

# INTRODUCTION

Pedro Álvares Cabral was born in Portugal, probably in 1467. When Vasco da Gama returned from India in 1499, King Manuel I chose Pedro Cabral to sail a fleet of ships to establish trade with India.

Pedro Cabral's fleet was one of the largest fleets that had ever sailed the Atlantic. It set sail for India in 1500 on what turned out to be the longest voyage in history up to that time, and one of the greatest and most influential voyages of discovery ever made.

After passing Cape Verde Islands, Pedro Cabral's fleet took a south westerly course, which led to them inadvertently becoming the first ships to sail across the South Atlantic.

On shore they encountered strange people with bodies painted and tattooed, and decorated with coverings of brilliant feathers. Their appearance and customs were entirely unlike any that the Portuguese had seen before. Pedro Cabral had discovered Brazil, writing the first page in its history, and had opened up South America to further discoveries.

The continuation of their voyage led Pedro Cabral's men to be the first to sail from America to India. They discovered Madagascar, and were the first Europeans to travel to parts of East Africa and the Middle East by the southern route. Their epic voyage continued despite the considerable loss of lives and ships.

Included are all of the first hand accounts of the journey, written by Pero Vaz de Caminha, Master John, and "the anonymous narrative", and all of the reports written on their return by King Manuel, Amerigo Vespucci, Bartolomeo Marchioni, Ca' Masser, and those that appeared in "The Venetian letters" and the "The Venetian diaries".

This voyage was the beginning of trade between Europe and the East by the Atlantic route. This caused the eventual decline of the prosperity of those nations that had conducted trade with Asia via the existing routes. Few voyages or discoverers have been of greater importance to posterity. Yet there are few that have been less appreciated during their lifetime.

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CHAPTER 1

THE ANCESTRY OF PEDRO CABRAL

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 cognisance and two goats passant purpure 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 Cabreiras - 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 that could thus waste its provisions. It is also narrated that the son of the Castellán was taken prisoner and slain and that the horns and beards of the heraldic goats are sable as a token of mourning in consequence of this event. Examples of the coat of arms could be seen in the church of São Thiago at Belmonte 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 Sintra. 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 Fernandes 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

## CHAPTER 2

### THE EARLY LIFE OF PEDRO CABRAL

The father of Pedro Álvares Cabral, Fernão Cabral, married Izabel de Gouvêa in 1464. His wife had inherited valuable lands in her own right, some of which had previously belonged to the Cabral family. Izabel de Gouvêa died in 1483 and Fernão Cabral in 1493.

By his will, published at Belmonte the 6th of May 1494, his property was to be divided by lot among nine of the eleven children, two of the daughters having been provided for previously in their dowries.

João Fernandes Cabral, the eldest son, remained at Belmonte. 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 that 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 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.

In the seignorial residence and in the judicial atmosphere of Belmonte 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

CHAPTER 3

PEDRO CABRAL CHOSEN AS COMMANDER

Vasco da Gama had returned to Lisbon from India on the 29th of August, 1499, and was received with great honour. He was made Count of Vidigueira and given an irrevocable commission to act as the chief of any future fleet to India, should he so desire.

Alvard conceding to Dom Vasco da Gama the chief captaincy of all the ships departing for India during his lifetime, the king not being able to intervene in this matter, etc. :

“We, the King, make known to all to whom this our alvará may come, that in consideration of the very great and signal service that Dom Vasco da Gama of our council did to us and to our kingdoms in the discovery of India, for which reason we should give him all honour, increase and reward, and because of this, it pleases us that we grant him by this present alvará that of all the armadas that in his life we shall order made and shall make for the said parts of India, whether they be only for the trade in merchandise or whether it is necessary to make war with them, he may take and takes the chief captaincy of these, so that in the said armadas he has to go in person, and in them to serve us, and when he thus wishes to take the said captaincy, we may not place in them nor appoint another chief captain save him, because of his honour, and we confide in him that he will know very well our service; it pleases us that we grant and we in fact grant this reward and privilege as is said. Furthermore, we order to be given to him this our alvará by us signed, that we order shall be in every way kept and guarded, as in it is contained our reward, without impediment or any embargo that might be placed upon it. And it pleases us, and we wish that it be as valid as a letter by us signed and sealed with our seal, and passed by our Chancellery, in spite of our ordinance, even though it may not be passed by the officers of the Chancellery. Done.”

To the Portuguese people Vasco da Gama's voyage was accomplished by the will of God, who had destined them for the control of the East,

CHAPTER 4

SHIPS AND PERSONNEL

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 pedraluares cabrall fidalgo da cassa del Rey de portugall & elle a descobrio indo por capita moor de quatorze naos que o dito Rey mandaua a caliquit 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 cabellos muyto corredios foy descoberta esta dita terra em aera de quinhentos.”

Cabral’s fleet consisted of both ships and caravels. There is no official document that tells how many belonged to each class, and the only authors who give us exact statements are Castanheda, who says that there were three round ships, and the rest were ships (probably meaning caravels), and Gaspar Corrêa, who states there were ten large ships of 200 to 300 tons and three small ones. In the account of the voyage written by a Portuguese pilot and published by Ramusio, Cabral is said to have commanded thirteen vessels. Barros also avers that the fleet comprised thirteen sail. Castanheda, who gives the best narrative of the voyage and usually refers to the vessels as caravels, was probably right. Corrêa had the classes reversed. This uncertainty in the description of the vessels is due to the inexact way in which ships were then designated. The Capitania, or flagship, and the ships of Simão de Miranda and Sancho de Tovar were undoubtedly naos redondos, or round ships. The remaining vessels were probably small ships and caravels, with possibly a few caravelas redondas that combined the two types. There is no description of any of the ships of Cabral’s fleet. The illustration of the fleet shown in the Livro das Armadas da India was made long after the voyage, and was derived from references to the ships as given by the historians. It is therefore of little real value. The ships must have been similar to those in Vasco da Gama’s fleet and to other vessels of the early sixteenth century.

The “round ships” were so called because when viewed from the front

CHAPTER 5

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE OUTWARD VOYAGE

Instructions to obey Pedro Cabral's command

Instructions were given by Dom Manuel to obey the command of Pedro Cabral during the voyage. The source of this document was Torre do Tombo - Chancellaria de D. Manuel, L<sup>o</sup>. 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 that is to sail to India, that we, because of the great confidence that we have in Pedralvarez de Guouueia, fidalgo of our Household and because we know that in this matter and in every other matter that 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 that 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 that 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 (that 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 that arise may be punished, we give to him by these presents all our whole authority and prerogative that he shall make use of in all cases and entirely until his death and all his decisions and



## CHAPTER 6

### THE DISCOVERY OF BRAZIL

On the 8th of March 1500 the fleet of thirteen vessels was assembled in the Tagus, some three miles below Lisbon, near the small hermitage of Restello, where the monastery of the Jeronimos now stands.

Before their departure, pontifical mass was said with great solemnity. The king was there, and gave his last instructions orally to the young commander and presented him with a banner carrying the royal arms. The ships were decked with many coloured flags. Musicians with their bagpipes, fifes, drums, and horns added to the liveliness. The people, both those who were to sail and those on shore, were dressed as for a fête. All Lisbon had come to see them off and to wish them good fortune, for this was the first commercial fleet to sail for India. The way had been found, and it was this voyage that was to bring back a rich reward in jewels and spices and pave the way for even greater wealth to follow.

On the following day, Monday the 9th of March 1500, the fleet left the mouth of the Tagus and departed from the Bay of Cascaes. All sails were set, and on them was displayed the red cross of the Order of Christ, for Cabral's fleet also went to bring the true Faith to the people of India. The conversion of the heathen was not only the desire of Dom Manuel, but it was an obligation imposed by the Pope. The bulls of 1493, granted by Alexander VI as the head of the Church, had given spheres of influence over non-Christian countries with the implied duty of bringing them under the guidance of Rome. This was shown in the bull addressed to Dom Manuel in June 1497. In it the Pope granted the request of the king and permitted him to possess the lands conquered from the infidels, provided no other Christian kings had rights to them, and prohibited all other rulers from molesting him. At the end he requested him to endeavour to establish the dominion of the Christian religion in the lands that he might conquer. This may explain the religious tone of the king's letter to the Zamorin of Calicut.

The voyage thus begun was to be the longest in history up to this time.

CHAPTER 7

PERO VAZ DE CAMINHA'S ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY

Pero Vaz de Caminha had accepted the position of writer in the fleet under Cabral's command. He sailed in Cabral's flagship with other writers. One of the two letters sent by Pedro Cabral to the King of Portugal relating their discovery of Brazil was written by him on 1st May 1500. It is the first document describing the discovery of Brazil, and has sometimes been called the first page in the history of Brazil. It was kept in the Torre do Tombo, and classified as Corpo Chronologico, gaveta 8, maco 2, no. 8.

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“Senhor : Although the chief captain of this your fleet, and also the other captains, are writing to Your Highness the news of the finding of this your new land which was now found in this navigation, I shall not refrain from also giving my account of this to Your Highness, as best I can, although I know less than all of the others how to relate and tell it well. Nevertheless, may Your Highness take my ignorance for good intention, and believe that I shall not set down here anything more than I saw and thought, either to beautify or to make it less attractive. I shall not give account here to Your Highness of the ship's company and its daily runs, because I shall not know how to do it, and the pilots must have this in their charge.

And therefore, Senhor, I begin what I have to relate and say that the departure from Belem, as Your Highness knows, was on Monday, the 9th of March, and on Saturday, the 14th of the said month, between eight and nine o'clock, we found ourselves among the Canary Islands, nearest to Grand Canary; and there we remained all that day in a calm, in sight of them, at a distance of about three or four leagues. On Sunday, the 22nd of the said month, at ten o'clock, a little more or less, we came in sight of the Cape Verde Islands, that is to say, of the island of Sam Nicolao, according to the assertion of Pero Escolar, the pilot. On the following night, on Monday at daybreak, Vasco d'Atayde with his ship was lost from the fleet without there being there heavy weather

CHAPTER 8

LETTER OF MASTER JOHN TO KING MANUEL

Master John was a Galician. As personal physician and surgeon of Dom Manuel, his duties involved those of an astrologer, and because of this he held the position of astronomer on the fleet. He was on one of the smaller ships. The chief duty of Master John seems to have been to study the constellations of the southern hemisphere. On 1st May 1500, before Cabral's fleet left Brazil, Master John wrote a letter to the King Manuel, the king of Portugal, in which he details their position.

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“SEÑOR : I, the bachelor Master John, physician and surgeon of Your Highness, kiss your hands. Señor : because Arias Correa as well as all the others have written to Your Highness at length concerning all that happened here, I shall write only regarding two points. Señor : yesterday, Monday, which was the 27th of April, we went on shore, I and the pilot of the chief captain and the pilot of Sancho de Tovar; and we took the height of the sun at midday; and we found 56 degrees, and the shadow was north. By this, according to the rules of the astrolabe, we judged that we were 17 degrees distant from the equinoctial and consequently had the height of the Antarctic pole in 17 degrees, as is manifest in the sphere. And this is what concerns one point. Whence Your Highness will know that all the pilots go beyond me to such an extent that Pero Escolar exceeds me by 150 leagues, and some more and some less; but which one tells the truth cannot be ascertained until in good time we arrive at the Cape of Good Hope, and there we shall know who goes more correctly, they with the chart, or I with the chart and the astrolabe. As regards the situation of this land, Señor, Your Highness should order a mappa mundi to be brought which Pero Vaaz Bisagudo has, and on it Your Highness will be able to see the location of this land. That mappa mundi, however, does not show whether this land is inhabited or not. It is an old mappa mundi, and there Your Highness will also find la Mina marked. Yesterday we almost understood by signs that this was an island, and that there were four,

CHAPTER 9

THEORIES FOR CABRAL'S WESTWARD DIVERSION

During the voyage of Cabral's fleet to India the course was diverted to the westward of a southerly course after leaving the Cape Verde Islands, and because of this diversion the mainland of South America was reached. While this course may have seemed justified at the time for better navigation and was probably advised by Vasco da Gama, no reason for it is given in any of the contemporary accounts of the voyage or by any of the reliable historians of the period, with the exception of João de Barros, who simply states that the fleet went westward to avoid the Guinea calms. Many of the subsequent voyages to India followed this route, some because a landing was desired on the coast of Brazil to secure wood and water and additional supplies, and others because this course, though longer, had the advantage of better sailing conditions and because the destination could be reached more quickly.

In the three centuries that followed the discovery of America the science of navigation developed steadily, but the narratives of voyages were considered chiefly as matter of record or of popular interest. Ramusio, Hakluyt, and others assembled the accounts of these voyages and incorporated them in their celebrated collections. It was not until towards the beginning of the nineteenth century that a serious study of these documents and narratives was undertaken. Two factors contributed to the better knowledge of early voyages and navigation. One was a renewed interest in the voyages of discovery, particularly in those to America, and the discovery and critical examination of documents and maps relating to them; the other was the scientific discovery of the great ocean currents chiefly through the studies of the English geographer George Rennell, and of Alexander von Humboldt. It was at this time that Muñoz found the valuable documents relating to the early Spanish voyages to America that were later published by Navarrete, and that the accounts of the voyages of Vespucci and others were first questioned and controversies started that have continued to the present day. During this period, attention was given to the voyage of Cabral, and the question arose as to why his course took him westward. Humboldt answers this in his *Examen Critique* with the

CHAPTER 10

CLAIMS OF PRIOR DISCOVERIES OF BRAZIL

The theories that Brazil had been visited by Europeans prior to the voyage of Cabral may be divided into two classes : those claiming that the voyage had been made by navigators in early times who did not return, and those made in the fifteenth century by others who brought back word of discoveries. To the former class belong those theories that are based on Biblical references, on allusions by classical writers, or on evidences to be found on the South American continent. A discussion of these belongs to a field that is not within the scope of this volume. In the second class are the theories based on indications in the charts of Andrea Bianco and Pero Vaz Bisagudo, on the belief that voyages had been made during the reign of João II and that Duarte Pacheco Pereira had visited Brazil in 1498. These have already been discussed as reasons for the diversion of Cabral's fleet to the westward. There remain to be mentioned other claims, probably unknown to Cabral, that have been seriously advocated for the prior discovery of Brazil. These include the Spanish voyages, the voyage of Jean Cousin, and the statements of three persons which, it is believed, indicate that Brazil was previously known.

Columbus visited Trinidad and probably the coast of Pária in 1498, and may be considered the first European to visit the South American continent. The discovery of the mainland during his third voyage was disputed by the Spanish Crown in a celebrated trial during which testimony was taken in 1513 and 1515 by the Spanish Fiscal and Diego Columbus, the son of the great admiral. The question was not settled at that time; but, in view of the evidence there produced and the research of subsequent historians, it is almost certain that he did so. After this discovery Columbus returned to Hispañola, where he remained until his return to Spain in chains. Word was sent back to Spain, however, that pearls had been found along the South American coast. This news caused other fleets to be sent to Pária to seek these new riches and to make further discoveries. The advantage of following a more southerly route from the Cape Verde Islands and thus to take advantage of the north-east trade winds had been apparent during the voyage of

CHAPTER 11

THE VOYAGE AROUND AFRICA TO INDIA

Barros asserts that Cabral set sail to resume his intended voyage on the 3rd 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.

When Cabral's fleet left the coast of Brazil it took its course to the Cape of Good Hope, with the evident intention of making a stop at São Bras. This sea had never been sailed previously, and this voyage from Brazil to the African coast may have been longer than any that had hitherto been made without sighting land.

The fleet continued with light winds, and a comet was seen on the 12th of May that was in view for ten days. This was to the crew an ill omen.

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 Bartolomeu Dias, 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. And the same author relates that after the catastrophe one of the pilots from Malindi 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 Malindi could have any knowledge of islands in the South Atlantic unless he had himself seen them or been informed by others in

CHAPTER 12

THE DISCOVERY OF MADAGASCAR

During the voyage of Cabral's fleet to India the ship of Diogo Dias had become separated due to the storm. It lost its way sailing too far beyond the Cape and then turned north. Diogo Dias then sailed far to the eastward and came in sight of the east coast of Madagascar, which had probably not been previously visited by Europeans. He only discovered his true position when he arrived at the northern extremity of the island.

The Anonymous Narrative, the letter of King Manuel, and most of the subsequent historians state that this ship reached the African mainland somewhat to the north of Malindi, and after an almost miraculous voyage returned to Lisbon. Corrêa, alone, tells of the discovery of Madagascar. While Corrêa cannot be relied on for the early voyages to India, in this case the information that he gives seems to be correct. After describing the storm in the South Atlantic and the voyage of the other ships around the Cape to Mozambique, Corrêa continues :

“Except Diogo Dias, who, not knowing where he was going, did not arrive at land as soon as he should, and went on the other side of the island of Sam Laurenço. And because they saw it on his day [the 10th of August], they gave his name to it. And when they arrived at it, thinking that it was the coast of Mozambique, they ran along it, keeping a sharp lookout, seeking Mozambique, until they came to the end of the island, which was turning back so that the wind was on the other side, which was against them. On this account they then knew that it was an island and that they erred. Then they went to the island and cast anchor in a good port that made a harbour, protected from the winds of the sea. And lowering a boat they went on shore, where they found a spring of very good water. There were no people, and there were very good fish. He then sent there a convict whom he carried, because the king sent convicts in all the ships to thus adventure in doubtful lands; and the king ordered that they should be pardoned in the event of death or life. This one went inland and found some villages of straw houses, and the people were black and nude. He spoke with them by signs, without any of them doing him any harm. And he returned to the ship. And with

CHAPTER 13

INSTRUCTIONS FOR INDIA AND THE RETURN

Cabral's fleet was the largest that the Portuguese had sent. It went on diplomatic missions and carried cargo for trade. Because of the danger that the ships might become separated, regulations were necessary for signals and ports named to which those that lost the convoy could proceed. In dealing with the Mohammedan and Hindu rulers instructions were desirable for the safety of the members of the fleet, for obtaining treaties, and for commercial relations. When Arab ships were met at sea they were subject to seizure, and regulations were required for the distribution of booty. Directions were also necessary regarding discipline, the operation of the fleet, the succession of commanders, and other matters of a similar nature. Before Cabral's departure, therefore, comprehensive instructions were prepared with great care. All of these no longer exist, but fortunately the most important portion, that which was intended as a guide for Cabral on his arrival in India, has been preserved, and also a letter in which the king gave Cabral additional directions for the return voyage. On subsequent voyages similar instructions were provided, and from these it is possible to supply some portions of Cabral's instructions that are lost.

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Instructions for Cabral's guidance in India

Cabral went to India as the representative of the King of Portugal on missions of the greatest importance to his country. Though he was a man of only thirty-three years of age who had had little previous experience, there went in the fleet some of the best pilots and navigators in Portugal, so that their duties were in capable hands. The commercial activities were in the charge of Ayres Correia, who was also able to negotiate commercial treaties. It was further arranged that important matters should be discussed at councils composed of the principal men of the fleet, at which Cabral presided. He was also provided with instructions for his guidance, that were intended to provide for every contingency that might arise. Among them were



CHAPTER 14

WHILST IN INDIA

Land was reached at Anjediva, an island frequented by ships, in order to obtain supplies when on their way to Calicut. Here the ships were careened and painted, and preparations were made for meeting the Zamorin of Calicut. Cabral's instructions provided that Arab ships should be captured if found at sea or at places other than friendly ports. He therefore hoped that some might be encountered at Anjediva, but in this he was disappointed.

Leaving Anjediva, the fleet of six ships anchored before Calicut on the 13th of September. All were gaily decked with banners, and a salute was fired. Merchants came to visit them, but Cabral, in accordance with his instructions, could not open negotiations until after certain prescribed preliminaries had been fulfilled. 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. 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.

Several days elapsed before Cabral could land. The lengthy details of the negotiations regarding the obtaining of these hostages, that are given by the historians, are perhaps intended to absolve Cabral from any accusation of timidity, and to show that he was only obeying the instructions formulated for his guidance. It was arranged for Pedro Cabral to meet the Zamorin of Calicut.

A letter, with a strongly religious tone, was sent by Dom Manuel to the Zamorin of Calicut, who was already known to the Portuguese :

“Great and most powerful Prince Zamorin, by the Grace of God King of Calecut. We, Dom Manuel, by His Divine Grace King of Portugal and the Algarves on this side of and beyond the sea in Africa, Lord of

CHAPTER 15

PRIEST JOSEPH'S DESCRIPTION OF INDIA

While the fleet was being loaded with spices at Cochin two Christian priests, Priest Joseph and Priest Mathias from the neighbouring settlement of Cranganore, sent word to Pedro Cabral asking permission to be taken to Portugal so that they might go from there to Rome and Jerusalem. Priest Mathias died either on the voyage or soon after his arrival in Portugal, but his brother, Priest Joseph, reached Lisbon in safety and was well received by the king. During the long voyage to Portugal and during his stay there Priest Joseph gave a detailed description of South-west India at the time of Cabral's time there. Fracanzano wrote the introduction. Where he obtained his information is not known, because he states that he had never seen Priest Joseph.

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“How Joseph the Indian came to Portugal on board our caravels, and the King caused him to be accompanied to Rome and to Venice

The King of Portugal, having learned at other times, through his ships and other Portuguese, how to go from the northern parts to the parts of India, and taking the counsel of some of his people who had come from those parts in the past, the aforesaid King Hemanuel decided in the year 1500 to send twelve ships and caravels. The captain of these was Pedro Aliares. He, having received the standard of his captaincy on the 8th day of March of the said year, departed from Portugal. And sailing through very great storms and perils until the 13th day of the month of September [the 14th of September in the second edition] of the aforesaid year, he reached Calichut with seven caravels. Four of them had been lost in a storm and one went to Zaffal. They remained in that place of Calichut for three months, but finally, because of certain differences, they came to blows with those of the land. And after some of the men from the caravels and also many of the aforesaid place were killed, they departed on the 24th day of November of the same year and the aforesaid ships and caravels reached Cuchin, a place one hundred and ten miles distant from Calichut. That place of Cuchin is situated on

CHAPTER 16

THE VOYAGE TO CAPE VERDE

Taking with him an ambassador from the king at Cananore, Pedro Cabral sailed towards the African shore. Cabral carried instructions that required him to capture Moorish ships at sea whenever possible, to secure loot, part of which was to go to the king, and the remainder to be divided among the members of the fleet.

When the ships were on the high seas a strange sail hove in sight. The Chief Captain signalled to it to strike sail, which it immediately did and a boat was launched. It was with evident regret that it was later released when it was ascertained that it was an Indian ship and did not belong to the Arabs. It proved to be a ship of Cambay homeward-bound from Malacca, that was richly laden with a cargo of spices and sandalwood.

Valuable presents were conveyed to the Chief Captain for which the Cambay captain would accept no payment in money but begged for a flag that 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 Malindi and Mozambique and, as the summer was well advanced, the pilots advised Cabral not to turn back to Malindi.

As the fleet approached the opposite shore, the pilots advised caution, but the Spanish captain, Sancho de Tovar, insisted on taking the lead. In consequence of hugging the coast in disregard of the advice of his pilot, he 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

CHAPTER 17

THE LETTER OF AMERIGO VESPUCCI

Gaspar de Lemos had returned to Portugal from Brazil some time during the summer of 1500, bringing with him letters to the king from members of Cabral's fleet and particularly one from Pero Vaz de Caminha. The return of Gaspar de Lemos and the report of the discovery of Brazil evidently did not create great excitement in Portugal. There is no mention of his arrival in any existing document. De Lemos may not have brought back any of the parrots that seemed such novelties when Cabral's fleet returned, nor is there any indication in the letter of Caminha that brazil-wood had been found. Both of these appear very prominently on the Cantino map, where they seem to be associated with the voyage of Vespucci.

In Caminha's letter, he states that Cabral and his council advised the king to send another fleet to make further discoveries, because Cabral could not delay his voyage to India to do so. In addition to these letters news had certainly been received from Spain that Vicente Yañez Pinzon had reached Palos in September of that year and reported that he had visited the South American shore and had brought back a cargo of brazil-wood. It was therefore decided by the Portuguese that an expedition should be sent to continue the discovery of Pedro Cabral and to claim this land as within their sphere.

According to Duarte Galvão an expedition under the command of Gonçalvo Coelho departed from Lisbon for Brazil in March 1501, and returned in September of the next year. This, he states, reached land at 5° S and coasted along the shore as far as 32° before it returned. There seems to be no conflict between this voyage and that of Vespucci except as to the date, which Galvão may have mistaken. Amerigo Vespucci was not a navigator, but was a banker who was interested in cosmography. The command of this fleet might therefore have been under Gonçalvo Coelho, and Vespucci might still have gone with it and represented the King of Portugal or the Italian merchants.

The selection of the leader for this voyage was not an easy matter.

CHAPTER 18

THE RETURN TO LISBON

Cabral had rounded the Cape on the 22nd of May 1501, and probably arrived at Cape Verde about the beginning of July.

When his ships reached Beseguiche, near Cape Verde, Diogo Dias 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 Diogo Dias was unable to repel the attack and therefore cut the cable and hoisted sail.

Cabral sent the *Anunciada* to Lisbon and with it the remaining crew of the caravel of Diogo Dias. The vessels of Pedro Cabral, Simão de Miranda and Diogo Dias remained until the arrival of Sancho de Tovar from Sofala and of Pedro de Ataíde. Shortly after these reached Beseguiche, the ships of Pedro Cabral and Simão de Miranda departed for Lisbon and were soon followed by those of Sancho de Tovar, Pedro de Ataíde, and Diogo Dias.

The return of Cabral's fleet had been awaited for weeks, not only by the people of Portugal but by those in other parts of Europe, and particularly by the merchants of Venice. The *Anunciada* - captained by Nicolau Coelho - arrived in Portugal on the eve of Saint John's, on the 23rd of June 1501. When the *Anunciada* sailed up the Tagus and anchored at Belem, the news spread rapidly and people hurried to inquire for relatives or friends and to learn the results of the voyage.

In Bartolomeo Marchioni's letter, written in July 1501, he writes of three of the ships already having arrived. Pedro Cabral reached the Tagus on the 31st of July 1501. The Anonymous Narrative describes Sancho de Tovar as arriving the following day. The dates of the arrivals of the other captains, including Simão de Miranda, Pedro de Ataíde, and Diogo Dias are not precisely known.

CHAPTER 19

THE ANONYMOUS NARRATIVE

One of the earliest and the most complete contemporary accounts of the voyage of Cabral was written by a member of the fleet. From what is known of the voyage of Cabral from other sources the Anonymous Narrative is substantially accurate. It was written by one who was on the voyage and who lived to return. It thus ranks second only to the letters of Pero Vaz de Caminha and Master John as an authoritative source. The author is unknown, but he was without doubt a Portuguese. From the careful and concise manner in which the account was written it appears to have been either an official record of the voyage or a narrative intended for publication.

Some clue as to the identity of the Portuguese author may be obtained from the narrative itself. He was on Cabral's ship or that of Simão de Miranda or Pedro de Ataíde after the storm, and he returned either with Cabral or Simão de Miranda. He seems to have been present when Cabral met the Zamorin and was on shore at the time of the massacre and was among those saved. Since Cabral was on board his ship during the uprising, he could not have been the author. Only Frei Henrique, Nuno Leitao da Cunha, and a sailor are mentioned, of the twenty who escaped. It may have been the work of some nobleman who went with the fleet, but it seems more probable, from the careful manner with which it was written, that it was composed by some one whose duty it was to make this record, possibly one of the writers. The only one holding this position whose name is known and who might have been the author is Joao de Sa, who had gone with Vasco da Gama as a writer and undoubtedly held a position of trust under Cabral. His duties would take him ashore at Calicut, and he returned with the fleet. Since Ravenstein considers that de Sa may have been the author of the so-called Roteiro of the voyage of Vasco da Gama, he may have had a similar duty to perform with Cabral's fleet.

The supplement to the narrative of the voyage shows an exactness in weights and values that indicates that it was made by one of the

CHAPTER 20

BARTOLOMEO MARCHIONI'S ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE

Bartolomeo Marchioni was the head of the most prominent Florentine family in Lisbon. He was probably the richest man in Lisbon. He financed, in part, one small ship, the Anunciada, on Cabral's voyage, which was the first to return, and it is probable that Marchioni also furnished money to the king. When the first of Cabral's ships reached Lisbon, Bartolomeo Marchioni sent letters to Florence, the first dated the 27th of June 1501, announcing the return of the Anunciada, and a second written in July 1501, after the arrival of Cabral. These letters are of particular interest because they were written by an Italian resident in Lisbon who had a financial interest in the expedition.

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The letter of 27th June 1501 :-

On the 23rd day of this month there arrived in Lisbon a small ship named the Anunziata that came from Calichut, and this related how the other caravels that came with it remained behind a few leagues, each league being  $3\frac{1}{2}$  of our miles; which ship gave an infinite amount of news, and here, by this, I give you that which is most important.

It is said that it is four months since the fleet left a land in the confines of Calichut, all loaded with spicery, and that five ships of their command were lost in this going. They went to the new gold-mine and to Calichut. There were eight when they arrived at Calichut. Great honour and good reception were given them; and they held mass on shore. Their merchants and factor then began to trade with them. And there in that part were thirty Moorish ships to load and carry spices over an ocean sea on this same voyage, whence they later went to Domascho. And wishing to load first, the Portuguese came to such a difference that the Moors raised a great tumult and killed all the Portuguese who were on land, including their factor. And when those in the Portuguese ships saw this, they withdrew the ships and began to burn the Moorish ships and to bombard the land; and they destroyed

CHAPTER 21

KING MANUEL'S ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE

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 Erythraean Sea.

Source : Navarrete, "Coleccion de los viages y descubrimientos," tomo III. pp. 94-101.

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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 that 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 affairs there; of the two ships that 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 that 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 that 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 that he had to make was long, he did not delay for the purpose



CHAPTER 22

THE VENETIAN LETTERS

The anxiety of the Venetians to retain the sole monopoly of the European trade in spices and drugs made them view with apprehension the growing power of the Osmanli in the East. To protect her threatened commerce, Venice sought the aid of the Christian states of Europe. Spain, too, had reason to fear the Moslems because of the expulsion of the Moors. There was thus a common bond between the two nations. Domenico Pisani was appointed ambassador to Spain by the Venetian Senate on the 7th of September 1500. Because of the friendly relations between Spain and Portugal and their proximity, he represented Venice in Portugal as well. His chief duties were to remind Ferdinand and Isabella of promised aid, and to seek the assistance of the Portuguese fleets against the Turks. At this time the Venetian diarist Marino Sanuto proposed that someone should be sent to Portugal to offer condolence to Dom Manuel because of the death of his infant son, and also to endeavour to obtain the naval aid that the Venetians desired. The name of Il Cretico was suggested. He was Giovanni Camerino, who is also called Giovanni Matteo Cretico, who was a reader of Greek rhetoric at Padua. Because he had spent seven years on the island of Crete, he was usually called "Il Cretico" He was "a person of great learning in Latin and Greek", and it was agreed that he be sent as a secretary to Pisani because of his suitability and because in this capacity less expense would be incurred. Henceforward Il Cretico was usually in attendance at one court while Pisani was with the other, but early in 1501 they were both in Lisbon. Through their efforts Dom Manuel was induced to send an armada under João de Menezes to assist Venice against the Turks. This left Belem on the 15th of June 1501. We know that Pisani was in Lisbon in March 1501, because he wrote a letter from there on the 13th of that month addressed to Granada. He then returned to Spain leaving Il Cretico in his place. Il Cretico remained in Lisbon until September, and was therefore present when the Anunciada returned and also at the arrival of the flagship towards the end of July. When the first of Cabral's ships arrived from India on the 23rd of June 1501, he wrote a letter to Venice, telling briefly what he could learn regarding the voyage. This

CHAPTER 23

THE VENETIAN DIARIES

Four Venetians, Domenico Malipiero, Marcantonio Michieli, Girolamo Priuli, and Marino Sanuto have left a record in the form of diaries that give us an intimate knowledge of what appeared to them of interest in their city, almost day by day, from 1457 to 1535. It is in two of them, those of Girolamo Priuli (1476-1547) and Marino Sanuto (1466-1533), that is found, to a large extent, the information that reached Venice regarding the voyage of Cabral. The portions of the diaries of Malipiero and Michieli that now exist contain no references of importance to the Portuguese voyages.

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Extracts from the diary of Girolamo Priuli 1501- July

Previous to the 24th of this month letters had come from Portugal from a nuncio of the Venetian Signoria, sent to that place on purpose to learn minutely the truth of the voyage to India begun by that king.....which event was of greater importance to the Venetian state than the Turkish war, or any other wars that might have affected her. This nuncio wrote to the Venetian state by his letter of the 6th of June last as follows. This letter was printed, which is the same as that herewith.

[Here follows in the text of Priuli the letter of Il Cretico. This is also given in Paesi and in the diary of Sanuto.]

At this point is finished the copy written to the Venetian state as is stated above, from a person worthy of belief. However, I leave it to the most intelligent readers as to how it appears to them, for in this letter are many things of great wonder in our times and almost incredible, that give me something very instructive to consider; but time will better enable us to understand the truth. But if God will lend me life, I shall endeavour to note the result so far as it can be understood, for already so much has been found out that nothing more can be learned now than infinite time desires should be known. It is understood, further, how the

CHAPTER 24

CA' MASSER'S ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE

Under the pretext of engaging in business in Lisbon, a Venetian named Leonardo Massari, better known as Ca' Masser, arrived there on the 3rd October 1504. According to Heyd, Ca' Masser is the abbreviation for della casa dei Massari. Ca' Masser was actually sent to Portugal by the Venetian senate to secure information regarding the fleets that were being sent to India, and to make a report concerning their cargoes and other matters of interest to that Republic. Venetians, were suspected at this time in Lisbon, perhaps because so much information regarding the Portuguese voyages had been sent to other places. In spite of the secrecy that Ca' Masser maintained, his true mission was known to Dom Manuel through a Florentine, Benetto Londa, a nephew of Bartolomeo Marchioni. On the arrival of Ca' Masser in Lisbon, he was immediately called to the royal palace. Here the king questioned him at length, and as a result had him sent to prison. Later, when he was able to convince the king that the story he had first told him was true, Ca' Masser was released and had no further difficulties. Ca' Masser remained in Portugal for two years, and upon his return to Venice made a report concerning the first nine voyages to the East, in which he gave much information regarding the cargoes and trade conditions, as well as an interesting description of the court of Dom Manuel. The following is a translation of his account of Cabral's voyage.

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On the 9th of March of the year 1500, His Highness sent 13 ships, large and small. The captain was Pedralloro and one Ali Scorer as his factor, with the said Gaspar. And he went on the voyage around the Cape of Good Hope. On the way there overcame him a sudden storm, through which seven ships were lost and there only remained six ships, which continued their voyage to India. The first stop where they had commerce was in Chuchim, and there they treated with that king, who showed that he was glad that they navigated in that part, and he became a good friend of this Most Serene King. And he put on shore the said factor, Ali Scorer. And thus for his security, the Portuguese made a

CHAPTER 25

CABRAL'S LATER YEARS

On Pedro Cabral's return preparations were immediately made for another and larger fleet that was being assembled as quickly as possible to sail to India in 1502. Pedro Cabral was appointed by Dom Manuel to command the new fleet. For eight months Cabral worked to complete these preparations, but adverse circumstances prevented him from profiting by this appointment, because at the last moment he was superseded by Vasco da Gama.

Various reasons for this change have been given by the historians. Castanheda states that on Cabral's return the king determined to send a large armada to Calicut to avenge the massacre. Vasco 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.

Cabral was at first selected to command this fleet, but "for some just reasons it was given to Vasco da Gama". De Goes states that Cabral was offended and refused the position because the five ships of Vicente Sodré were excluded from his command. Barros also 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. 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.

Corrêa asserts that Vasco da Gama interposed and produced a letter from Dom Manuel that 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