempts to fix the latitude of the anchorage of the ships on the 27th of April. He writes: 'Sire, I, the Bachelor [of Medicine] Mestre Joham, physician and surgeon to Your

¹ Correa, Lendas, I. p. 152.

² History of the Portuguese during the reign of Emanuel, trans. by Gibbs, I. p. 98.

Highness, kiss your royal hands. Sire, seeing that Ayres Correa as well as all the others have written fully to Your Highness concerning everything that has happened here, I will only write concerning the points (of the compass or geographical position). Sire, on Monday, the twenty-seventh day of April, we landed, I and the pilot of the Chief Captain and the pilot of Sancho de Toar and we took the sun's altitude at noon and we decided that it was 56 degrees with the shadow towards the North. Wherefore, following the rules for the use of the astrolabe, we are of opinion that we are 17 degrees from the equinoctial line and consequently that the altitude of the antarctic pole is 17 degrees as is manifest by the sphere.' This letter was written at Vera Cruz on the 1st of May, 1500.¹

On the 23rd of May, according to Barros and Castanheda, on the ninth of that month according to Osorio, as the fleet was proceeding on its way in a high sea and with the wind astern, the wind suddenly veered to the contrary direction and, before the sails could be lowered, four ships were overset by the violence of the wind and their crews thrown into the sea and drowned. The captains of these vessels were Bartholomeu Diaz, Symão de Pina, Gaspar de Lemos and Ayres Gomez de Silva. It was subsequently assumed that this disaster had occurred in the vicinity of certain islands but the assumption rested on a slender foundation. When Vasco da Gama encountered a storm during his voyage to India in 1502, he was, Correa tells us, near the islands of which the Moorish pilot had spoken to Cabral.² And the same author relates that after the catastrophe one of the pilots from Melinda told Cabral that the wind had struck upon islands and had rebounded and he thus accounted for its sudden change of direction. It seems extremely improbable that a pilot from Melinda could have any knowledge of islands in the South Atlantic unless he had himself seen them or been informed by others in the fleet of Cabral that they had seen them.

¹ Alguns documentos, pp. 121-123.

² Correa, I. p. 271.

It is not impossible that the disaster occurred within sight of the South American coast. Cretico asserts that the fleet followed the coast of the 'Terra d li Papagà' for two thousand miles, and John Pory informs us that the first island discovered in the Ethiopian Sea about the Cape of Bora Speranza was that of Don Alvarez, in thirty-and-a-half degrees, where no island is.¹ According to Osorio the disaster occurred ten days, according to Barros, twenty days after leaving the Terra da Santa Cruz.²

A furious storm followed the hurricane and the ships parted company. Those of Cabral, Simão de Miranda, Nicolao Coelho and Pero de Taide went in one direction, those of Nuno Leitão and Sancho de Toar in another.³

Diogo Diaz sailed far to the eastward and came in sight of the east coast of Madagascar and only discovered his true position when he arrived at the northern extremity of the island. He thereupon neared the coast and found a good harbour in which he anchored and on shore he found good water. As was the custom in those days, condemned criminals were borne on the vessel of Diogo Diaz. These were borne on the vessels in order that they might be put ashore for the purpose of reporting to the captains the appearance and disposition of the inhabitants of unknown countries. In consideration of risking their lives amongst savages they received free pardons. Diogo Diaz followed this practice and sent a criminal on shore. The *degradado* went inland and found several villages consisting of grass huts and conversed by means of signs with the inhabitants, several of whom accompanied him to the anchorage, bringing fowls, yams and edible wild fruits, which they exchanged for knives, hatchets, hawks' bells and hand mirrors. They were black-skinned and in this respect resembled the Sakalavas. All

¹ A Geographical Historie of Africa by John Leo. Translated by John Pory. p. 50.

² Osorio, History of the Portuguese, trans. Gibbs, I. p. 105. Barros, Asia, I. v. 2.

³ Castanheda, Liv. I, cap. xxxi. Barros, I. v. ii. fol. 89. (Lisboa, 1628.)

went well for a few days but soon the crew was prostrated by fever and several deaths occurred. Diogo Diaz therefore weighed anchor and sailed towards the coast of Africa which he approached to the north of Melinda. Even then he was unaware that he had passed the rendezvous, which was Mozambique, and he still continued to look out for that town. Holding on his way in a northerly direction, he doubled Cape Guardafui and coasted along the African shore of the Gulf of Aden until he came in sight of a town with a harbour in which were many ships and sambuks. This was Barbora, as Correa and Duarte Barbosa write it,—a name which suggests the modern name Bora. But the troubles of Diogo Diaz and his men were by no means at an end with their advent in this port, for Moorish merchants,¹ who had been in Calicut when Vasco da Gama was in that city, had the ear of the Sheikh and gave him their own version of that which had taken place in India. Thereupon the Sheikh planned the seizure of the Portuguese ship and its cargo and, in order to conceal his intentions, made specious offers of assistance and promised an exchange of merchandise. Diogo Diaz sent a boatload of merchandise on shore with his clerk and about fifty of his sick that they might be benefitted by a brief sojourn ashore. The boat was seized by the men of Barbora, the sick were bound, and the ship simultaneously attacked by men armed with bows and arrows and with 'zaguchos' or javelins. The *condestabre* was sick but rose from his couch and ignited the charges in the falconets and berços and by great good fortune three boats of the Arabs were hit and sank. Meanwhile the Captain and gunners and some of the sailors had hoisted sail and the ship was soon under way. The enemy did not pursue. But there were not enough sound men on board to work the ship or to hoist the sails if they were lowered; they were therefore left upon the masts and the sheets were untied when the wind freshened. After three months,

¹ Or Arab merchants. Correa does not distinguish Moors from Arabs.

during which more deaths occurred and all suffered great hardships, they arrived at Cape Verd reduced in number to thirteen men. Here they met some of their fellow-countrymen who worked the ship for the remainder of the voyage and they reached Lisbon probably early in 1501 and brought the first intelligence of the loss of four vessels in a great storm, whereat Dom Manoel was deeply distressed.¹ The town in which Diogo Diaz and his men had been treacherously beset was destroyed by Antonio da Saldanha in 1518.²

On the 16th of July, Cabral with six ships was off Sofala. These vessels were the flagship and the ships commanded by Sancho de Toar, Bras Matoso, Nuno Leitão, Nicolao Coelho and Luiz Pirez. When the fleet was abreast of the Primeira Islands two Arab vessels were sighted and pursued. One of these was beached by its captain but the other was captured together with the owner of both, a sheikh, Foteima by name, who was returning from Sofala to Melinda. He was an uncle of the Sultan of Melinda and was therefore immediately set at liberty and the captured vessel was restored to him. Cabral then continued his voyage to Mozambique where he appears to have been rejoined by Pero de Taide.

One is thus constrained to inquire what had become of Simão de Miranda. None of the chroniclers relate that he perished. But in a letter ascribed to Amerigo Vespucci it is stated that five ships foundered in one storm. The letter to which I allude was published in 'Il Milione di Marco Polo,' by Baldelli Boni, at pp. liv-lv. and is intituled 'Copia d'una lettera scritta da Amerigo Vespucci dall' Isola del Capo Verde e nel mare Oceano a Lorenzo di Piero Francesco de Medici sotto di 4 di Giugno 1501 relativa a queste prime scoperte orientali.' The author of the letter states that, being at Cape Verde on a voyage to the South, he met there two Portuguese vessels

¹ Correa, I. pp. 153-158.

² O Livro de Duarte Barbosa. (Noticias para a historia e geografia das nações ultramarinas. II. p. 255.)

belonging to the fleet which had sailed for Calicut fourteen months previously. The writer gives a brief account of their voyage in the course of which he tells his correspondent—I now transcribe from the letter: 'E di poi d'aver navigato venti giornate, circa a settecento leghe (che ogni lega e quattro miglia e mezzo) posono in una terra dove trovarono gente bianca e ignuda della medesima terra che io discopersi per Re di Castella, salvo che è piú a levante, la quale per altra mia vi scrissi, dove dicono ché pigliarono ogni rinfrescamento, e di quivi partirono, e presono loro navigazione verso levante e navigarono pel vento dello scilocco, pigliando la quarta di levante. E quando furono larghi dalla detta terra, ebbono tanto tormento di mare col vento a libeccio, e tanto fortunoso, che mandò sotto sopra cinque delle loro navi, e le sommerse nel mare con tutta la gente. Iddio abbia auto misericordia dell' anime loro. E le otto altre nave, dicono che corsono ad albero secco, cioè senza vela quarantotto dì, e quarantotto notte con grandissimo tormento.'

There is one assertion in this letter which requires some elucidation. If five ships were lost at sea between Brazil and the Cape of Good Hope and eight still remained, thirteen are accounted for without reckoning that which disappeared before the Cape Verde Islands were reached or that of Vasco de Taide or that which was sent home from Brazil.¹ I do not find the name of Simão de Miranda amongst the names of the Captains who were at the place of rendezvous at Mozambique and hence it appears probable that the vessel commanded by Miranda also perished in the great storm but at a later date than the other four. Damião de Goes calls Sancho de Toar the vice-commander of the fleet.² If Simão de Miranda perished Sancho de Toar may have been appointed in his place.

Mozambique was ruled by a governor who was subject to the Sultan of Kilwa. The former port was entered on the 24th of July, the

¹ See also Frey Gonçalo Velho, II. p. 112. ² Chronica de Dom Manuel, I. cap. liv.

ships were repaired and refitted and the services of a pilot obtained. Having tarried here for several days, Cabral departed for Kilwa where a certain Ibrahim was Sultan. Kilwa had at that period about twelve thousand inhabitants. The Chief Captain did not tarry long at this place for he was informed by a brother of the Sultan of Melinda that Ibrahim cherished evil designs. He therefore continued his voyage to Melinda which was reached on the 2nd of August. At Melinda Pedralvarez was received with a like hospitality to that with which Vasco da Gama had been received about two years previously. Four days were spent in all kinds of festivities and on the seventh day of the month the fleet departed for India in charge of Gujarati pilots. The coast of India, a little to the north of the Anjediva Islands, was sighted on the 22nd of August. Calicut was reached on the 30th of August. The negotiations related principally to lading with spices, which the rajah agreed to, and promised that the Portuguese should have every facility in procuring them, and one of the officers was sent to the Rajah to request that hostages should be sent on board the Portuguese ships. This request was agreed to; five Brahmins were delivered as hostages who were to remain on board until Cabral should return from a visit to the Rajah. A house near the beach was granted as a residence for the factor and a storehouse.

There is much diversity in the accounts of the massacre which followed. But the Portuguese historians agree in affirming that Arab traders were the instigators of it and chief participators in it. Ayres Correa, the factor, had been warned that the warehouse was likely to be plundered and on a certain night, when the factory was surrounded by several thousand Arabs, one of Correa's servants raised an alarm by shouting 'Ladrões, ladrões.' Moplah Arabs and some Malabarists immediately scaled the outer walls in many places but were unable to force their way into the factory through the doorways. They succeeded however in climbing to the roof which they

broke through and attacked the inmates with darts and arrows. The Portuguese crossbowmen had by this time discharged all their bolts so that resistance was impossible. Thereupon Correa gave orders to fly to the beach and the Portuguese, reduced in number from eighty to fifty, sallied forth but only thirty-six reached the beach, almost all of whom were dangerously wounded. Fray Anrique and two other Franciscans were wounded. Ayres Correa was killed. Nuno Leitão took little Antonio Correa under his protection and succeeded with great difficulty in conveying him to the beach, where he entrusted him to a sailor who carried him to one of the boats of a rescue party under the command of Sancho de Toar. These events occurred on the 17th of December, 1500. No apology or explanation of the affair was offered by the Rajah of Calicut and Cabral believed that he was not free from blame. He seized and burned ten Arab vessels which were lying in the harbour and bombarded the town. He then sailed for Cochin, the Rajah of which port desired to cultivate the friendship of the Portuguese. At this place a cargo of pepper was shipped; cinnamon and drugs were also purchased and benzoin, musk, china-ware, fine cloth and veiling.

Cananor was the last port that was visited in India. At that place one hundred bahars of cinnamon were taken on board and immediately thereafter, on the 16th of January, 1501, the fleet commenced its homeward voyage. When the ships were on the high seas a strange sail hove in sight. It proved to be a ship of Cambay homeward-bound from Malacca with a cargo of spices and sandalwood. The Chief Captain signalled to it to strike sail which it immediately did and a boat was launched. Valuable presents were conveyed to the Chief Captain for which the Cambay captain would accept no payment in money but begged for a flag which was given to him,—a Portuguese royal standard bearing the Armillary Sphere and the Five Reals (Quinas Reaes). The captain was dismissed with many compliments and with a letter to the Nawab wherein Cabral

wrote that he had taken nothing out of the ship because its captain had obeyed the King's flag and that the officers of the King of Portugal would always act thus towards those who obeyed,—that is to say—who acknowledged the supremacy of the King of Portugal upon the eastern seas.

The coast of Africa was sighted between Melinda and Mozambique and, as the summer was well advanced, the pilots advised Cabral not to turn back to Melinda. Near Mozambique, Sancho de Toar, in consequence of hugging the coast in disregard of the advice of his pilot, ran his ship aground on a sandbank and the vessel began to fill. All persons on board and all the light tackle and also the anchors and cables were removed to the other ships but the cargo was abandoned because there was no space on the other ships in which to stow it and the ship was set on fire. When the fleet reached Mozambique, the Chief Captain and council resolved to detach from it the *naveta* of which Luis Pirez was captain and to send it to Sofala under the command of Sancho de Toar, for Luis Pirez was dangerously ill and had been removed to the ship of the commander-in-chief. Gaspar da Gama and several merchants of Mozambique accompanied Sancho de Toar and one of the Melinda pilots, who was skilled in the navigation of the coast, also went with him. The Mozambique merchants took with them Cambay cloth and red beads to barter with the people of Sofala and Sancho de Toar had red silk, mirrors, barrets, Flemish handbells and cut-glass beads as presents to the king who was of African blood and to barter for gold beads. The European merchandise realised from twelve to fifteen times as much at Sofala as it would have done in Lisbon and payment for everything was made in gold. When he had disposed of the merchandise and taken in wood and water Sancho de Toar took his departure, bearing a letter from the king to the Chief Captain urgently requesting him to send more ships to

Sofala. He proceeded thence to the Agoada de São Bras on the south coast of Africa and there left in a covered pot a letter for the next Portuguese commander who should visit the bay: The letter was found by João da Nova when on his way to India in 1501. From the Angra de São Bras Sancho de Toar sailed for Lisbon which he reached at the end of September.

Cabral ordered the ships to be careened and caulked at Mozambique, for when rain fell it penetrated between the planks of the decks. When this work was finished and he was about to sail the Melinda pilots counselled him to navigate with great care when he was off the coast of Sofala, for sudden and violent squalls might be encountered in that quarter at that season of the year. Before setting sail, Cabral sent a letter to the Sultan of Melinda by the master of a sambuk which had arrived from that port. He thanked the Sultan for the provisions sent by the sambuk, consisting of biscuit, dried fish and flesh and sheep, gave the Sultan an account of the events which had transpired in India, informed him that a small ship had been despatched to Sofala and explained the cause which had hindered him from revisiting Melinda. He then took his departure from Mozambique. The prognostications of the pilots were justified by the event, for a gale arose, so violent and sudden that the ships were driven seaward under bare poles and would have been in greater peril had they not been deeply laden. They were separated. Pero de Taide made for the Angra de São Bras and there left a letter in a shoe suspended from a branch of a tree where it was found by João de Nova. Cabral rounded the Cape on the 22nd of May and probably arrived at Cape Verd about the beginning of July. Almost simultaneously Pero Diaz, who had been missing for more than a year, arrived there also. He recounted to the Chief Captain that he had sailed to Magadoxo, where he was received with feigned hospitality by the inhabitants but,

when he sent a boat ashore to obtain water, it was seized by Arabs and the ship was attacked by other Arabs in sambuks. This was probably done as a measure of reprisal because of the bombardment of the town by Vasco da Gama in 1499. So few men were aboard that Pero Diaz was unable to repel the attack and therefore cut the cable and hoisted sail.

Cabral reached the Tagus on the 31st of July¹ but another vessel of Cabral's fleet had arrived on the 23rd of June. 'Seven ships,' writes the Venetian Envoy, 'have made the return voyage in safety; one ship ran aground but the ship's company was saved; it was a vessel of six hundred tons or thereabouts; as yet only one ship, a vessel of three hundred tons, has returned to port; they say that others are close at hand; the one of which I speak arrived on the Eve of Saint John; I happened to be with the king who called me to him and said that I ought to congratulate him on his ships having arrived from India with cargoes of spices and I therefore did so as became me; he ordered a banquet to be given that night at the palace and that joy-bells should be rung all through the country; next day there was a solemn procession; when I again presented myself to the king he reverted to the subject of his ships and said that I ought to write to Your Highness that henceforth you should order your galleys to fetch spices hence and that it would please him if you would do so and that you might consider yourself at home here and he would compel the Sultan to fetch no spices.'²

Pero de Taide arrived at Lisbon at the beginning of August and other captains at unknown dates. The last vessel to arrive was that of Sancho de Toar. The cargoes brought by five of the vessels which returned from India were of sufficient value to repay all the outlay incurred in equipping and despatching the fleet, to indemnify the Crown for the ships and the cargo which had been lost and to

¹ Osorio, trans. Gibbs, I. p. 121.

² Paesi nuovamente ritrouati, cap. cxxv.

yield in addition a profit equivalent to the amounts so expended and so lost.

Cabral was appointed by Dom Manoel to the command of a fleet which was to sail to India in 1502 but adverse circumstances prevented him from profiting by this appointment. Correa asserts that Vasco da Gama interposed and produced a letter from Dom Manoel which authorized him to claim the chief command in any fleet destined for India even if it were anchored at Restello and ready to sail and that he desired to exercise this right on that occasion. The king, who had been greatly moved by the news of the various disasters to the ships of the fleet commanded by Cabral and of the massacre of Portuguese at Calicut, listened to the request of Vasco da Gama, expressed his desire that Cabral should not proceed to India and promised that he should have command of the next Indian fleet. Barros alleges that Cabral was dissatisfied because Vincent Sodré was to have command of a section of the fleet independently of the Capitão-mór and that he begged to be relieved of the command. Da Gama, with whom the desire for revenge was always a strong motive, told the Rajah of Cochin that his reason for wishing to come to India a second time in command of a fleet was that he might take vengeance upon the Rajah of Calicut because of insults put upon himself.¹

Even should the view of the matter taken by Barros be the right one there would still be no question of disgrace nor even of royal disfavour. Cabral merely seems to have retired from courtly duties and to have spent his time quietly at the royal city of Santarem or in the immediate neighbourhood of that picturesque town. He had landed property there and there is extant a royal letter—too lengthy, verbose, and involved in its composition to be reproduced here—in which Cabral is authorized to submit to ecclesiastical arbitration a dispute with a certain Antão Gonçalves regarding

¹ Correa, I. p. 321.

the exchange of certain property belonging to Cabral at the place called 'O Logo do Pereiro' for the Quinta do Recio belonging to a Chapel in the Monastery of São Francisco at Santarem.¹ The document is dated 17th of December, 1509. In the same year another royal letter confers certain privileges, the nature of which is not defined, in consideration of military service to be rendered by Pedralvarez, who was also to furnish horses, men and arms whenever the king should require him to do so.² The annual allowance of 13,000 reals, confirmed in 1497, was still paid and a further grant made. There exists a mandate to pay 13,000 reals to Pedralvarez and the agent's receipt for that amount dated 4th of April, 1502 and another mandate to pay him 30,000 reals with the agent's receipt of the same date.³ In these documents Cabral is styled 'Fidalgo da nossa Casa,' but a higher honour awaited him. In 1518, or perhaps prior to that date, he was appointed a Cavalleiro do Conselho and as such he enjoyed a monthly allowance of 2437 reals in addition to his other emoluments.⁴ It is worthy of note that in the same year his eldest son, Fernão Alvarez, was in receipt of a moradia as a 'moço fidalgo.' This son married Margarida Coutinha, daughter of Dom Gonçalo Coutinho, and was made a Commander of the Banho in the Order of Christ. The second son Antonio died unmarried. One daughter, Catharina de Castro, was married to Nuno Furtado, Commander of Cardiga. Pedro José Figueiredo mentions another daughter, Guimar de Castro, who became a Dominican at the Convent of Santa Maria da Rosa in Lisbon.⁵ Pedralvarez was not destined to enjoy his honour for long nor did he live to see

¹ Chancellaria de D. Manuel, Liv. 36º, fl. 40 v. (Frey Velho, I. pp. 300-304.)

² Chancellaria de D. Manuel, Liv. 44º, fl. 62. (Frey Velho, I. p. 300.)

³ Torre do Tombo: Corpo Chron., parte 2º, maço 6, nº. 3, and Corpo Chron., parte 2º, maço 6, no. 4. (Alguns documentos, p. 132.)

⁴ Provas da historia genealogica da Casa Rea Portugueza por D. Antonio Caetano de Sousa, II. p. 356.

⁵ Elogios e Retratos, tom. I. (Pedro Alvares Cabral).

his nephew Governor of India. It is possible to determine the date of his death with approximate accuracy. He was alive, as we have seen, in 1518 but there exist three documents of the year 1520 (3rd of November, 3rd of November, and 5th of November) bestowing annual pensions of 30,000 reals upon Izabel de Castro and of 20,000 reals upon Antonio and upon Fernão Alvarez Cabral.¹ In these the name of Pedralvarez occurs followed by the words 'quem Deus perdoe,' signifying that he was dead. He died therefore in 1518, 1519 or 1520, most probably in 1520, for the pensions would probably be bestowed very soon after his decease. He was buried at Santarem in the Chapel of Saint John the Baptist in the Church of the Convent of Santa Maria da Graça, now converted into the Hospital of Santo Antonio.² An inscription in Gothic letters upon a stone in the pavement of the Chapel marks the position of the place of burial of the family. The inscription is as follows :—'Aqy Jaz pedralvarez cabral e dona Jsabel de Castro sua molher cuja he esta capella he de todos seus erdeyros aquall depois da morte de seu marydo fui camareyra môr da infanta dona marya fyllia de el rey dõ João nosso sñor hu terceiro deste nome.' [Here lie Pedralvarez Cabral and Dona Isabel de Castro his wife whose chapel this is and that of all their heirs ; she, after the death of her husband, was First Lady of the Bedchamber to the Infanta Dona Maria, daughter of Dom João our Sovereign Lord, the third of that name.]

A vignette of Cabral in armour engraved by Abrantes after a portrait by Cunha is to be seen in 'Elogios e Retratos'; it is there said to correspond with the portrait in the palace of the Velho family which, as has been already stated, was connected with the Cabraes by marriage. In one of the Halls of the Geographical Society of Lisbon there is a statue of Cabral and his bust together with those

¹ Chancellaria de D. Manuel, Liv. 39º, fl. 6o. (Trabalhos nauticos, II. p. 140; Frei Velho, I. pp. 449-450.)

² A home for destitute children born at Santarem.

of Vasco da Gama, Affonso de Albuquerque and other illustrious Portuguese, adorns the Alameda de São Pedro de Alcântara in Lisbon.¹

It would not perhaps be unjust to describe Pedralvarez Cabral in the language of the stage as the under-study of Vasco da Gama. And yet his contribution to the knowledge of the geography of the southern hemisphere, however blindly made and as it were by haphazard, is of scarcely less importance than that made by Da Gama himself. If it was a great achievement to cross the South Atlantic for the first time and for the first time to lead a fleet from America to Asia, Cabral must be placed amongst those who have achieved great things. And the importance of his expedition is enhanced by the fact that in the course of the voyages made by captains engaged in it Madagascar was visited for the first time by Europeans and Sofala and the Gulf of Aden for the first time by the southern route.

Undeterred by the unprecedented losses which he had sustained, Cabral, when he reached the East African coast, pressed forward to the accomplishment of the task which had been assigned to him and was able to inspire the surviving officers and men with like courage. 'India must be won' had been the king's command and all the Portuguese of that day, as well those who of necessity stayed at home as those who ventured abroad, appear to have been prompted by the ambition which inspired that command. In India Cabral faithfully carried out the king's instructions and succeeded in opening a factory at an Indian port and in establishing permanent friendly relations with two petty sovereigns on the Malabar Coast.

The voyage of Cabral added amazingly to man's knowledge of the Atlantic Ocean and especially to his knowledge of the climate of the South Atlantic and enabled the right season for sailing to

¹ I do not pronounce any opinion upon this identification nor upon the fidelity of any of these works of art.

India to be selected. This knowledge was bought at a stupendous cost but Cabral cannot be blamed for that nor for the fact that an insight into the true character of the Moplahs and of the vacillating Rajah of Calicut had to be bought at great cost also.

Cabral's position in the history of Portuguese conquest and discovery is inexpugnable despite the supremacy of greater or more fortunate men. He will always be remembered in history as the chief, if not the first discoverer of Brazil and it will perhaps never be known to what extent that discovery was fortuitous and to what extent it was deliberately planned.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Torre do Tombo : Liv. 9º de inquirições de D. Diniz, fl. 35. Liv. de inquirições da Beira e Alem Douro, fl. 6. (Frei Gonçalo Velho por Ayres de Sá, vol. I. p. 15.)

Borough of Belmonte. The depositions show that the deponents have heard it stated that Belmonte is within the limits of Covilhã and moreover that they have heard it stated that in the beginning only the place which is called Cento Celas was given to the See of Coimbra and the Bishops of Coimbra continually extended their boundaries at the expense of the king and of the Municipality of Covilhã which consisted of Belmonte and eight other villages and these pay a contribution of fourteen pounds to the king and those of the town render their service to the king along with those of the Municipality of Covilhã and the Bishop does not wish the people of the villages to go there and they all pay him respect and he has his own magistrates and collectors of fees there but when an appeal is made from Belmonte they take the appeal to Covilhã. Let this so continue until the king shall know more of this matter.

APPENDIX B

Torre do Tombo : Chancellaria de D. Manuel, liv. 27º, fl. 70. (Trabalhos Nauticos, II. pp. 108-109.)

Dom Manuel, by the grace of God King of Portugal and of the Algarves on this side of the sea and on the other side in Africa, Sovereign Lord of Guinea, to all to whom these our letters shall come

we make known that Pedro Allvarez de Gouuea, fidalgo of our household, has at this time told us that he and Joham Fernandez Cabral his brother received from my lord the king, whose soul may God save, an annual allowance during his good pleasure of twenty-six thousand reals in virtue of his instrument which he commanded to be given to him as appeared by the extract from it made word for word by Gil Fernandez, Secretary of the Chancery of Dom Jorge, my much esteemed and beloved nephew, out of the books of the Chancellor's Office of the period in which the aforesaid annual allowance was granted by the king, for he [Dom Jorge] has in his possession those [books] of the period aforesaid and [he told us] that they had lost the original letters of the said king regarding the said allowance and were unable to find them in order to have them confirmed by us at this time and he has made request that inasmuch as the said letters have been lost we would be pleased to grant to each [beneficiary] our letters patent concerning the amount of the allowance of twenty-six thousand reals which would fall to each so that each might receive payment of the aforesaid sums of money in such place as would please them according to our ordinance. And inasmuch as his petition seemeth to us to be just and as we have regard to his services and deserts, desiring to show him favour and thanks, we hold it to be right and it is our good pleasure that the aforesaid Pedro Allvarez de Gouuea have and receive from us each year, beginning as on the first day of January last of this year, fourteen hundred and ninety-seven and thenceforward as long as it shall be our good pleasure, the said thirteen thousand reals due to him as the half of the said twenty-six thousand reals which both received conjointly, as has been said, wherefore we command that other letters granting the other half, namely thirteen thousand reals, be given to the said Joham Fernandez so that each may receive payment separately and therefore we order the Comptrollers of our revenue to delete from our books of the revenue the said twenty-

six thousand reals which the aforesaid two persons conjointly registered in them and we order them to register only the said thirteen thousand reals to the said Pedro Allvarez with a declaration that they are the moiety of the said twenty-six thousand reals which both received as has been stated and that they lost the other instrument of the said king which was given and we order [the Comptrollers] to give to each our letter granting thirteen thousand reals, being the moiety due to each, so that if at any time the other instrument should appear it may be torn in pieces and there may not be because of it payment made twice of the aforesaid sums ; of which thirteen thousand reals he will receive a certificate of payment each year from our revenue [office], wherever they may be paid to him and for his own security and also for our better recollection we command that this letter be given him signed by us and sealed with our pendant seal.

Given in our city of Evora this twelfth day of April—Pedro Lomeljm executed this—in the year fourteen hundred and ninety-seven.

APPENDIX C

Torre do Tombo : Instructions for Pedro Alvares Cabral when he went as Chief Captain of a fleet to India. (Fragments) Maço 1º de Leis, sem data, no. 21. (Alguns documentos, pp. 97-107.)

INTEGRA.

Jesus. Furthermore as soon as, God willing, you shall have departed from Anchediva you shall go your way to anchor before Calicut with your ships close together and in good order and also dressed with your banners and standards and as much ornament as possible and you will place them where you know that there is the best anchoring ground and the safest for the ships and you shall

do no injury to any of the ships which you may find there even if you should know that they are of Mecca or from Anchediva to Calicut before saluting them and showing them a good front and the signal of peace and goodwill and giving food and drink and all other good entertainment to all who shall visit our ships ; taking heed however that so many of them shall not come aboard together as to consume many provisions or to be able to take possession of the ships. And after that you have cast anchor and moored the ships and put all things in order you shall send ashore in a boat Balltasar and those other Indians whom you take with you and with them a pair of men from amongst those who appear to you to be fit and apt for the purpose and shall order them to go with the aforesaid Indians to the Zamorin, king of Calicut, and to tell him how always in past times, desiring much to have knowledge of the concerns of that land of India and the lands adjacent, chiefly that our Lord might be served thereby and to ascertain if he and his subjects and the sojourners in his kingdom were Christians and of our faith and persons with whom we should be glad to have friendly and advantageous treaties, we resolved to send our ships to discover the way to India in order to know if the Indians also were Christians and men of such good faith, truthfulness and fair dealing that they should be sought out in order that they might have more perfect instruction in our faith and might be indoctrinated and taught in such matters as pertain to it for that is conducive to the service of God and the salvation of souls and afterwards in order that we might be of service to one another and might traffic with them and they with us and might send to them the merchandise of our kingdoms necessary to them and bring back theirs. And it pleased God, our good intentions being known, that, a short time ago Vasco da Gama, our captain, went in three small ships and, having entered the Indian Ocean, reached his country, the city of Calicut, whence he brought the aforesaid Indians in order that we might have speech with them and obtain information and we send

them back to him [the Zamorin] and of them he may learn what is in our country and in like manner as we send them back so he should order the merchandise of which Vasco da Gama was deprived on shore and which was taken from him to be paid for and should give us information chiefly concerning himself and his Christianity and good purpose in the service of God and, in the next place, concerning his good faith and the fair dealing of his people from all of which we would receive much pleasure. And we have resolved to send you with these few ships freighted with such merchandise as (according to the information which we receive) may be necessary and profitable in his country in order that, in our name, you may conclude peace and establish friendship with him if he is pleased so to act towards us as we trust is the case according to that which Vasco da Gama has told us and it seems to us that he ought to be glad to so since he is a Christian and faithful king for great advantage will accrue to him in his country from peace and agreement with us chiefly because he will be instructed and illumined in the faith, which is a matter which ought to be more highly esteemed than aught else and secondly, because of the great profit which he will receive from the merchandise which we will send from our kingdoms and domains to his country and which our countrymen will bring him ; for that which is sent at present is only a sample for we know not if these or other things are more sought after there. And if you should desire to visit him in order to tell him at greater length on our behalf those matters which we command you to tell him and to give him our letters and some things which for the present we send him as a beginning and token of friendship and if it appears to you that it is very desirable to trust him and his word, yet must you not go ashore without obtaining hostages because of what was done to Vasco da Gama who was detained at Pandarani and also because of certain merchandise of ours which he took as a sample and ordered to be placed on land and which was taken from him and

we believe that this was not done by him [the 'Zamorin] or through his fault but on the demand and by means of some people without faith who neither desire to serve him nor to preserve his honour. And therefore you shall ask him to be pleased to give you the aforesaid hostages who shall remain in your ships until you return to them and if you are satisfied from information received from them that they are so and so, you shall keep them in such manner as seems good to you so that they may be seen and known by one of our people whom afterwards you shall send back with the aforesaid Indians so that if the king of Calicut sends them he may know them so that they may not be able to substitute for them others not of equal importance and standing and to this matter you shall pay great attention. And, if he gives hostages, you shall go ashore and give him what I have already mentioned and shall tell him things which he will be very pleased to hear and which will bring him much profit and honour and you shall beg of him not to think it strange that you should require hostages for it is the custom in these kingdoms that no Chief Captain shall land from his ship in a place where peace has not been concluded without hostages and a safe conduct and that you have always acted in that manner in this voyage, wherefore, although in some places which you have visited and where you have been well received and invited to land you have not landed and would not land even if hostages were given, you have landed here because he is a Christian and a virtuous [prince] and because we have sent you to him and you will tell him that before sending you these hostages he may safely send his factors and the 'carranes' of the country to the ships to whom all the ships shall be shown and the coffers and bales shall be opened and they will see that they are full of merchandise and that we are sending merchants to him for his profit and that they are not robbers as we are told they gave people to understand when Vasco da Gama went there.

And, if you wish, leaving the aforesaid hostages in your ships and

in your power and treating them honourably and well but taking care that they shall not be able to escape, you may land with ten or fifteen men such as shall appear to you the best to take with you ; the other captains are to remain in their ships and also a captain is to be in your own ship, all for the sake of security, so that the ships shall receive no damage whether you are at sea or on land and you shall give orders that until you return to the ships no one is to go ashore or launch any boat from the ships unless you give orders by one of the men who go with you that this is to be done. Then you shall go to speak to the king and shall give him our messages and shall give him that which we send by you and shall say to him on our behalf that we desire his friendship and a friendly understanding, his advantage and trade with his country and that with this object we send you there with those merchant vessels and that we pray him to give orders that our merchandise shall be sold in safety and that cargo shall be given for our ships, namely spices and other merchandise of the country which may be profitable, and to give orders that you shall obtain these at the price at which they are usually sold in the country in such manner that if any of the merchants who are there disapprove of our trading there they shall not obtain samples of the merchandise of the country in order to take away more of it than they already have. And if on your arrival the [purchase of the] said merchandise should be opposed by those who are there you shall ask him to order such as is necessary for the lading of the ships to be sold to you at its value or, if his own factor prefers to bind himself to give you all the cargo which you require for the ships in merchandise of the quantities and kinds which you shall determine and will fix the price of his goods and for how much he will take ours, you shall act accordingly for the sake of quicker dispatch and to transact business more expeditiously . . . to whichever of these methods you agree he shall give his promise and, that being done, you shall commence to have the goods sold which you are taking and to buy what you wish to bring

away and so, from the commencement of your sales and trading, he will know what you are and the profits which are to be obtained now and henceforward from our ships.

Item, before going to the king, take means, if it shall be possible, to learn if the duties to be paid there on merchandise entering or going away are the same as Gaspar told us of which you have a memorandum and if you find that it is so you shall tell the king that you are aware that there are high duties in his country and that it appears to you that he ought not to levy such high duties upon us because we have recently begun to send merchandise to his country and in all places it is the custom at the commencement of a trade to make reductions and grant favourable terms to those who come with merchandise and that such is the custom in our kingdoms and that it appears to you that he ought to act thus towards us and our merchandise and propose something reasonable to him in order that there may be purchases and sales and tell him that although we should pay lower duties than the others the number of our ships and the amount of merchandise is, if God will, so great that the duties will yield him much more than they do at present. And if it shall appear to you that the king of Calicut is averse to this proposal in any way and that he is not well disposed to it so that you do not expect to derive any advantage from the proposal in such a case you will be careful not to insist nor to say more regarding it for what you shall have already said will suffice in order that it may not appear to him that you are bringing forward a matter that has been arranged by us and that he will lose some of the duties which have been paid by the Moors. And if, perchance, he should refuse to give the hostages who have been already named or others concerning whom you shall be credibly informed that they are safe and suitable to have in order that upon delivery of them you in person may land, in such case you shall not land; and thereupon you will send to inform him that, since he does not wish to send hostages, it appears to you

that he does not desire to talk with you and to see and hear things as we supposed he would and that therefore it appears to you that you ought not to land but that in order to conclude the commercial agreement and to discuss the conditions of it and to deliver that which we send him by you you request him to send to the ships three or four merchants for this purpose, which being done, you will send an equal number to deliver to him the articles aforesaid and to talk with him on your behalf. Thereupon you shall send Ayres Correa and with him two of his clerks, one a receiving, the other a paying clerk, and you shall deliver to him that which we send and shall bid him speak of the commercial agreement and settlement and delivery of cargo in the manner in which we have already set forth that you yourself should do if you had gone to him and say to him that it appears to you a great mistake and little to his advantage not to give the hostages which you asked in order that you might land, because, if you had visited him, you would have told him many things to his advantage and you would have selected a house for us in which the priests and friars whom we send might lodge in order to instruct him in the faith and how to receive it and to save his soul. And [he shall say that] the merchandise is there and . . . from which he will derive great advantage . . . honour . . . to go to his country . . . and supply his subjects with things necessary which may improve his country. And if, notwithstanding, he still refuses to give hostages in order that you may land safely, then you shall request that those [merchants] whom he sends to the ships may remain with you in the ships until they load them.

When this has been agreed upon between you and the king (of which we think there can be no doubt) the aforesaid Ayres Correa shall begin to unload the merchandise and to sell and to buy what may appear to him for the advantage of our service but he shall not discharge all the merchandise at once but only what may appear to him necessary to effect sales and shall at once spend the money

received so that he may return speedily to the ships ; in this way you will incur the least possible risk on shore.

If the said king should say that he has no hostages to give because it is not the custom to find hostages seeing that his country is safe and secure for all who wish to go to trade there and that it will be so for you if you wish to land in it to trade and to buy and sell and other words to this effect, so that he may still excuse himself from giving hostages in order that you may land as aforesaid as well as other hostages in order that Ayres Correa may dispose of the cargo, you shall send to tell him that what he says is doubtless perfectly true and that you believe that this is not the custom there and that he does not permit it, but that, even although such is his custom and that of his country and although this request to grant hostages appears to him something new, yet he ought to do for you that which you desire not only because you are not a merchant like the others who go to his country, as you yourself know, but because you are our Captain and that you are chiefly sent by us out of love and a desire of peace and friendship because he is a Christian king and one with whom we much desire these things and that for many years and often we have followed this aim with the object chiefly of serving our Lord in order that therefrom the salvation both of the king and his subjects might result. And say that for this purpose you bring with you every kind of thing that is necessary as well priests as friars and all else that is required and, in the next place, that you are sent in order that such an understanding and agreement may result regarding matters of trade that it may be safe and sure in time to come and may be engaged in in all tranquillity by those whom we may send hereafter and so it may come to pass that our people may land in his country without fear and his people come to ours if this treaty shall be concluded.

And if the said king of Calicut will not on any account whatever give hostages either to enable you to land in person or to enable

Ayres Correa to conduct business in the manner aforesaid, you will then send word to him that his conduct is very displeasing to you because you did not expect that he would show any reluctance and that you are all the more displeased on account of the displeasure which we ourselves will manifest because of his not consenting to nor entering into negotiations for peace, cordiality and agreement as we expected would be done, for you did not come nor were sent by us for this purpose only but also that, after discharging your cargo, you might leave our factor in his city and a storehouse for our merchandise and other persons to be with him whom you bring for that purpose from all which so great profit would accrue to him that he would be well satisfied because his country would become richer and better provided with necessaries and that, since he shows so much reluctance in so small a matter and because he fortifies himself against our love, service and friendship, although greatly against your will for the aforesaid reasons, you will proceed at once to Callemur (*sic*) and there conclude your treaty of peace and establish your factor and factory which you brought for his city and with him¹ you will treat regarding all matters in order that we may be well served and you will say that you know that this can be done there as in his city and perhaps more perfectly and securely and that he knows that this is true. And after that you have in the most careful manner done all that you can do in the matter and perceive that he [the King of Calicut] does not alter in favour of the object which we seek, when one or several days, as best appears to you, shall have elapsed although some delay must result therefrom because of the embarrassment that as you know will arise, you shall then send another message, saying that although you are assured that our affairs would be better conducted and we be better served in Callemur (*sic*) and that our factor and factory would be very safe there, yet because of the dissatisfaction which you know we would experience thereby because of our sending you chiefly to him

¹ *i.e.* the king of 'Callemur.'

and of our desiring peace, friendship and a cordial understanding with him rather than with any other king of India, you have resolved to disregard all blame which may attach to you in the matter and to transact your business with him and to take in your cargo at his city; and having taken this final decision, you shall send ashore Ayres Correa and his clerks who, acting in all respects as we have already directed, shall endeavour to obtain and to buy a cargo of merchandise as expeditiously as possible and shall do it with every precaution that may appear good to you and take care that what is bought shall be such as is to the greatest advantage.

And whilst you are conducting these negotiations and parleys with the aforesaid king of Calicut, you shall endeavour in whatever manner may appear best to you to ascertain if it is possible to obtain a cargo at Callnur (*sic*) for your ships and also if, in case you should desire to go thither and there establish your storehouse, this could be done to the advantage of our service and if you would be well received and also if all the goods would be safe there if you should thenceforward establish yourself there and this as regards merchandise at any future time and you shall inquire concerning the residence of our factor and obtain all possible information of that kind so that you shall not only be well informed regarding that which is necessary to be done but that you may be able to bring full and certain information to us when you return.

Item, although inconvenience must arise from this method of conducting business, seeing that the people are not to land for the purpose, this is the method which must be followed, that is to say, the aforesaid Ayres Correa shall buy all the spicery which those people wish him to buy who offer him their merchandise and will give it at prices at which it can be bought without chaffering as will be set forth at greater length in his instructions and if perchance it should appear that this is a matter of great difficulty for Ayres Correa and something which he cannot accomplish because it is to

be done in our [manner], you shall then send with him and his clerks a factor, one who shall appear to you suitable and a clerk shall be assigned to him who, on the purchase of spicery from the aforesaid persons, shall arrange that everything shall be done in good faith and that the vendors shall not be cheated; at the same time the said factor shall always agree with Ayres Correa upon the price to be paid for the goods and upon the price at which our goods are to be sold. With regard to small articles such as precious stones and other things, other factors shall be appointed to deal with these, one factor in each ship who shall go on shore; every day one factor shall go ashore from each ship and shall purchase articles of that kind and shall return every day to sleep on board and in this way all shall be provided for that is conducive to the safety of our servants. And if perchance the king of Calicut should give you the hostages mentioned above on acceptance of whom you are to land in order to speak to him and to give him our present and to do the other things which you are ordered to do, then if you perceive that matters are being so arranged that you can proceed with all security and that he is reliable and that no inconvenience could follow and if you are of opinion that all is well ordered that concerns the ways and means of trading and that all is well ordered in all other respects, you are then to tell him that we send you to him on this first voyage not only to conclude peace and establish a friendly understanding with him and to freight the ships which you have brought with spicery and the products of India and of his country but also in order that you may leave there our factor and establish a factory and may leave there other persons who are to remain there and priests and friars and property of the Church in order that our faith may be thus perfectly made known and taught him so that he may be indoctrinated in it as a faithful Christian, from all which he will perceive how great is the love we bear him and that we all desire his friendship and personal advantage.

And you shall request him to ordain and order that houses shall be assigned you in which the merchandise and those who are to remain with him may be in all security so that all those who remain with him and also the merchandise which you leave behind may be and remain safe at all times, in evidence whereof he should order his written mandate to be given you and whatever other formal assurance you may know to be generally given in that country. And if the king of Calicut gives these letters of safe-conduct and such other warrants of safety as you may think that you ought to demand for the greater security of the factor who is to remain there, these warrants being to the best of your knowledge such as are usually granted in that country, then shall the factor remain in that city with the merchandise . . . [which still] remains of the cargo and also with all the rest of the spicery . . . [as] ordered [by his instructions] and you are to tell him that, seeing that you are leaving behind you the aforesaid factor and other persons and also our merchandise to do which we were chiefly moved in order that he might know how great is our desire for his friendship and advantage and how great is the pleasure which we have therein, you therefore request that he will be pleased to send some honourable persons with you who shall come to visit us not only in order to see us and our kingdoms but also that, after they have received honours and thanks from us, they may know better the goodwill which we have towards him and his interests and you are to endeavour to bring them and, if you bring them, they are to receive all the honour and good treatment from you that is possible.

And if it should so happen that no hostages should be given you in any of the ways already mentioned and if you have great trouble in obtaining cargoes for the ships in the manner already described, (from which circumstances you will know and see clearly that our factor and merchandise, as well as the other persons who are ordered to go and to remain with him, cannot remain in safety in

the aforesaid city of Calicut) then, as soon as the ships are ready, you shall send to tell him [the Zamorin] that you had the intention as well as our command to leave our factor and establish our factory there, as is set forth in a previous paragraph together with the rest which you shall see there and when that which concerns the residence of the factor and the intercourse with the king of Calicut has been finally settled in this way at his pleasure and in our interest, then you, having reloaded your ships, shall in conclusion tell him that he ought to have known what great security would have resulted from peace and friendship with us, a peace which would have been perfectly preserved by us and ours at all times to his advantage and the good of his kingdom and people but that, inasmuch as we have learnt that Moors (*mouros*), enemies of our holy faith, trade in his city and that their ships and merchandise go there and inasmuch as we continually wage war upon them both on account of the obligation imposed upon every Catholic king and because it devolves upon us as if by direct succession, in order that you may acquaint him in detail with the events of the war beyond [the sea] and in order that all matters both great and small shall be clearly understood as is right and proper between him and us, you shall give him to understand that when you encounter ships belonging to the aforesaid Moors at sea you are required to endeavour with all your might to take possession of them and of their merchandise and property and to make use of the Moors who are in the ships to your best advantage and to make war upon them and do them as much damage as possible as a people with whom we are and have for so long been at enmity and also because we comply with our obligations to the Lord our God but that he may be assured that although you may encounter them and although other captains whom we may send in future may encounter them in his harbour and before his city yet, in order to do our utmost to preserve his good pleasure and satisfaction, you shall do them no mischief or

damage but shall only so act when you meet those ships at sea as has been already said, where they have done what they could against you and against our people whom they have already encountered. And [you shall tell him] that he may be certain, in order that he may know how that which is due to a king with whom we delight always to maintain great affection, peace and friendship is to be observed that when you or any other of our captains capture the aforesaid ships none of the Indians found in them nor any of their merchandise or property will be injured in any way, but, on the contrary, they will receive every honour and all good treatment and will be safe from injury until they and all that belongs to them can be liberated for war will only be waged against the Moors as our enemies. And [you shall tell him that] it would be well pleasing to us if he could exclude these Moors from his country and from trading in it for that he would, please God, receive from us and ours all the profit which until now he has derived from them and much more and that it would be well and for God's service (and in doing so he would comply with the duty of a Christian king) if he would expel them from his country and not allow them to come there nor to trade in it, seeing that no advantages result from them and their residence, arrival and continuance in it except the profits which he draws from them and these he would draw from our people with God's help and with so great an increase that he would be well satisfied. And [you shall say] that in case Moors and ships of Mecca should be captured by our captains he is to give us assurance by letter that even if for that reason the aforesaid Moors of Mecca who may at such time be in his city or country or any others request him to make reprisals on our factor and factory and merchandise and people with it in order that they shall thus be indemnified for the injury done to them by our people, he shall not [accede to their request] and that no blame will be attached to our people and no

injury done to our merchandise but that he will always protect them as being thereto obliged by the [treaty of] peace and amity with us.

Item; you shall tell him that inasmuch as we have learned that it is the custom in his city and country when any merchant dies that his estate, merchandise and property shall become the property of the king and be escheated and that it would not be reasonable that this should apply to our factor because this rule should be observed only in the case of persons who trade in their own merchandise and transact business on their own account which our factor does not do, for everything is ours, [you shall tell him] that he is to give an undertaking that if our Lord God should take away our aforesaid factor and he should die all our merchandise and property and also our storehouse shall not be subject to this custom and that the factor who shall succeed to the other at his death shall be at liberty to do without impediment all that the deceased factor had done without anything being seized for the aforesaid king and without implicating our people in a dispute, for, as we have said, it would not be reasonable to apply the regulation to or to act towards our people in the same way as he acts towards the other merchants and people.

Item, if in this parley you should find from the progress of the negotiations and if you should foresee such great trouble from the fact of his not giving hostages that you shall be obliged to depart and go to Callemur (*sic*), you shall then depart with your ships and shall go direct to Callemur (*sic*) and shall give [to the king] our letters which you take with you and shall tell him that we are sending you to those parts of India in order to conclude peace and establish amity with their kings as we have many times desired to do and as ought to be done between Christian kings and that, inasmuch as you were told that on this your first voyage you would not be able to obtain a cargo in his country for your ships, you therefore went first to Calicut, where you took in

cargo, and that, inasmuch as we knew that he was a faithful king and known to be such above all others and that he is very firm in matters which relate to our faith and averse to intercourse with the Moors and to anything for their advantage who are the enemies of the faith and, inasmuch as we greatly desire it for all these reasons and for others that we have known relating to his virtues, we therefore command you to go to him to conclude peace and establish amity with him in our name in order that for the future as . . . friends we and ours may avail ourselves of his country and he of ours, as is reasonable and well-pleasing and not only for this purpose . . . but also that if he agrees to peace and amity, as we trust he will do, that you may soon leave in his city our factor and people and factory so that in time to come our large and small ships may take in cargo at his city and our merchandise may be sold there and such merchandise as we have samples of may be bought from all which proceedings great honour and profit would accrue to him and to all his country. And inasmuch as perhaps his city is the principal gate of entrance to all the kings of India you are therefore to request that, if he can arrange with you to do so, he shall be pleased and hold it desirable that the aforesaid factor shall remain and that he shall give you warrant for his safety according to the custom of the country, namely his letters and any other warrant of that kind and if he desires to send one person or several persons to come with you to our kingdoms to see what is here, you can assure him that you believe that it will be well-pleasing to us and we will send them back in our ships and they will receive honours and thanks from us and during the voyage they will be treated as you yourself are treated. And if he gives his written assurance, our aforesaid factor shall remain together with all those who are ordered to remain with him and the merchandise and plant which you carry for him and when all has been arranged you shall go to him at the proper time. And at this first parley with the aforesaid king you will endeavour

to ascertain if cargoes of spicery can be obtained in his city and if other Indian merchandise is brought there and if he troubles himself about this matter and also if the people there desire to have the kind of merchandise which you bring or other kinds and if other kinds what other kinds, so that we may understand everything aright and moreover it will be the chief care of the factor . . . to know and comprehend how the aforesaid king sends . . . by them and gives authority to conduct sales there in order that he may be able to buy and have [cargoes] ready against the arrival of our ships, so that, if God please, they may be certain to find cargoes and he shall carefully perform all other necessary duties as is laid down in his instructions. And as soon as you have in good time arranged matters in Canelur (*sic*) [with the king] and agreed upon the acceptance of the aforesaid factor and as soon as he has landed with everything intended to remain with him in the manner ordained in a preceding paragraph, you shall depart in good time for these kingdoms and if on the voyage you encounter any ships of Mecca and it appears to you that you are able to capture them you are to try to do so but you are not to come to close quarters with them if you can avoid it but with the aid of your artillery you are to compel them to strike sail and to launch their boats and to send in them their pilots, quartermasters and supercargoes so that this war may be waged with safety and so that less loss may result to the crews of your ships. And if their ships should, with God's help, be captured, you shall take possession of the most valuable merchandise which you find in them and convey it to our ships and you shall bring to us all the pilots and quartermasters and principal supercargoes who may come to our ships and you shall liberate for a ransom the others and the crews of the aforesaid ships which you have captured (provided that you have sea-room and that the weather is favourable) and if you are unable to accomplish all this, you shall put them all in one ship, that which has

been dismantled the most and shall let them go in it and you shall sink all the others or burn them and shall take due care if, by God's favour, you capture ships to seize all the merchandise, great and small, which they carry . . . with all our servants.

And as soon as, please God, you shall have crossed [the Indian Ocean] and arrived at Malindi, seeing that you will then have learned which of the vessels of the fleet are the better sailers and which the worse and slow, you shall act thus at Malindi ; you shall separate all the ships which have been fast sailers from the others and shall give orders that they shall continue their voyage to these kingdoms without waiting for the others but you shall give orders that those ships which have been found to be the fastest sailers shall wait for one another and shall observe all the other regulations which you take with you relating to waiting for and signalling to one another so as not to part company and you shall also separate those which are less fast and are laggards and these are to continue their voyage independently of the others in the manner which we have prescribed and explained that the fast ships are to continue it and if it should so happen that your own ship is one of the fast sailers you shall come in company with these and shall appoint a commander of the slow sailers and those which are inferior in sails,—such an one you will select for this purpose who appears to you to be the most suitable and apt and to him you will commit all the authority which you yourself possess and we hereby order that all the other captains and crews shall obey him and comply with his orders in like manner as they would obey you and if [your ship] should be . . . one of the laggards you will remain with them and will appoint a commander for the others in the aforesaid manner . . . and if Sancho de Toar should have one of the quick sailers he shall be their commander and if one of the slow sailers he shall be their commander provided always that he is not in the same division of the fleet that you yourself are.

And although we ordain in these instructions in such great detail

all that you are to do and to observe yet, seeing that as yet so little is known regarding the time and manner of conducting this business and on account of the difference which perchance you will find in the customs of that country [from those which are observed in ours], if it should appear to you that you ought to alter and arrange matters otherwise in order to conduct and conclude them in a proper manner and as we would desire for our service, we, in the great confidence which we have in you, hold it well and hereby command you to do and follow that which appears to you best, taking in everything counsel with the captains and factor and any other persons whom you think you ought to associate with you in the matter and, finally, that which you prefer to do and agree upon you will follow out and perform.

Item, the Second Captain

APPENDIX D

Torre do Tombo : Chancellaria de D. Manuel, L.^o 13, fl. 10. (Frei Gonçalo Velho, I. pp. 283–285.)

We, Dom Manuel, &c., make known to you, captains, fidalgos, knights, esquires, shipmasters and pilots, able-bodied and ordinary seamen, officers and all other persons who go and whom we send in the fleet and armada which is to sail to India, that we, because of the great confidence which we have in Pedralvarez de Guouueia, fidalgo of our Household and because we know that in this matter and in every other matter which we will lay upon him he will well understand how to serve us and will give a very good account of himself and his commission, we therefore give to him and entrust him with the captaincy-in-chief of all the aforesaid fleet and armada and we hereby notify you to this effect and we command all generally and

each one in particular to comply with all which shall be demanded of you by him and required of you in our name and to do in every particular that which he orders you to do and to obey his commands in the same manner and as perfectly and with the same diligence and great care which we ourselves would expect of you and to do this as if it was told to you and commanded you by ourselves in person for so we hold it good and for our service and those who comply and who act in this manner will render us a great service in this matter and those who act in the contrary manner (which we hope will not occur) will do us a great disservice and we will inflict upon them chastisement commensurate with their evil deserts. Moreover in order that the affairs of our service may be attended to and carried out as they ought to be in a fleet and armada such as this is and in order that any who commit offences and crimes against our service now or in any circumstances which arise may be punished, we give to him by these presents all our whole authority and prerogative which he shall make use of in all cases and entirely until his death and all his decisions and commands shall be obeyed and no appeal of any kind will be permitted from his decisions ; this power and authority however shall not be understood to apply to the Captains of large and small ships who go with him nor to the fidalgos and others whom we send in the aforesaid fleet and armada when they commit crimes for which they ought to be punished, for legal processes shall be instituted in such cases and they shall be reported to us in order that we may know them and [the offenders] will be punished and chastised according to their condition and in testimony of all that is contained herein we order these letters patent to be executed and they are signed and sealed with our seal and we command the same to be done wholly without fault.

Given in our city of Lisbon on the fifteenth day of February—Antonio Carneiro executed this—in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ fifteen hundred.

APPENDIX E

Letter from King Manuel of Portugal to the Catholic Sovereigns giving them an account of all that happened during the voyage of Pedro Alvarez Cabral along the coast of Africa even to the Erythræan Sea. (Navarrete, 'Coleccion de los viages y descubrimientos,' tomo III. pp. 94-101.)

Most exalted, excellent and puissant Sovereigns, my father and my mother : hitherto, since the first news arrived from India, I have not written to Your Majesties concerning Indian affairs because Pedro Alvarez Cabral, my Chief Captain of the Fleet which I had sent there, had not also arrived and after his arrival I postponed the matter because two of his ships had not also arrived ; of these two, one had been sent to Sofala, (which is a gold mine recently discovered) not with the object of purchasing gold but only in order to obtain accurate information regarding [the position of] affairs there ; of the two ships which were to go there, one was lost at sea and the other was separated from the fleet in stormy weather and did not go there. And after the aforesaid ships had arrived and when I was about to notify everything to Your Majesties, Pero Lopez de Padilla told me that you would be glad to receive news as to the manner in which events had transpired there and that which follows is a summary of everything which happened.

My aforesaid Captain sailed from Lisbon with thirteen ships on the ninth day of March of last year. During the octave of the Easter following he arrived at a country which he first discovered and on which he bestowed the name of Santa Cruz ; in it he found the people naked as in the days of primal innocence, mild and peaceable and it would appear that our Lord intended that that country should be miraculously discovered for it lies most conveniently and is indeed

necessary to the voyage to India for the repair and watering of ships] and, because the voyage which he had to make was long, he did not delay for the purpose of obtaining information regarding the country but he sent back a ship thence to me to inform me that he had discovered it and continued his voyage by way of the Cape of Good Hope and in that ocean, before arriving at the Cape, he experienced great storms owing to which on one day four ships foundered together before his eyes and not a single person on board these ships escaped [drowning] and at the same time another ship disappeared regarding which we have as yet no news and the ship in which he continued the voyage and also the other remaining ships passed through great danger and thus he went on his way in order to touch at Quiloa, a Moorish port, under the lordship of which place is Sofala for he carried my letters and messages for the king of it in order that he might establish peace with him and he negotiated with the king regarding trade and purchases at the aforesaid gold mine. And before he arrived at the aforesaid kingdom he met two ships carrying a great quantity of gold and he captured them but, seeing that they belonged to the aforesaid King of Quiloa, he allowed them to proceed after paying them much honour. He was very well received by the king who came in person to meet my Captain on the sea and the Captain entered his boat with him and sent presents to him and after he had seen my letters and [received] my messages he agreed to the treaty [of peace] and since the ships which had been destined for the aforesaid gold mine were amongst those which had been lost no traffic [in gold] was begun there at that time because the merchandise which the other ships carried was not such as was suitable for that country. And he departed thence and sailed to Malindi, another kingdom, for he carried my letters and messages for the king of that place also who is also a Moor [Mahometan] and who had acted well towards D. Vasco who was the first to go there to make the discovery of it and the aforesaid king came to him on the sea and also sent him

presents and confirmed and established a treaty of amity and peace with him and gave him the pilots which he required for his voyage. These kingdoms are on the Erythræan Sea ; they join a country of heathen people on the landward side, and these heathen join the country of Prester John ; those of the former country call the people of Prester John 'Coavixi' which means 'marked with an iron' in their language as in fact they are and they mark themselves with an iron as a sign that they are baptized in water. And he departed thence for Calicut which is more than seven hundred leagues distant thence, which city, as we believe that you already know, is a city of heathen who adore many things and believe that there is only one God¹ and it is very populous and there are many Moors in it who until now have always traded there in spicery for it is a place like Bruges in Flanders: Thither come the chief products of India for in it there is only canna fistula and ginger and my Captain arrived there five months after his departure from Lisbon and was very honourably received by the king who came to talk with him in a house by the sea with all his grandees and many others and there my Captain gave him my messages and established peace and concluded an agreement and the aforesaid king ordered a copy of the agreement to be made in writing on a sheet of silver with his seal of inlaid gold as is the custom in his country in matters of great importance and also to be written on leaves of some trees which appear to be palms on which they always write and of these trees and their fruit are made these things following : sugar, honey, vinegar, fuel and cordage for ships and for all other purposes. And there are others from which are made some of the sails of ships and they make use of those trees for every purpose for which it is possible to use them and the aforesaid fruit, besides providing those articles which are made from it, is also their principal nutriment especially when they are at sea. And, after the agreement had been thus concluded with the aforesaid

¹ Confounding apparently the polytheists and Mahometans.

king, my factor landed with the whole household which I sent for the aforesaid factory and he began immediately to deal with his merchandise and to load the ships with spicery. And meanwhile the King of Calicut sent to tell my Captain that a large and well-armed ship belonging to another king who was his enemy had sent to tell him that it was passing before his harbour without any fear of him and that it had annoyed him previously on other occasions and he begged my Captain to give orders to capture it, dwelling upon the matter as something gravely concerning his high estate and his honour. And my aforesaid Captain, taking into consideration the agreement which he and the aforesaid factor had just received from the aforesaid king and in order to confirm peace and amity, agreed to do this and, in order to show him the strength of our people in ships and artillery, he only sent the smallest ship he had with one lombarda and overtook it in the port of a neighbouring king and before his eyes and those of all his people the ship was captured and brought to Calicut with four hundred men and some artillery and with seven elephants in it trained to fight which were worth thirty thousand cruzados there for they gave five thousand cruzados for one of them alone and with other merchandise, namely, spicery and my Captain sent it to him as a present and gave it to him with all that it contained and he came to the beach to see it for it was a great surprise to them that so small a ship with so few men should capture so large a one with so many men and to receive the message which the aforesaid Captain sent him concerning it and he came with all his retinue and in gala attire. And when this amity had been established and agreement made concerning the ships trading in spicery, the Arabs, chiefly those of Mecca who were there, seeing the great loss which would result to them, tried in every possible manner to stir up strife between my factor and the king and stirred up a tumult in order to interrupt the trade and, as all the merchandise was in the hands of the Arabs, they concealed it and sent it away privily to

other places. And, when the aforesaid Captain knew this, he sent to tell the King of Calicut of it, complaining to him and asking him to fulfil what he had agreed to, namely, that within twenty days merchandise would be given to him wherewith to load the aforesaid ships and that, until they were loaded, no permission would be given to other ships to load and the king replied that he would give orders that all the merchandise in the country should be given to him at once and that, if any one took in cargo in his port without the knowledge of his officers, he would give my Captain opportunity and authority to detain the ship until he should send his aforesaid officers in order that they might take steps to have it delivered up to them. And when the Arabs knew this, they agreed amongst themselves to load one of their ships openly with great diligence but nevertheless to conceal merchandise with even greater diligence than they had previously exercised and they did this in order to give occasion for the commencement of the outbreak for they are powerful and the city contains people of many nationalities and has a large population and the king can with difficulty prevent popular tumults. And when my factor saw that the ship was being loaded he asked the Captain to detain it as had been agreed upon with the king and the aforesaid Captain, fearing an outbreak, hesitated to do this and the factor again asked him to detain it notwithstanding this [risk] and told him that the principal Arabs and also some of the heathen people said that if the ship was not detained he would not be able to load his ships at all and from that which followed it would appear that the ship was loaded in order to give an occasion for the outbreak. And my Captain, after hesitating many times, fearing that which followed, sent to tell the people of that ship, in virtue of the authority which had been granted to him for this purpose, that it was not to sail but they would not agree to this and it was then necessary to give orders to detain it and the Captain ordered his boats to bring it inside the harbour whence it would not be able to depart without his

permission. And as soon as the Arabs saw this and this being the opportunity which they desired at that very moment they came quickly with all the other people whom they had previously incited to attack the aforesaid factor and his house. And he and the few people whom he had with him defended themselves for a short time and they then sallied forth from the house and came to the seashore to rally there. And my Captain, who was sick at that time, sent all his boats to assist him and although the sea was very rough yet he collected some of the people; they killed the factor and fifty others with him were either killed or taken prisoners and, when this had been done and the aforesaid Captain saw that the king had not interfered and had sent him no message but on the contrary that he was providing himself with certain equipment which signified war and that he himself had seized my property which had remained on shore, after waiting for a day to see if he had repented of this affair, when he saw that still no message was sent and feared lest the king should arm himself powerfully, as he afterwards did, in order to prevent the revenge which might be taken upon him, he then consented to take the matter in hand at once and took possession of ten strong ships which lay in the harbour and gave orders to put to the sword all the people in them, save a few who hid themselves, whom afterwards he resolved not to kill but brought them to me as prisoners and he gave orders to burn the aforesaid ships before the harbour and that caused great alarm to the king and to the people of the country and there were in the ships three elephants which died and in this manner he spent all that day and as soon as it was night he went with all the ships and placed himself as near the land as possible along the front of the city and at dawn of day began to bombard it with artillery and bombarded it till night and chiefly the houses of the king to which he did much damage and he killed many of his people as he afterwards learned and he killed one of his principal men who was with the king, upon which the king immediately left the city as it was evident that he

was not safe in any part it. [My Captain] sailed thence and went to another of his ports called Fandarene (*sic*)¹ which he also damaged with artillery and killed some of his people and thence he sailed for Cochin which is the place from which the spicery comes and it is thirty leagues beyond Calicut and on the voyage he found some other ships of Calicut which he also captured and ordered that they should be burned. And when he had arrived at Cochin and had informed the king of that which had taken place at Calicut, he was very well received by him and concluded an agreement with him in the same manner as he had done at Calicut and he put my factor on land and some men with him for which purpose hostages who were honourable men were given him whom they brought to him. And they loaded the ships in sixteen days and they fetched the merchandise in their boats to the ships with so much friendliness and with such care that it appeared as if our Lord had permitted that outrage at Calicut in order that this arrangement might be concluded which is much more profitable and safer than the other one because [Cochin] is a much better port and has a much larger trade, for much of almost all the kinds of merchandise which go to Calicut is to be found in that country and the other kinds go there before going to Calicut and at that city of Cochin there are many ships and he learned that only fifty ships belonged to the merchants. In that kingdom there are many faithful Christians, followers of Saint Thomas, and their priests follow the apostolic manner of living with much strictness, only keeping for themselves what is given to them as alms and they practise celibacy and have churches in which they say mass and they consecrate buckwheat bread and wine which they make from raisins and water for they can make no other ; they have no images in the churches but only the cross and all the Christians wear apostolic vestments and have their beards and hair uncut. And there he obtained certain information regarding the place of

¹ Pandarani.

burial of Saint Thomas which is one and fifty leagues distant thence on the sea-coast in a city called Mailapur with a small population and he brought me earth from his sepulchre and all the Christians and also the Arabs and the pagans go to his house in pilgrimage on account of the great miracles which are done there and [my Captain] also brought some of the Christians who came of their own free will and by the permission of their primate in order that we might send them to Rome and Jerusalem and that they might see the condition of the Church in those places for they are of opinion that they would be better governed if they were ruled by Saint Peter whom they believe to have been the chief of the apostles for they were so informed by them. And he had also certain information regarding great Christian peoples who live beyond that kingdom of Cochin and who come in pilgrimage to the aforesaid house of Saint Thomas and they have very powerful kings who obey one only and they are white men with their hair in plaits and are clothed like warriors and their country is called Malchima whence come porcelain ware and anil and amber and aloes-wood which they bring from the river Ganges which is in their direction and there are vases of porcelain so delicate that one vase is worth one hundred cruzados there. And when he was in that kingdom of Cochin and when the treaty had been concluded and the ships loaded, there came a message to him from the King of Cananor and one from the King of Colum (*sic*)¹ which adjoin it inviting him to come to them because he would find a more profitable market there but, as he had already made an agreement, he asked them to excuse him. At this time when he was on the point of leaving Cochin, the same king sent one to tell him that a strong fleet was coming against him from Calicut and that fifteen thousand men were in it and my Captain did not consider it desirable to fight against it because his ships were laden and he had but few people and it did not appear to him to be the

¹ Quilon.

right time nor to be necessary to risk [the combat] in case some [men] of the fleet should be killed or wounded and [having regard to] the length of the voyage which is one of four thousand leagues from here ; therefore he set sail and they did not hinder him and did not venture to put out to sea but turned back fearing to go after him and thence he made his way to the kingdom of Cananor, to one of the kings who had sent to ask him [to come], and as he was passing along, when they saw him from the land, [the king] sent him another message begging him to call there for he wished to send me his envoy with him and him he brought to me and during the one day he was there [the king] ordered so much spicery to be delivered to the ships that there was sufficient for a cargo if the ships had been empty and it was given in order that he might bring it without payment as a present to me in order to obtain my friendship and all his grandees also came to my Captain and told him on behalf of the king that he would see there that he would be treated in a different manner from that in which he had been treated at Calicut, that they would assist him and that he would land in person with all his fleet on the water and, after he had thanked them much in my name, he took his leave, saying that in the other fleet which was to be sent soon he would send my reply to everything. And he continued his journey and at the middle of that crossing he captured a very large ship laden with merchandise and he supposed that it was one of those of Mecca which at that season have to leave Calicut and, when he found that the aforesaid ship belonged to the King of Cobaia (*sic*),¹ he let it go on and sent a message by it to the aforesaid king that he had left it alone because he was not there in order to make war on any one and he had only made war upon those who had not observed the treaty of peace which they had concluded with him in my name. And, when he had proceeded further, one of the ships, which had a cargo, was

¹ Cambay.

lost for it ran aground during the night and the ship's company was saved and he ordered that the ship should be burned because it could not be saved. And from this port . . . he sent the ship to obtain information regarding the gold mine of Sofala as has already been mentioned and this ship has already arrived here and has brought me authentic information concerning that place and also concerning the trade and the merchandise of the country and the great quantity of gold which is there and there he heard that among the men who carry gold to the coast there are many who have four eyes, two in front and two behind, and they are little men and red and they say that they are cruel and that they eat men with whom they are at war and that the cows of the king wear heavy collars of gold round their necks. And near this gold mine are two islands where they collect many seed-pearls and much amber. And my aforesaid Captain sailed thence and arrived at Lisbon sixteen months after he had quitted it and, thanks be to God, not more than three men died of sickness in this voyage and all the others returned in health and good bodily condition. Then there came a reliable message to the effect that one of the ships, which had sailed for Sofala and which had been supposed to be lost, was returning and would arrive here one of those days and they say that it entered within the [inner] Erythræan Sea and that it is bringing silver thence and also some information regarding matters there although indeed we were well informed by my aforesaid Captain regarding the aforesaid Erythræan Sea and he was made acquainted with it in many ways. I leave the other details concerning this matter to Pero Lopez who was present at all. Most exalted and most excellent and most puissant sovereigns, Father and Mother, may our Lord have your lives and your royal estate in His holy keeping.

Written at Santarem this nine-and-twentieth day of July.—
EL REY.

APPENDIX F

Torre do Tombo: Chancellaria de D. Manuel, liv. 44º, fl. 62. (Frey Gonçalo Velho, I. p. 300).

Dom Manuel etc. To all Judges and Magistrates of our Kingdoms and officers and inhabitants of the comarca and judicial district of Estremadura and to all other officers and persons whom the knowledge hereof concerns in any degree whatsoever and unto whom these our letters patent or an extract thereof shall be publicly shown by authority and by command of the justiciary, Greeting: Know ye that, desiring to show grace and favour to Pedro Aluares Cabrall, resident in the town of Santarem, fidalgo of our household, etc., and having seen letters of approval signed by us by virtue of which it pleases us to grant him the benefit of the privilege hereafter following in consideration of his being prepared to serve us in war with his horses, arms and men whenever for our service we command him, we hold it to be right and we command, etc. Given in due form at Evora on the 18th day of February by the king's command to the Bishop of Guarda, etc. Joham Alvarez drafted this in the year 1509.

APPENDIX G

Torre do Tombo: Chancellaria de Dom Manuel, Lº 39, fl. 60. (Trabalhos Nauticos, II. p. 140.)

Dom Manuel, etc. To all to whom this our letter shall come we make known that, having regard to the many services which we have received and in future expect to receive from Fernã dAlurž Cabrall, our young noble,¹ son of Pº dAllrž Cabrall, whom may God

¹ 'Moço fidalgo.'

forgive, and desiring to show him grace and favour, we hold it well and it is our good pleasure that he receive and hold from us a pension from the first day of January next of the year fifteen hundred and twenty-one thenceforward and for as long as it shall be our good pleasure of twenty thousand reals annually, wherefore we command the Comptrollers of our Exchequer to have this letter registered in our books of the Exchequer and to give notice in writing each year of the place where he may have due payment and for his protection and to keep us in remembrance hereof we command this our letter, signed by us and sealed with our pendant seal, to be given to him. Given in our city, the city of Evora, this fifth day of the month of November—Jorge Frz drafted this—in the year fifteen hundred and twenty.

ERRATA

- Page 1, line 9. Instead of 'gules' read 'purpure.'
- Page 14, line 23. Instead of 'A year later' read 'About this time
- Page 23, line 5. Instead of 'Bora' read 'Bona.'
- Page 33, note 4. Instead of 'Rea' read 'Real.'
- Page 43, line 15. Insert 'do' after 'to.'
- Page 49, line 25. Insert 'day' after 'one.'
- Page 55, line 17. Instead of 'had' read 'would have.'
- Page 59, line 21. Delete 'we.'

